

Thomas Dunham Whitaker.

L.L.D.

F.R.S.

Engraved by W. Maddocks from a Picture Painted by W. D. Fryer, of Newcastle.

AN
HISTORY
OF THE
ORIGINAL PARISH OF WHALLEY,
AND
HONOR OF CLITHEROE,
IN THE
COUNTIES OF LANCASTER AND YORK.
TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED,
AN ACCOUNT OF THE PARISH OF CARTMELL.

By THOMAS DUNHAM WHITAKER, LL. D. F.S.A.
VICAR OF WHALLEY.

THE THIRD EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED.
WITH ADDITIONAL ENGRAVINGS.

“ANTIQUITIES, OR REMNANTS OF HISTORY, ARE ‘TANQUAM TABULA NAUFRAGII,’ WHEN INDUSTRIOUS PERSONS, BY AN EXACT AND SCRUPULOUS DILIGENCE AND OBSERVATION, OUT OF MONUMENTS, NAMES, WORDS, PROVERBS, TRADITIONS, PRIVATE RECORDS AND EVIDENCES, FRAGMENTS OF STORIES, PASSAGES OF BOOKS THAT CONCERN NOT STORY, AND THE LIKE, DO SAVE AND RECOVER SOMEWHAT FROM THE DELUGE OF TIME. IN THESE KINDS OF IMPERFECT HISTORIES I DO ASSIGN NO DEFICIENCE, FOR THEY ARE ‘TANQUAM IMPERFECTE MISTA,’ AND THEREFORE ANY DEFICIENCE IN THEM IS BUT THEIR NATURE.”

LORD BACON, Advanc. of Learning, B. 2.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY AND FOR NICHOLS, SON, AND BENTLEY, RED LION PASSAGE, FLEET-STREET;
AND THOMAS EDWARDS, BOOKSELLER, HALIFAX.

1818.

TO

THE MOST REVEREND

CHARLES, LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, AND METROPOLITAN,

THIS WORK IS INSCRIBED,

BY HIS GRACE'S MOST OBLIGED

AND DEVOTED SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IN this Volume the Author of the History of Whalley presents his first Work, for the last time, to a judicious Public.

As the production of a young and zealous Antiquary, prone, from local attachment, to ascribe to some objects a degree of importance to which they were not entitled, he is fully aware of the imperfections with which it once abounded, and has never been inattentive to the admonitions which he has received on the subject, with whatever temper, or in whatever style, they may have been expressed.

Nineteen years, however, which have elapsed since the first publication, might perhaps have converted enthusiasm into indifference, had not the bounty of a great Prelate placed the Writer in a situation, which, as it closely connected him with the principal subject of the Work, not only endeared to him that and the whole parish beyond the feelings of local attachment and early zeal, but presented to him many opportunities of information which he had not before enjoyed.

At the same time unremitting inquiry into other topographical subjects incidentally threw in his way numerous particulars relating to the Parish of Whalley, of which he has in no instance neglected to avail himself.

Many mistakes which had been discovered in the former edition have in consequence been rectified, many facts which were there hypothetically stated have been reduced to certainty, and an ample fund of original matter has been introduced.

Conscious, therefore, that nothing on the subject but a few gleanings could possibly remain for future investigation to supply, he was on the point of ushering into the world, with unmixed satisfaction, discoveries connected with that ancient Church and delightful Residence, where, for the last eight years, in society endeared to him by every tie of nature and affection, he had passed so many happy and edifying days.

But the light and sunshine of the scene are now overcast by a gloom never to be dispelled. His constant companion in public duties and private society, the Son, the Pupil, and the Friend, has been snatched away by a momentary and awful stroke, while in the possession of every domestic comfort, and in the exercise of every domestic virtue; and henceforward a place once so dear, can only serve to revive the painful recollection of past happiness too great to continue, and embitter sensations of present dereliction, too deep to be effaced.

Yet all feelings are not absorbed in one, however intense or abiding; and it is even now, with lively and affectionate regard, that this Volume, the memorial of a connexion which he rejoices in transmitting to posterity, is bequeathed as a legacy to the Parishioners of Whalley, by their Minister and Friend.

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† In the dedication of this Plate, for *totis*, read *totiusque*.

‡ " In the View of Holme, the tree peering over the middle of the house is a large yew, which is regarded as the natal tree of the Cambridge Professor; having by tradition and by nice inspection of the concentric circles where a vast branch was broken off some years ago, been traced with great probability to the year of his birth, 1547. The arms are, first (on the right) the shield of Mr. Richard Nowell, the kind donor of the Plate, impaling Coham of Coham in Devonshire, Mrs. Nowell's father, the Archbishop of Wiltz, being owner of the paternal estate there. The other is Dr. Whitaker's shield, impaling Thoresby, Mrs. Whitaker being a descendant of that ancient family, from an uncle of Ralph Thoresby, the antiquary of Leeds."—CHURTON'S *Life of Nowell*, p. 441.

§ " This Portrait of Mr. Towneley, progenitor of Charles Towneley, Esq. the late celebrated collector of the Towneley Museum, is copied, by favour of Peregrine Towneley, Esq. the present proprietor of Towneley, from a very curious family painting in his possession on board, very perfect, containing sixteen figures, all kneeling, the father with seven sons in order of primogeniture, behind him; the mother, with as many daughters, in the same position. Between the parents is a double desk, and a crucifix above. On a book upon the desk, before the father (as in the engraving) are the words 'FAT VOLUNTAS TUA;' before the mother, 'UT IN CELO ITA IN TERRIS.' Above the crucifix, 'VIRI TU DEPT, NON SANGUINE VITI.' From the back of the youngest son and daughter spring two vines, emblems of fruitfulness, which mantle over the heads of the figures; that on the right laden with black grapes, that on the left with white. From the branches on the right depend the shields of the Townleys, with their various emplacements; from those on the left the shields of the Wimbushes, until the two stems unite in Sir Richard Towneley and Frances Wimbush, and terminate in John Towneley and Mary Towneley (daughter and sole heiress of Sir Richard), who in the language of their monumental inscription, 'united and preserved the family.' Mr. Towneley was interred in the family chapel, on the east side of the choir of Burnley Church, on the 1st of March, 1607; probably, therefore, at the advanced age of four-score. The interchange of kind offices, and frequent instances of trust reposed in him by the Nowells, may be regarded as so many instances of fraternal affection and unsuspected integrity; while the attitude and accompaniments with which he chose to be handed down to posterity, in this family group, shew 'How firm his sacred, though mistaken zeal.'—CHURTON'S *Life of Nowell*, p. 234.

§ Erratum.—P. 536, l. 16, for CHRISTIANO, read CHRISTIANA.

HISTORY OF WHALLEY.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

AMONG the native tribes of Britain, the *Brigantes* were the most numerous and powerful: they stretched from sea to sea in one direction, from the shore of Humber to that of Tine, and from the æstuary of Mersey to that of Eden, on the other. But, within these ample confines were comprehended other inferior clans, of whom one, denominated by Ptolemy the *Setantii*, or rather the *Segantii**, are placed by that geographer in the mountainous tract usually termed the *British Apennine*, which divides the island in a longitudinal ridge, and from which the rivers fall, in a long and gentle course, to the German Ocean, but with a short and precipitate descent to the Irish Sea. Their other boundaries may be conjectured to have been the bay of Moricambe to the North, and the copious æstuary of the Mersey to the South. Thus situated, on an elevated level, along the sources of numerous brooks and of some considerable rivers, their name may be referred to the great characteristic feature of their country, *Se cond uī* †—the Head of the Waters ‡.—Out of this wild and dreary tract, and contiguous only to its eastern boundary, arose in much later times that district, ecclesiastical and civil, which I have undertaken to describe. It comprehends, within the original boundaries of the Saxon parish of Whalley, the present extensive vicarage of that name, together with those of Rochdale and Blackburn, the rectory of Slaydburn, the vicarages of Mitton, Chipping, and Ribchester, with their several dependencies §. The features of the country are

* This is the reading of the Palatine MS. The anonymous Ravennas calls them *Sistuntiaci*, more probably *Segunti*. *Vid. Baxter in voce.*

† See again the excellent British Etymologist Baxter *in voce.*

‡ Richard of Cirencester has thought proper to make us a present of the *Voluntii*, an Irish tribe, whom, as they have no legal claim upon us, we will take leave to remove to their original place of settlement. Stukeley's edition of Ric. Corinensis.

§ Status de Blackburnshire.

uniform, and rarely striking: never expanding into spacious plains, and never soaring into bold and majestic mountains, they swell into a tiresome succession of long and dreary ridges, sometimes, indeed, intersected by the pleasing scenery of deep and woody valleys, but often separated by tame and unbroken slopes, brown and cheerless, from which the wearied eye flies alike for refreshment to the bolder features of nature, and to the lively hues of cultivation.

One charming accompaniment of mountain scenery has been denied to the valleys of our Apennine—for we have no lakes or considerable pools, which in fact rarely appear but in countries where the hills are bolder and more precipitous, where they tower into bulky cones, or are broken into sharp and serrated ridges. Thus the Fells of Furness, of Westmoreland and Cumberland, to the North, no sooner assume either of these striking forms, than their feet begin to be washed in the cool and translucent gatherings of their own torrents—and thus the soft and swelling hills of Denbighshire to the South, have no other accompaniment of water than their own descending streams, while the naked cliffs of *Snowdonia*, often sharpened into ridges without a surface, are reflected on every side by the expanse of Llyns and pools to which Nature has denied an immediate outlet.

The reason of a fact so general that I recollect only two or three exceptions to it, seems to be this—that, in countries truly alpine, vast masses of rock are often pitched across the valleys, and thus become dams and ramparts which no force of torrents, or weight of congregated waters, can ever move; while the fells above, composed of slate, or quartz, transmit their streams charged with few or no earthy particles to choke the pools beneath by gradual accumulation, whereas the loose and ill-compacted banks casually thrown athwart our spongy bottoms still appear in many instances to have been broken by the first pressure of floods*, or the hollows above them to have been filled by gradual deposits of earth and rubbish, which every little swell brings down in vast quantities, from the sides of mountains composed of clay, schistus, or other loose materials.

A decomposition also of these, or other minerals, almost all akin to coal or iron, forms the basis of our vegetable mould; and thus, as every species of native soil is attended with a concomitant train of indigenous plants, while the granite of bolder fells is clad with the glowing purple of heath, and the mamillary swells of limestone are enlivened by the cheerful green of their native grasses—the long and barn-like ridges of these hills are thatched with an uninteresting covering of pale and meagre bent†.

Neither is the climate of this tract much more favourable than its general aspect—presenting the broad and bulky masses of its hills to those copious exhalations which, rising in the Irish Sea, or even in the Atlantic, are driven by the continual prevalence of western winds against their sides, its summers are too often ungenial, its autumns lost in fogs, its grain damp and musty, its fruits crude and unmellowed.

In a state of nature, however, another cause, which is now at least partially done away, contributed to augment the evil. Our vales, which are now drained by the hand of cultivation, were then steaming and unwholesome swamps; and our mountains, which even yet condense

* It is an ingenious and probable conjecture of Mr. Mitford, that the deluges of Ogyges and Deucalion were occasioned by the bursting of lakes in the vales of Thessaly and Bœotia, while the crust of the earth was yet tender and unsettled, after the general deluge. History of Greece.

† The *Agrostis Capillaris*.

immense quantities of vapour by their chilling contact, then attracted, in a much larger proportion, the humidity of the atmosphere, by the projection of their native woods, which at the same time checked the wholesome influence of evaporation by their impenetrable umbrage.

This was the character given by the historian to the climate of Britain in general; but it applies with peculiar propriety to our Apennines—*ἐξ ἑλων της ἀναθυμιασεως και παχυτητος ὁ κατ' ἐκεινην την γην ἀγρὺ ζοφωδὲς ἀεὶ φαινεται* *.

In this state, however, peopled by the wild boar and the wolf, and by their natural prey, the moose deer, the stag, the wild bull, these wastes were traversed, rather than occupied, by their first human inhabitants; and these were probably not only few in numbers, but inferior to their southern neighbours in arts and civilization—hence it is that they have left, in a tract of great extent, only one remain † of those gigantic fortifications which, under all the disadvantages of mechanical inexpertness, mark the toil and perseverance of savages—that they have left few specimens of their skill in working metals, or of their art in shaping instruments of stone—that they have erected none of those circular monuments, or rude columnar shafts, or well-poised rocking stones, which antiquarian uncertainty has agreed to term *Druidical* ‡.

But of their flexible and expressive language, they have left many striking remains in the names of permanent objects, such as rivers and mountains. These may best be considered if we first divide the whole district into those great portions which the hand of Nature has marked out, and which have materially affected its civil and ecclesiastical distribution in later times.

In this survey, it is not intended to pursue the boundaries of parishes with the servile accuracy of a perambulation; but with a freer and bolder hand to trace those great original objects which Providence seems to have interposed as dykes and ramparts, for the purpose of ascertaining the claims, or of restraining the hostility, of neighbouring and contending tribes, in after-ages §.

If we take, therefore, an extended view of the whole tract which is intended, either briefly or in detail, to constitute the subject of this work, it will appear to have been thus originally distributed into nine different portions, of which some are principally defined by the course of rivers; but the greater part are deep and winding excavations, bounded by the long and irregular outline of the surrounding hills, and all are strongly marked by natural features on every side, excepting the eastern boundary of Bowland, the western extremity of the parishes of Chipping and Ribchester, and the south-western limit of the parish of Rochdale, in all which the original parish declines towards the adjoining plains, and partakes of their tamer and less definite character.

* Herodian, lib. iii. cap. 47. So also Tacitus, “*cælum crebris imbris ac nebulis fœdum.*” And again, “*multus humor terrarum cœlique.*”

† Vide ROSSENDALE.

‡ In the contiguous parish of Halifax, Mr Watson, the historian of that place, has found or fancied several of these remains; but since the publication of his book, a very considerable discovery was made, an account of which may be allowed to supply the deficiency of similar information in our own parish. A countryman digging peat upon Mixenden Moor, turned up the following instruments: 1st. A very fine celt of brass, but so white as to appear to have been alloyed by tin; 2d. A small battle-axe of beautiful green pebble, veined with white; 3d. An instrument of grey stone, resembling a carpenter's gouge, and probably intended for the purpose of excavating wood; 4th. A whetstone of a black basaltic appearance; 5th. Four arrow-heads of flint. These are now in my possession.

§ “*Mutuo metu et montibus separantur.*” Tacitus de mor. Germ.

This general survey will assist the reader in forming a distinct conception of the natural characters of the country. It will bring together in one view, such relics of the British language as still subsist in the names of our rivers and mountains, and it will shew what influence the hand of Nature has had upon the subsequent arrangements of civil society.

NATURAL DISTRICTS.	BRITISH NAMES.	MODERN DISTRIBUTION, CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL.
First, of these natural districts to the North, is the tract interposed between the Ribble, the Hodder, and the fells of Toteredge, Trough Scar, Good Grave, Ravish Castle, and Bowland Knots. The eastern boundary not strongly marked.	Ribble, Hodder.	{ Forest and country of Bowland. { Parishes of Mitton and Sladeburn.
Secondly, the tract bounded by Ribble, Hodder, and Fairsnape Fell. The boundary towards the Filde country not strongly defined.	As before.	{ Parishes of Chipping and Ribchester.
Third, the tract lying betwixt Pendle and Ribble.	Pendle. Cliderhow.	{ Chapelries of Cliderhow and Downham.
Fourth, the great excavation between Pendle, Pinhow, Bulswerd *, Hameldon, Cliviger Pike, and Hameldon in Hapton.	Pinhow. Hameldon. Calder. Colne.	{ Whalley, with its immediately dependent townships, the chapelries of Burnley and Colne, and the forests of Pendle and Trawden.
Fifth, the country lying betwixt Hameldon, Criddon, Musbury, and the rivers Calder and Hyndeburne.	Criddon.	{ Chapelries of Church, Altham, Accrington, Haslingden.
Sixth, the tract bounded by Ribble, Derwent, and Hyndeburne.	Derwent.	Parish of Blackburn.
Seventh, Country bounded by Cliviger Moor, Hameldon, Criddon, Musbury, Copelaw, Gorsithlache.	Rossendale.	Forest of Rossendale.

* The orthography of these names is principally that of antient charters, often very different from the modern.

NATURAL DISTRICTS.	BRITISH NAMES.	MODERN DISTRIBUTION, CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL.
Eighth, the vallies of Roch and Spodden, with their several acclivities, to Gorsithlache, Flourscar, Blackstonedge, and the hills of Butterworth. The S.W. boundary not strongly marked.	Roch, Biel.	{ Parish of Rochdale within Lancashire.
Ninth, the tract bounded by Blackstonedge, Stanedge, Goodgreave, Walstonedge, &c. terminating the original parish of Whalley to the South on the confines of Cheshire, and the Peak of Derby*.	Withins, Diggles, Chaw, Tame.	{ Saddleworth, a member of the same parish, but in Yorkshire.

First, and most celebrated in this catalogue of British names, is the Ribble, which by the general consent of our antiquaries has been understood to be the *Belisama* of Ptolemy. And this hypothesis is supported, by the resemblance and the etymology of the two words, as well as by the bearings and distances laid down by that geographer. A late antiquary †, however, of great talents and learning, having a favourite hypothesis to support, has thought proper to transfer *Belisama* to the Mersey, and to leave the more distinguished river nameless and unnoticed. In order to understand the grounds of this controversy, it will, in the first place, be necessary to state and to explain Ptolemy's chart of the British coast from the *Seteia* to the *Moricambe*.

<i>Moricambe Æstuarium</i>	17	30	—	58	20
<i>Segantiorum Portus</i>	17	29	—	57	45
<i>Belisama Æstuarium</i>	17	30	—	57	20
<i>Seteia Æstuarium</i>	17	—	—	57	—

Moricambe (the great curvature) and *Seteia* are here given quantities, one of which is allowed to be the deep and spacious bay formed by the æstuaries of *Ken* and *Leven*, and the other is as plainly the Dee ‡. But, in the interval between these are three principal rivers, the Lune, the Ribble, and the Mersey, of which two only are noticed by the geographer. Now, prior to all reasoning upon the chart itself, there is an antecedent probability, that, as Ptolemy is known to have taken his accounts of our British coasts from the observations of mariners, those æstuaries which had no celebrated ports upon them, would be omitted in those observations. But the Mersey was exactly in this predicament, whereas the Ribble and Lune had considerable harbours and stations upon their banks, which would of course be resorted to by sailors, and therefore noted in their charts.

* Tottington is not included in this survey, because, though a member of the honor of Clitheroe, it forms no part of the original parish of Whalley.

† Mr. Whitaker, Hist. Manc. B. 1. C. 5.

‡ *Se* is the British prefix, or præpositive article; and *Teia* is the true Welsh pronunciation of *Deia*, or *Dera*.

However, in order to do justice to Mr. Whitaker's argument in support of his position that *Belisama* is the Mersey, we will state it in his own words*: "From the *Seteia*, advancing "20 miles to the North, Ptolemy goes 30 to the East—to the æstuary *Belisama*. This is "plainly the Mersey, because *Belisama* is at the distance of the Mersey, and because such a "considerable object as the Mersey could not be overlooked any more than the Dee. And "thus far we are certain of the conclusions! . . . But the geographer, ranging along the coast for "25 miles from the Mersey, turns with the turning shore, and goes ten miles to the West, to "the harbour of the *Sistuntii*. This sufficiently argues the harbour not to be at the mouth of "the Mersey, and this equally argues it not to be at the mouth of the Lune. Twenty-five "miles to the North of the Mersey can carry us only to one place convenient for an harbour—the "mouth of the Ribble."

Let us now examine this representation distinctly and by parts: First, then, "So considerable an object as the Mersey could not be overlooked." But one considerable river betwixt the *Seteia* and *Moricambe* is actually overlooked by Ptolemy; and I have already assigned a reason why the Mersey should be overlooked rather than the Ribble. Secondly, we are told, that "advancing twenty miles to the North, and turning thirty miles East from the mouth of "Dee, we shall find ourselves at the mouth of the Mersey." Let the reader cast his eye on a common map of Lancashire and Cheshire, and say whether the mouth of Mersey is even ten miles North and five miles East from that of Dee. But if we stretch from the mouth of Dee twenty miles northward, according to the geographer's directions, we shall find ourselves out at sea indeed, but in a latitude exactly corresponding with the mouth of Ribble, and turning thence at a right angle to the East for thirty miles, we shall stretch a little further inward than Mr. Whitaker's supposed station (which however was certainly not the *Setantiorum Portus*) near the *Neb* of the *Nese*. Again, the geographer ranges indeed twenty-five miles to the North, but only one to the West, if the figures in Bertius's Ptolemy be right. Supposing ourselves therefore to be stationed on the æstuary near Freckleton, we are southward from Lancaster about 21 English, or 25 of Ptolemy's miles: and westward about two English miles—so clearly do the geographer's data lead us to seek for *Belisama* in the Ribble and the *Setantiorum Portus* in Lancaster. But Mr. Whitaker had an unfortunate theory to support: he had implicitly addicted himself to the dreams of a monk before whose unsupported conjectures the contemporary † and decisive authorities of Antonine and Ptolemy were equally to give way—for him the *Coccium* of the one was to be removed to Blackrode, and the *Rigodunum* of the other to be merged in his misplaced *Rerigonium* ‡; and to give some appearance of consistency to this strange hypothesis, the *Setantiorum Portus* was to be removed to the mouth of Ribble, that celebrated stream left without a name, and *Belisama*, which is obviously represented in the modern word, violently transferred to the Mersey §; while Ptolemy's bear-

* Hist. Manc. B. 1. C. 5.

† Not with each other; for Ptolemy flourished under the first Antonines, and the compiler of the Itinerary was probably Antoninus Caracalla—but contemporary with the actual existence of the two names in question, and therefore original authorities.

‡ See the next chapter.

§ The word *Mersey* is evidently neither British nor Roman, but pure Saxon, which powerfully argues the obscurity of the river so denominated in the Roman æra. If we adopt the hypothesis that it was, at the time when it received its appellation, the boundary of the Mercian and Northumbrian Kingdoms, its etymology will plainly be *Œpeyrce-ea*, the Mercian Water; if other-

ings and distances unanimously concurred in supporting the truth of the old hypothesis, and in demonstrating the impossibility of the new one.

After having established the real site of *Belisama*, we are next to ascertain the etymology of the word, and to prove its identity with the modern Ribble*. *Bel is am*, or in the plural *amon*, in the British language signifies Head of the Waters, an appellation peculiarly adapted to the Ribble, which unites, and carries down with it to the sea, numbers of tributary streams. Again, in the same language, *Rhin bel*, from which the present name is obviously formed, has exactly the same meaning, namely, the Head River. Of the word *Am*, as it occurs in the composition of this word, we shall have frequent occasion to make use hereafter, and it may therefore be worth while to remark the various forms in which it appears in the composition of the names of rivers. *V* and *M* are convertible in the British language. We have, therefore, the same radical in the twofold form of *Av* and *Am*; and, with the prepositive letters, *Tam* and *Sam*—*Tav* and *Sav*; from whence come the Avon, the Thames, the Tay, the Towy; and in our own country the Tame, the Chaw, the Savok†.

This beautiful stream intersecting in its sinuous course the whole county of Lancaster, receives near Mitton the Hodder, which coming down from Cross of Grete, for several of the last miles, forms the boundary of Yorkshire and Lancashire, as it must originally have done between two British tribes, the word *Odre* in that language signifying a limit or bound‡.

Our next great natural object, indeed the most distinguished and well-known feature of the whole district, is Pendle, which, though it wants the bold conical form of its northern rivals Penigent and Ingleborough, and is, in fact, nothing more than a longitudinal ridge like its immediate neighbours, yet from its superior height and bulk, as well as insulated situation, presents on every side, and especially on the North, a bold and striking figure. Of this word the first syllable is pure British, and enters into the composition of many Celtic names—the *PEN*nine Alps, *APEN*Nines, &c. *Ben*, in the Gaelic dialect, with the slight difference in the two labials which marks the distinction between the pronunciation of South Britain and Caledonia, is the same word. The composition of the modern word is an instance of which several others will occur in the course of this work, in which a name once significant, but become unintelligible by change of language, has had an explanatory syllable attached to it: thus the British *Pen*, or Head, became in the Saxon æra *Penhull*; and this continued to be

otherwise, *Meper-ea* will sufficiently describe a River, which through the intervention of the Dane, the Fulbrook, and the Wever, is fed by nearly twenty large *Meres*, in the county of Chester. After all, it is a bold conjecture, but strongly supported by natural appearances, that the *Estuary* of Mersey did not exist in the Roman period, but that its waters, after passing the promontory of Frodsham, expanded over the flat and sandy tract of Wirral, and found an uncertain and irregular outlet into the Dee. The word is not even mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle, but is, perhaps, first met with in the “*Terra inter Ripam*” (Ribble), and *Mersham* of Domesday; though Ric. of Cirencester assigns to Merseia fl. a place in what he styles *Mappa Britanniae faciei Romanæ*.

* “*Ribil riseth in Ribilsdale abowte Sallay Abbaye, and so to Sawley. A 1111 miles beneth Sawley it reseyvith Calder that cummith by Walley, and after reseyvith a nother water cawlid Oder-Waulley a x miles from Preston-Sawley a “ . . . miles or more.”* Lel. v. IV. p. 84. Blackburnshire.

† *Savok*, qu. *Is av uch*, the High Stream, as it has its source in Longridge. To these may be added two genuine British names of brooks injuriously omitted in modern maps, *Short Taud* and *Dartow* *Small two little country maids* (Drayton’s Pol. Song 27,) of which the former is the uncompounded radical word, and the first syllable of the latter is descriptive of its ancient accompaniment, *Dar-taw*, the Stream of Oaks.

‡ Thus the Rother is *Yr Odre*, the same word with a prepositive article.

the orthography of the word till long after the Conquest: afterwards, however, the second syllable was melted down into the insignificant *dle*, and required another explanatory addition, altogether constituting the modern *Pendle Hill*. Of its two rivals mentioned above, one retains its genuine British appellation *Pen y gwyn*, the White Head, or *Pen y gwynt*, the Head of Winds; the latter, whatever it was, is lost in the Saxon *Ingleborough* *.

For Clitheroe, of which the two first syllables are apparently British, see the conjectures which will be offered under that place †.

Next is Pinhow, an high and heathy ridge, dividing the parish of Whalley on the North from those of Carlton and Kildwick. This local name is compounded on similar principles to the former, of *Pin*, the same word, with a slight dialectic variation, and the Saxon *How*.

With respect to the etymology of Hameldon, which twice occurs in this circuit, I can only offer the following conjecture, after premising that, at all events, and after repeated attempts to discover something Saxon in its composition, I can only refer it to the original language of Britain, *Am ael don*, *ad supercilium montis*.

For Calder and Colne, the latter of which it must be remembered denoted the river and not the town, I can acquiesce either in Baxter's etymology *Calai dwr*, *aqua lutosa*, or Mr. Whitaker's *Coldwr*, Narrow Water, for the former; and for the latter, *Colaun*, of the same meaning with the word immediately preceding, seems to be the true orthography.

Criddon, a bold and lofty hill upon the confines of Rossendale, and commanding an extended prospect southward over the plains of Lancashire, is pretty obviously *Keiru don*, the Hill of Stags. It is precisely such an elevation as that animal affects during the heat of summer, while the fallow deer graze on the plains or slopes beneath; and it might continue to merit an appellation acquired in the remotest ages of antiquity till within less than three centuries of the present time.

Derwent, is the only remnant of the British language which has occurred to me in the parish of Blackburn, a district singularly deficient in striking natural objects. Billinge, which is also the name of a mountain in Airdale, and of a third in the South of Lancashire, may have indeed some pretensions, but I am unable to assign any meaning to the word in our aboriginal tongue.

Derwent, however, is evidently *Dwr-gwyn* or *gwent*, the White (or clear) Water, a quality in which, though superior in some degree to the Blackburn or yellow ‡ stream which denominates the parish, it has little claim to rival its beautiful namesake in Cumberland, the full, deep, translucent inlet of Derwent Lake.

For Rossendale, see the etymology of the word, under the Forest of that name, where it will also be proved that the Irwell has no pretensions to a British origin.

The parish of Rochdale affords nothing of a British sound excepting the *Roch* and the *Beil*.

The former of these, which is the latinized *Rhæus* of Harrison§, is in ancient charters generally spelt *Rache*, but sometimes, and that in the most ancient, *Rached* ||; and it is

* See a good account of this mountain and the beacon upon it, whence its present name, in Rauthmell's Bre-metonaæ.

† I am now convinced that the word is Danish, from *klettur* a crag; and *how*, an hill.

‡ See the reasons which will be assigned for this etymology under BLACKBURN in the Appendix.

§ Description of Britain A. D. 1577, p. 65.

|| Townley MSS.

apparently formed by a slight metathesis from *Rhi esk, tractus aquæ*. The latter orthography is formed by the addition of *Head*, the *Rach-head*; and from this word was evidently derived the ancient and genuine name of the town itself, *Reced-ham* *.

The name of *Beyle* or *Beil* is now nearly or altogether obsolete, but by this appellation our old topographer Harrison describes the stream which rising from two principal sources, one in the root of Coldgreave, and the other within the township of Crompton, unites near Butterworth Hall, passes by Belfield to which it gives name, and falls into the Roch near Wardleworth. This word is the simple British monosyllable *Bel*, or *Head*, and it may refer to the high and remote sources of the rivulet which it denotes.

In the dreary and late reclaimed district of Saddleworth are more remains of the original language than in those where the general use of it was early superseded by the Saxon. For within the space of a few miles are three streams, which still retain their significant British names: these are, the Diggles, the Tame, the Chaw. The first of these is evidently the same word with the Douglas of Lower Lancashire, recorded by Nennius for one of the victories of Arthur, and with the Douglas of Scotland, memorable for having given name to the most illustrious family of that kingdom. And it is no less evidently compounded of *Dhu-glas, atro-cæruleus* †.

Tame (*vide supra*) is nothing more than the general appellation *av* or *am* with one of the prepositive letters.

Chaw is the same, though it may be difficult to assign a meaning or origin to the singular prefix. *Kég* seems to approximate nearer to it than any other word, and *Kégaw* would be *guttur aquæ*.

One mountain which overlooks this dreary tract on the side of Blackstonedge is the Green Withins; opposite to which is the Withins Mouth; and the Coucher Book of Whalley mentions a third, within the township of Whitworth, from its elevation called Hore Withins ‡. We are not to suppose that these lofty ridges so remote from each other, so uniform in their relative situation, should have received their appellation from the contemptible withy or sallow, which never grew in such situations, but rather from a circumstance more general, and which at an early period may be proved to have been common to them all—*Gueithiu*, or the Woods.

Akin to this word are the Goodgraves, of Saddleworth, and of Bowland, two fells at the distance of forty miles from each other. The common English adjective *good* in this connexion is perfectly insignificant; but the real word is one which occurs much oftener in the composition of local names than we are aware of—this is, the British *Coed*, a Wood, which is reflected in Coitmore, Cadbeeston, Chatmoss, Catlow, and many others.

The latter syllable *grave* is purely Saxon, from the word *ƷræƷan fodere*, and, whether singly as it sometimes occurs, or in composition as it is more frequently found, denotes one

* This is the orthography of Domesday Book, and of all the charters for two centuries. See farther under ROCHDALE.

† Drayton, who is often learned as well as accurate in his epithets, calls the former “Swart Douglas.”

‡ A fourth, and that in a similar situation, has since occurred to me in Erringden.

of those deep and naked gullies which in the forests and on the sides of the hills we see excavated by torrents in the schistus and other minerals. But this by the bye.

Such are the remains of our aboriginal language, which may be traced in local names through this widely extended district—names which, after the lapse of so many centuries, and the shock of so many revolutions, still subsist, and may probably continue as long as the objects which they denote.

We now hasten forward from a period of extreme barbarism, barren alike of facts and of remains, to a partial and temporary scene of activity, civilization, and elegance.



CHAPTER II.

ROMAN HISTORY.

THE History of Roman Britain, when connected with remote and provincial topography, has an interest peculiar to itself.

To combine names and facts, which had exercised the fancy in our happiest days of classical study, with the obscure but romantic scenery in which those days were passed; to confirm and particularize the general evidence of ancient history by contemporary remains; to bring home, for instance, the narrative of Tacitus, and the operations of Agricola, to our own villages, is a process of the mind which can dignify what else were mean, or endear what were indifferent.

This charm, difficult as it may be to analyze, yet appears to be composed of two principal ingredients—opposition and harmony: of opposition between familiar locality and distant greatness, between uncertainty of place produced by a long lapse of ages and existing remains which have defied their power:—of harmony between historical truth and local appearances, at once so remote as to exercise the understanding in comparing, so clear as to produce conviction, and so interesting as to fill the imagination when once compared.

For, overwhelmed, as every curious mind must be, on first visiting the ancient Mistress of the World, by the vastness of the objects and by the recollections which must accompany them; yet what ingenuous native of the district which we are describing would be equally affected by the image of Hadrian walking in the gardens of his own villa, or marching on foot and bare-headed over the fells of Lancashire—by Constantine and Severus under their own triumphal arches, or leading the long file of their legions along the crest of Watling-street—by Agricola receiving triumphal ornaments at Rome*, or choosing with judicious eye the future site of Coccium? In one situation they are expected and at home—the splendour of the place is suited to the rank of its inhabitants—in the other we are astonished to find the masters of the world at the distance of nearly two thousand miles, traversing districts which are now scarcely visited but by a solitary sportsman or shepherd, and reposing in villages which will now scarcely accommodate a single traveller.

Such are the feelings with which we enter upon the present chapter, and upon the 10th Iter of Antonine, which, passing in a direction nearly North and South through the original parish of Whalley for the space of more than 20 miles, will conduct us, about the middle of the line, to one of the most illustrious scenes of antiquity in Roman Britain.

* Tac. Vit. Agr. c. 40.

This road, which has been distinctly traced by Mr. Whitaker* through the parishes of Prestwich, Ratcliffe, and Bury, at the northern extremity of the last enters upon the parish of Whalley, where, in a perambulation of the manor of Tottington, A.D. 1686, I find that it constituted the N.W. boundary of the lordship, which was said to extend in that direction *usque le Watling-streate*. It then entered Musbury, crossed the top of Haslingden Grain, ascended the opposite acclivity, where however no remains of it appear at present, and entered upon the wide wastes of Oswaldtwisle, where, before the late inclosure, its agger was every where conspicuous, as it is now at intervals, particularly in the fields near Knusden—thence it disappears once more in the cultivated grounds of Little Harwood, and having gained the summit of the hill, descends through the township of Clayton-le-Dale to the Roman ford above Ribchester.

Of this station, the *Rigodunum* of Camden, the *Coccium* of Horseley, and the *Rerigonium* of Mr. Whitaker†, how, after the disagreement of such men shall a fourth antiquary presume to fix the appellation? There is however the less presumption in this attempt, as the two former opinions are capable of being reconciled to each other, though the radical identity of the names never occurred to either of those great men, but the third must stand or fall on the unsupported authority of Richard the Monk, to whose frauds or errors our ingenious and learned contemporary has unhappily done too much honour.

Without repeating reasons so lately adduced for restoring the Ribble to its ancient name of *Belisama*, I shall now assume the point as proved, at least with the degree of evidence which such investigations admit of; and shall merely state, that upon this river Ptolemy places his *Rigodunum*; and upon this river also the Itinerary of Antonine, if the line of the 10th Iter and

* Hist. Manc. Vol. I. p. 121. See also Phil. Transactions, Vol. XLVII. p. 228.

† I give Mr. Whitaker ample credit for the diligence of his inquiries and the accuracy of his representations, with respect to the existence of a Roman road from Mancunium to Blackrod, and of the remains of a Roman fortress at that place. In his conclusion, however, that this obscure place was the *Coccium* of Antonine, and the *Rigodunum* of Ptolemy, I am compelled to differ from him, for the following reasons:—1st. A continuation of the road from Blackrod, through the Filde to Lancaster, and thence to Bremetonacæ, has, since Mr. W.'s inquiries, been distinctly traced. Now, had this been the 10th Iter of Antonine, an intermediate station, of the importance of Lancaster, could never have been unnoticed. In the next place, the discovery of a millary stone, near Ashton, inscribed with the name of the Emperor Philip, renders it highly probable that this was a diversion of the great North-Western Iter to the frontier of Caledonia, made at that time for the two-fold purpose of taking Lancaster in the way to Bremetonacæ, and of avoiding the rugged and difficult line from Ribchester over Longridge, through Bowland, and by Cross of Greet, to Bentham. Once more: the direct line pursued by the road from Mancunium through Ribchester to Bremetonacæ, and the firm and durable manner in which it was constructed, prove it to have been one of the great and original works of the Upper Empire; whereas, the line which leads from Manchester to Lancaster has been ascertained to consist of small stones, like a modern turnpike-road, and to have been constructed in a more slight and perfunctory manner.—Lastly, the indubitable remains of the Higher Empire at Ribchester, the coins of the first Cæsars, the residence of the entire twentieth legion there, ascertained by an inscription, which from internal evidence appears to be coëval with the earliest in Britain, and the restoration of a temple decayed by time, in the reign of Alexander Severus, all concur to prove that it was one of the first foundations of that people among the Brigantes; while the superior magnificence of its public works prove it to have been a place of much more importance than an ordinary provincial station. Lancaster also bears almost equal marks of antiquity and splendour in the Roman æra; yet, with these superior claims, according to Mr. Whitaker's hypothesis, neither Lancaster nor Ribchester is noticed in the Itinerary of Antonine, while an obscure baiting-place, a mere post-house, of which the remains are scarcely visible, is exalted into the *Coccium* of Antonine, and the *Rigodunum* of Ptolemy.

the two given stations between which it is interposed, together with the incontrovertible evidence of remains *, be allowed to interpret, has fixed the station of *Coccium*. Yet no concurrence of roads, no discovered remains, lead to the supposition that two† stations or towns of eminence in the age of Ptolemy or of Caracalla were planted on the banks of the Ribble. How then is this apparent difficulty to be solved? A little attention to British etymology and to the obvious appearances of the place will remove every doubt. In the first place, let the name, as it stands in Ptolemy, be stripped of the Roman termination *dunum*; and, with a British aspirate at the end, it becomes *Rigoch*. In the next place, cut off from the itinerary name its Roman generic termination, and we have *Cochiu*. G and C are convertible; some MSS. of the Itinerary read *Goccium*, and the radical syllable *Coch*, or *Goch*, is the same in both. *Goch*, in the British language, is red—*Rhigoch*, Red River; and *Gochui*, or *Cochiu*, Red Water. And accordingly the stone, the sand, the soil, of Ribchester, are alike distinguished by this very colour, which would naturally arrest the attention of the first inhabitants, and occasion a name peculiarly significant and proper.

This hypothesis, which goes far towards proving the identity of the place designed by both these appellations, relieves the antiquary from an embarrassment which he has never yet been able to shake off—namely, that of having a STATION TOO MUCH—an embarrassment which has driven Camden to seek for *Coccium* at Cockey, and Mr. Whitaker to place it at Blackrode; while, on the other hand, it has compelled Horseley, who saw with his usual sagacity the real situation of *Coccium*, to remove *Rigodunum* to Warrington, as he had previously confounded *Belisama* with the Mersey.

Of Mr. Whitaker's *Rerigonium* it is difficult to speak without a few previous observations on the character and credit of his favourite guide, Richard of Cirencester, the monk, who, I fear, has led him, with a *friar's lantern*‡, into many devious paths, through many a bog and brake, in his bold and excursive wanderings over the Sistani Monarchy. That the Itinerary published by Dr. Stukeley, under the name of Richard of Cirencester, is really genuine, by which I mean that it is the work of him whose name it bears, there seems no reason to doubt. But a work may be indubitably genuine, yet of little or no authority. And such appears to be the case in the instance before us. This monk, who lived in the beginning of the fifteenth century, was undoubtedly a man of curiosity and diligence, worthy of a better age. He travelled, he collated MSS. he drew maps, and he drew conclusions; but these conclusions unhappily, though the author of them has no claim to any other regard than a modern antiquary, and in some instances even less, have been erected by the zeal of his disciples, Dr. Stukeley and Mr. Whitaker, into original and independent authorities. Yet he may be proved to have had no ancient materials which we have not, and he wanted some which we possess. The *Fragmenta quædam à Duce quodam Romano consignata* appear to have been the Itinerary of Antonine; the basis of his map was that of Ptolemy, whom he expressly mentions; and his

* I draw no argument from the numbers, which, upon every hypothesis, are allowed to be corrupt.

† I agree, however, with Mr. Whitaker, that there has been a Roman port about Freckleton, towards which the Watling-street, as it is called, first discovered by Dr. Leigh upon Fullwood Moor, evidently tends. But this is entirely out of the question with respect to the present Iter; and, moreover, it has been already proved not to be the *Setantiorum Portus*.

‡ “And he by friar's lantern led.” Milton's *L'Allegro*.

general divisions of Roman Britain were taken from the *Notitia*. To have adjusted all these, and to have formed an account of Roman Britain from the result, would have required a judicious and faithful hand. This last the Monk had not: on the contrary, he was possessed with the general spirit of his profession in the middle ages—something between bold conjecture and inventive fraud. He laid out new itinera: he imagined colonies, towns invested with the *Jus Latii*, and others merely stipendiary, long after those distinctions were abolished; he inserted some names, which, though real, were posterior to the Roman empire in Britain, and some which may safely be affirmed to have been fabricated by himself. This is not a place for entering further into the controversy; otherwise, I am prepared to support all these assertions by irrefragable proofs, having had occasion to attend particularly to the subject, when engaged in another work.

We shall now be prepared to attend to the seventh Iter of Richard, with all due respect and reverence.

A PORTU SISTUNTIORUM

Eboracum usque sic.

<i>Rerigonio m. p.</i>	- - - - -	XXIII.
<i>Ad Alpes Penninos</i>	- - - - -	VIII.
<i>Alicana</i>	- - - - -	X.
<i>Isurio</i>	- - - - -	XVIII.
<i>Eboraco</i>	- - - - -	XVI.

Of this Iter, the three first stations alone are to be taken on the credit of the Monk; as the fourth rests on the authority of Ptolemy, and fifth and sixth on that of Antonine.

Now, that the *Portus Setantiorum* was upon the æstuary of Ribble*, cannot be proved even to be a conclusion of the Monk. Dr. Stukeley certainly supposed him to mean the Lune; and, for the road which Mr. Whitaker has so distinctly traced from the Neb of the Nese to Ribchester, though I give entire credit both to the accuracy of his research and the fidelity of his representation, I must beg leave to remind him, that these appearances prove nothing as to any particular station, but merely that a station or port in general existed at the former place.

The word *Rerigonium* is either an involuntary error of Richard for the *Rigodunum* of Ptolemy; or it is a rash and arbitrary substitution, for the latter word is evidently suppressed, to make way for the former. I am inclined to the second hypothesis, and for these reasons:—The genuine *Rerigonium* and *Sinus Rerigoniæ* of the geographer evidently lay on the æstuary of the Clyde, and upon the coast of Galloway. But the word† was written in some MSS. *Berigonium*, which the Monk adopted, and very properly, in its real situation, but seems to have imagined, that when written with the initial R, it denoted another place; and, looking out for something, however distantly, resembling it in sound, unhappily fell upon *Rigodunum*, which he rashly and unwarrantably displaced. To these conjectures I have only to add, that

* How could Mr. Whitaker so far forget himself and his usual accuracy, as to say that Richard calls the Mersey, and not the Dee, *Seleia*, when the former river is denoted in his map by the modern name *Merseia*? Hist. Manc. Vol. I. p. 135.

† Vide Baxter, *in voce*.

the Monk, not aware of the identity of *Coccium* and *Rigodunum*, like all succeeding antiquaries, has had a station upon his hands, which he chose to dispose of at random, in a situation * which evidently led Mr. Whitaker† to seek it at Blackrod.

The names of *Coccium* and of *Rigodunum* are now equally forgotten, and are not even faintly echoed in the more recent name of this place—the *Ribcastre* of Domesday and the modern *Ribchester*. Hence it may be conjectured, that there was an interval of time, after the Romans withdrew from Britain, when it ceased to be inhabited and to have a name; after which the first Saxon colonists of Northumbria found it, though abandoned, yet conspicuous in decay; and from the remains of its fortifications, united with the circumstance of its site, gave it the appellation by which it is still distinguished‡.

This celebrated station was placed, with the peculiar judgment which marks Agricola's encampments (for to him unquestionably it must be referred), on the northern bank of the river, and flanked by the deep channel of a brook on the East; corresponding to which, on the West, is a large sluice or channel, to which tradition has assigned an use confirmed by many nautical relics, namely, that of a dock or slip for vessels. That the tides once rose so high as to waft vessels of considerable burden to the quays of *Coccium*, there can be little doubt: nor is it necessary to resort to the violent expedient of an earthquake, in order to account for their recess. A gradual aggestion of sands, aided by strong westerly winds, and not sufficiently repelled by floods from the land, will abundantly account for an appearance so frequent, that we have almost ceased to inquire into its causes. And that the high precipitous banks which now border this valley, at a considerable distance from the stream, were once washed by the tides, while the sandy plain beneath formed a broad and irregular æstuary, is also credible: but the level of Ribchester§ itself, little elevated above the plain, and still more that of the Roman town, which, from the appearances of floors, &c. appears to have lain from two to three feet beneath the present surface, seem to indicate that even then the sea had begun to recede, and that these appearances belong to an earlier period in the history of the earth.

Many of the Roman stations in Britain seem to have been little more than military posts; and, of those which also appear to have been cities or populous towns, many form the basis of our modern provincial capitals. But Ribchester is an exception to this rule, as tradition and discoveries concur in proving it to have been a place of considerable magnitude and wealth, though now

* Vide Richard's map of Britain, prefixed to Dr. Stukeley's edition of his Itinerary.

† Vide Chap. 1st.

‡ Even at the time of the Domesday survey, among sixty-one villages in Amunderness (to which hundred Ribchester then belonged) sixteen are described as inhabited only by a few persons, and the rest lay waste.

§ "It flowith and ebbith in Ribyl most comunly more than half way up betwixt Prestun and Ribcester, and at ragis of spring-tydes farther."—Lel. vol. IV. Part I. p. 22.

To avoid the inconvenience of disturbing the original text of this Work, I shall throw the additional matter, which the observations of fourteen years have supplied, into the shape of Notes. I now think it impossible that Ribchester should ever have been a Port, for the following reasons:—The Roman road from that place to the Neb of the Nese, proves the general level of the flat country to have been the same in the Roman æra and at present. Yet the ascent of the tides to the level of Ribchester, to say nothing of the Bars of Rock, which must have obstructed it, would at high tides have inundated the Fille, by which means the Roman road to Lancaster would also have been rendered impassable. The nautical remains, such as anchors, boat-nails, &c. discovered at Ribchester, are sufficiently accounted for by the supposition of a manufactory in iron carried on there, and by the use of a boat for the *trajectus* of the Ribble, which was probably moored in the Western foss of the station where it united with the Ribble.

reduced to an inconsiderable village. It seems also to have had a large manufactory in brass, which the scattered remains of various utensils and ornaments wrought in that metal, and, above all, innumerable metallic fragments, resembling sweepings of shops, which are picked up on the shelving bank of the Ribble, serve to evince.

It is pleasing to imagine the revolutions which seventeen centuries have produced in the environs of this place; where, after the Roman conquest, a curious observer, placed upon a commanding point of Ribblesdale, might have surveyed the windings of the vale, covered perhaps to the summits of the fells with native oak, birch, pine, ash, and alder: its woods pierced only by the long line of Watling-street*, or by another way from East and West: the *Belisama*, a noble stream, deep and broad, agitated by tides and diversified by sails; on its northern bank the walls and towers of *Coccium*, surmounted by roofs of temples or cupolas of baths; within, the noise of industry and the tumult of military preparation; and without, the naked and painted forms of the *Setantii*, sometimes advancing with the irresistible impulse of barbarous curiosity, to behold the operations of these new intruders, and then retreating, with the swiftness of wild beasts, to their cabins in the woods.

From the same point, he might now contemplate the Ribble, shrunk and shallow; the woods either decayed by the silent operation of natural causes, or destroyed by tasteless and improvident avarice; the tower of a Christian church lifting its plain but venerable head over the buried remnants of paganism; and the once naked salt-marshes, now become firm and fertile soil, smiling under the hand of cultivation.

It appears from the *Notitia*, that the mere stations which had been planted in the interior of Britain, to secure the yet recent conquest of the island, were generally abandoned in the time of the second Theodosius; but *Coccium*, not being a military establishment only, but a flourishing and probably a manufacturing town, appears from the barbarous style of an inscription, which will be given below, to have subsisted to the latest period of the Roman power amongst us. Destroyed, probably, by no violent assault, succeeded by no Saxon town, and even in the reign of the Conqueror remaining in a state approaching to desolation, its firm and durable walls must long have defied the ravages of time, and long have presented a noble monument of Roman greatness. Something, perhaps, like the state of Silchester and Caergwent at present, might have been its appearance at the last of these periods; that is, a spacious parallelogram, surrounded with vast walls of excellent masonry, strengthened with herring-bone work within, and laced at intervals with courses of different dimensions, or variegated by lozenge and chequer-work without. Within must have appeared the slender remains of Roman habitations in their last period of decay; while the massy temple might still have all its columns erect and vaults unbroken, its dedication legible, and even its altars upon their bases. So at this day appear some of the cities of *Magna Græcia*, in which the remains of private houses have so nearly perished, and the religious edifices are so entire, that a traveller is inclined to ask whether they were intended only for habitations of the gods.

After another interval of more than four centuries, Ribchester was visited by Leland, the first person, so far as we know, who beheld it with antiquarian eyes; and his description proves the remains to have been then very conspicuous, in comparison of its present state,

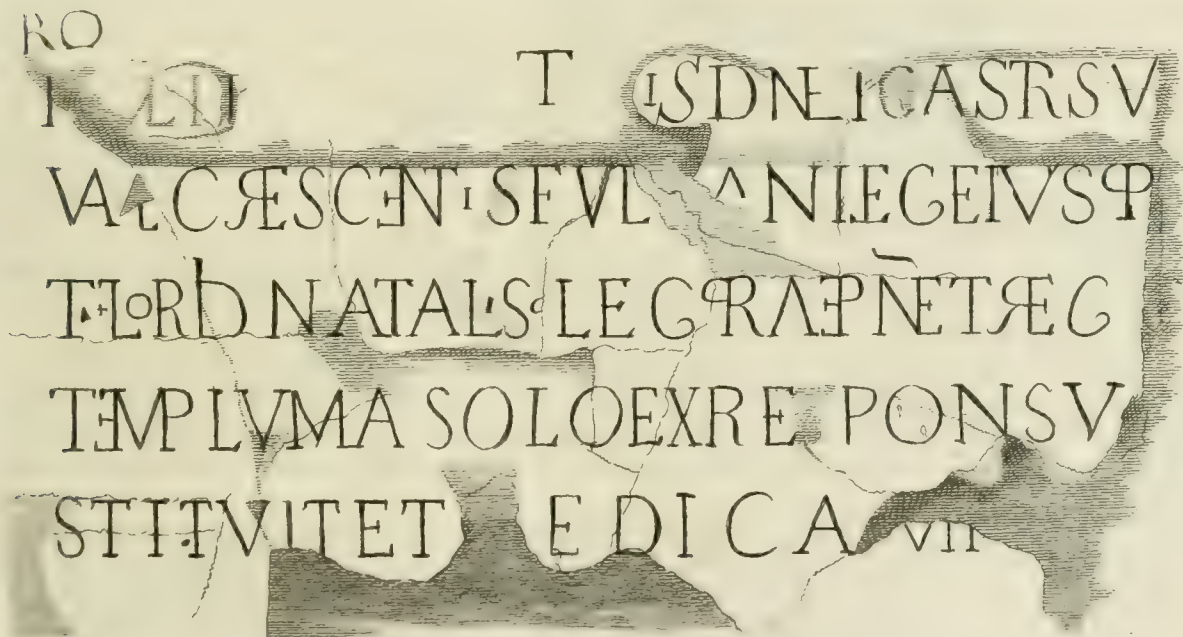
* The word *Watling-street* is used, throughout this book, in its local and popular sense.

in which even a curious and practised eye can discover no outward vestige of its former greatness, but the base of a single column, two or three half legible inscriptions, and a few uninscribed stones, wrought after Roman mouldings.—“But Ribchester,” says our ancient topographer, “is now a poore thing: it hath bene auncient towne. Great squarid stones, vouldes “and antique coins be found ther, and ther is a place wher that the people fable* that the Jues “had a temple †.” The edifice, we see, had now disappeared, but the name had been continued

* There is the same tradition at Leicester, and probably from the same cause.

† So faithful is tradition to the transmission of facts through a period of eleven or twelve centuries. The remains of this temple have now been traced, and have led to a most curious and interesting scene of antiquities, the detail of which is as follows:—

In the month of July, 1811, some workmen, employed to stop the encroachments of the Ribble, almost opposite to the parish-church of Ribchester, at the depth of about a yard beneath the present surface, met with the foundation of two parallel walls, lying nearly North and South, at the distance of about twenty-four yards from each other, and very strongly cemented. The South side appears to have been carried away by the river; that on the North remained for the present unexplored. Among the rubbish were five human skulls, and a corresponding quantity of other bones, all of which had been disturbed before. At the same time and place was discovered a very curious stylus, or bodkin, of hard yellow stone. Within the walls was an ordinary flagged floor: and near the South end lay the remains of a large flat stone, which the workmen inadvertently broke into many pieces before they discovered that the lower surface contained an inscription. The fragments being carefully collected and put together, exhibit the following appearance:—



Between its defects and its contractions, this is the most difficult inscription I have ever seen. The first, however, may be supplied, and the second explained, on principles scarcely to be contested.

First, then, the characters I S DNET CASTR SV can have no other meaning than Matris Domini nostri & Castorum suorum. Now the Empresses who were thus distinguished, were the elder Faustina, Julia Mæsa, Julia Mamæa, and Otacilia, the wife of the elder Philip. For the first of these, the character of this inscription is by far too modern; the second was described as Mater CCNN & Castorum, in reference to Caracalla and Geta: the last, though

by tradition ; and the inhabitants, whose ideas of a temple were all fetched from that of Solomon, assigned it, of course, to that well-known and detested people.

her son was for a short time Augustus, must have been distinguished not as the mother only, but wife, of the reigning Emperor. It remains, that Julia Mammea alone can have been intended, which will assign the first place in the Inscription to Alexander Severus.

This is farther confirmed, by a very fine inscription, given by Horseley (Cumb. LI.) in which this Emperor and his mother are thus united : — \bar{N} IMP. ALEXANDRI AVG ET IVL MAMMEAE MATR AVG \bar{N} ET CASTRORVM. This is the only inscription to Alexander Severus heretofore discovered in Britain, and the characters and ligatures exactly resemble those of the Ribchester stone.

In the next place, when it is understood that the fine bronze head of Minerva already described was found within a few yards of this Temple, there can scarcely be a doubt that the Temple was dedicated to that Divinity. What, then, is the meaning of the very obscure and difficult contractions expressed by the characters PRAEP \bar{N} ET REGI ? \bar{N} , as in the former inscription, is evidently Numini, and the part of the stone broken off requires an addition of two letters at least. The reading will then be, *Præpotenti Numini & Reginae* ; and the whole, as it stands at present, may be thus read :

PRO
JuLI..... IS DNET CASTR SV-
VALerii CRESCENTIS FVLVIANI LEGati EIVS *propæ*
Titus FLORidus NATALIS LEGatus PRAEPotenti \bar{N} umini ET REGINæ
TEMPLUM A SOLO EX RESPONSV *re*
STITUIT ET DEDICAVIT

This will lead, with very little room for conjecture, to the reading of the whole, in its perfect state :

DEAE MINERVAE
PRO SALVTE IMP ALEXANDRI AVG ET
IVLI MAMMEAE MATRIS DNET CASTR SVOR ET
VAL CRESCENTIS FVLVIANI LEG EIVS PP. PR PR
T. FLORIDVS NATALIS LEG PRAEP \bar{N} ET REGINAE
TEMPLVM A SOLO EX RESPONSV RE-
STITVIT ET DEDICAVIT.

Or, still more at length, and in common characters :

Deæ Minervæ — Pro salute Imperatoris Alexandri Augusti et Juliæ Mammeæ matris Domini nostri & Castrorum suorum, et Valerii Crescentis Fulviani Legati, provinciæ præsidis, præpætoris, Titus Floridus Natalis Legatus, præpotenti numini et reginæ templum a solo restituit et dedicavit.

To this statement nothing is to be objected, excepting that Lampridius says of Alexander Severus, *Dominum se appellari vetuit*. But as I have already demonstrated that the style of *Mater Domini nostri et Castrorum* applies exclusively to *Mammea*, the Inscription becomes a better authority than the Historian, whose work is little more than a biographical romance. Besides that he who could endure the title of *Numen* would not feel his delicacy shocked by that of *Dominus*.

With respect to the ascription of “*Reginæ*” to Minerva, I should have preferred Juno, had not the strong circumstance of the bronze head of the former Goddess having been found almost on the same spot, determined me. *Luna* is denominated *Regina* by Horace, and there is no analogy against its application to Minerva, though there is, perhaps, no direct authority for it. The ligature \bar{N} is used for *Numini*, in the Dedication to Alexander Severus, already quoted ; and the words scarcely admit of any other rational interpretation.

This Inscription is extremely valuable, as it adds one if not two names (for Natalis was probably the successor of Fulvianus in the province) to the catalogue of Imperial Legates in Britain, in which there has hitherto been a chasm from Virius Lupus, A. D. 196, to Mæcilius Fuscus, A. D. 238. There is, however, before the second LEG, something like a centurial mark, but it is turned the wrong way, and the name of the Legion is not mentioned, otherwise it would have reduced Natalis to a very inferior rank. The character Φ is read by Horseley *provinciæ præsidis*, and must have been followed by PR. PR. *propætoris*. The style of *Propætor* & *Legatus Augustalis* ceased under the third Gordian, within ten years of this time.

The collections of Leland, though he was a classical scholar of the first rank, are very defective in point of information on the subject of Roman antiquity: he glanced over our stations

In justice to the supplement in the second line, it ought to be added, that the insertion after the letters IVLI, and before IS, has been made according to the scale, and exactly fills the vacant space in the original. The reign of Alexander began A.C. 222, and terminated in 235. I should assign the date of this inscription to the latter end of that period, when he appears to have been in Britain. The barbarous expression *ex responsu*, refers, I think, to an answer given by the Emperor himself, directing the restoration of the Temple at Ribchester; as he is known to have been a munificent contributor to the renewal of all the old and decayed edifices of public utility within his dominions. By the attention and kindness of my worthy friend, Adam Cottam, esq. the fragments of this Inscription have been carefully preserved; and, after being cemented to the surface of another stone, have been presented to me.

The distinct mention of a Temple, from which the stone could not have been far removed, excited curiosity; and accordingly the Author, with some friends, having obtained leave, in July 1813, to explore the adjoining ground, proceeded to dig in the gardens which intervened between the brink of the stream and the church-yard. Their search was instantly rewarded; for immediately beneath the vegetable mould, the walls were distinctly traceable, by the remains of mortar and rubbish. Within these lay almost a continued stratum of charcoal, formed of the timbers of the roof, which had been evidently consumed by fire; and, nearly in the centre, a cavity had been formed by the falling-in of the beams, so that the ends had sustained each other, four or five feet wide, and from three to four in height. Beneath this fallen roof lay several human skeletons (apparently those of very tall and robust men) in every direction, and innumerable fragments of large *amphoræ*, besides one which we had nearly retrieved entire, together with great quantities of the red or Samian ware, beautifully stamped; part of the beam of a stag, nearly eight inches in circumference; and a perfect steel-yard of copper, very nicely and exactly graduated. Only one coin was discovered, a Denarius, apparently of one of the Antonines, but in very bad condition.

From these appearances, it was impossible to deduce any other conclusion than this—that the Temple had been stormed and burnt, and that several of its defenders had been overwhelmed, and perished by the fall of the roof.

All farther investigation was barred for the present by the South wall of the church-yard. But in a few months afterwards, the sexton, casually digging a grave where no interments had taken place before, to the South of the principal gate leading from the village to the church, met with the base of a column, and one of the corner antæ, erect, and in their original positions. Their level was four feet and an half beneath that of the present church-yard; which ascertains, with sufficient exactness, the level of the Roman town. They rested on no stylobatæ, but on large rude foundation-stones. The anta and column stood parallel to each other, at the distance of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet, which, according to the rules of architecture, ascertains also the distance from column to column. There had evidently been a complete peristyle; which, measuring from this corner to the place where the inscription was discovered, supposing it to have been placed on the tympanum of the front, must have formed a side of 112 feet, and 16 columns. The workmanship was rude; as the circle of the base-moulding of the column had not been struck by a compass, so that one diameter exceeded another by $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of an inch. The mean diameter was 27 inches, the height somewhat less than three feet. The bottom of the shaft tapered after the manner of the atticurges; so that, as no capital was found, it was impossible to discover the order of which the temple had consisted, the attic base adapting itself to several capitals. From the mouldings, it clearly appeared that the two bases, which now lie in the town, had belonged to the same edifice. At the distance of 45 feet Westward, in the church-yard, a line of mortar and rubbish, uniformly turned up in digging, ascertains the corresponding side of the temple; so that the whole appears to have been somewhat more than an oblong. The mouldings of the square anta, or corner pilaster, which had formed a part of the Naos itself, corresponded exactly with the adjoining column. A statue of a lion, which had evidently been carved for some architectural purpose, as one side was left rude and unfinished, had probably decorated this corner of the temple, since it was found within a few yards of the place. It is now in my possession.

These remains evidently prove that architecture, which in Britain seems never to have attained to any high degree of excellence, was, in the reign of Alexander Severus, to whom the restoration of this temple is to be ascribed, evidently on the decline. The proportions were bad; and the masonry, which had never been polished, bore the marks of a rude tool and of a careless hand. The inscription, however, though entrusted to a thin and perishable flag-stone, was admirably cut.

Our *Belisama* has been honoured with the following notice by the great Selden:—“*Uti Baal Samain est Jupiter Olympius, ita בעלתשמים est Juno Olympia, id est Domina Cœli, ut discrete vocatur Jeremiæ, cap. vii. & xlv. & alibi.*”

“*Lunam*

with an hasty eye: he scarcely transcribed an inscription. But about fifty years after (A.D. 1582) Ribchester was first visited by the great Camden, to whom we are indebted for an account of several valuable remains of this station, which are now no more *.

“Lunam autem se ostendit Astarte cum fronte corniculata fuerit conspicua, utrum corruptâ ut fit orthographiâ Baaeth, seu Belth samaim in Belisamam, apud Europæos aut Asiaticos in Europa agentes, cogitent eruditi. Veteri sanè in scripto saxo, & apud Conseranos in Novempopulonia * reperto, ita legitur :

MINERVAE
BELISAMAE
Q. VALERIVS
MONVM.

“Haud cuiquam constare opinor quid aliud Belisama hic denotet. Minervæ autem, Junonis, Veneris, Lunæ, nomina sunt ita, cum ad Asiaticos Deos respexeris, confusa, ut qui Minervam Belisamam, Junonem Belisamam, Venerem aut Lunam dixerit, idem semper ipsum dixerit. An littori Britanniae occidentalioris (Lancastrensem agrum dico) æstuarium illud Βελισαμα Ptolemæi dictum ab hac Deâ a vicinis culta sic fuerit nuncupatum, cogitent quorum interest. Flumen, quod ibi se jam in mare exonerat, Ribell (unde & Ribchester, Saxonico Rhie, id est fluvius, fortè adjecto, ut sentit V. Cl. Camdenus) vocatur, reliquiis Belisamæ satis servatis.” — Selden, Syntagma de Diis Syris, Opera, vol. III. p. 348.

Taking the hint which this most learned Writer has afforded me, I will now venture another conjecture, as to the dedication of this Temple. The *Deæ Matres*, I apprehend, though many antiquaries suppose them to have been merely deified women, are the three great goddesses, Juno, Minerva, and Diana; and to them the Empress Mammæa appears to have been much devoted. To them was dedicated the Cumberland Inscription, which is so exact a counterpart of this. All the remains of an architectural nature found at Ribchester appear to have belonged to one temple. Tradition affirms the existence of one, and of one only. Next, the noble altar seen by Camden, and erected by M. Ingenuius Asiaticus, was dedicated to the *Deæ Matres*; and, lastly, the brass helmet, which had been hidden with great care near this very Temple, and probably when the great assault was threatened, by which the Temple was destroyed, bore the attributes of Minerva. Now we know, from a remarkable passage in Plutarch's Life of Marcellus, that the *Deæ Matres* had brazen helmets actually consecrated to their worship, in the temple of Enna†. Laying all these circumstances together, they will amount to an high degree of probable evidence that this Temple was really dedicated to the *Deæ Matres*, and that Minerva was one of the three. I do not, however, wish to be understood as acquiescing in Selden's Hebrew Etymology of Belisama, though it is equally ingenious and learned.

* The genius of Dr. Stukeley, after a rapid survey of a few hours, gave at once the most circumstantial and entertaining account of this place, which has ever been communicated to the world. The few mistakes are very excusable in a stranger and a journalist. As the “Itinerarium Curiosum” is become very scarce, I shall subjoin the whole, verbatim.

“RIBBLECHESTER ‡.

“I went to view this old Station: it is prettily seated on a rising knoll on the river, at some distance, all round inclosed with higher ground, well-clothed with wood and hedge rows, beyond which the barren mountains, or fells, which they generally call them here, from the Cimbric Falla. The soil hereabouts is gravel, with clay and sand by spots. The Ribble is very broad at this place, rapid, and sonorous; and what is much to be lamented, runs over innumerable Roman antiquities; for in this long tract of time it has eaten away a third part of the city. I traced out the old ground plot, and where the wall and ditch went round it; it lay in length, East and West, along the North side of the river, upon its brink 800 feet long, 500 broad§. Originally, I apprehend two streets ran along its length, and three crossed them on its breadth. This place has long been famous for old monuments found therein; and some fragments still remaining I had a sight of. At the door of the Red-lion ale-house I saw the base of a pillar, and a most noble shaft seven feet long, handsomely turned, which was fished out of the river; it is undoubtedly Roman originally, though the base has, I guess, been used as the stump of a later cross, in which this country abounds.

* Gascony.

† See Plutarch's Marcellus, Ed. Reiske, c. 20.

‡ Itinerarium Curiosum, vol. II. pp. 36 and 37.

§ I have not had an opportunity of verifying this measurement, which will give an area of nearly ten acres for the city within the walls.

From him, from Leigh, from Horseley, and from later discoveries, is collected the following sylloge of inscriptions discovered here, which I believe to be complete.

There is a Scotia and two Torus's* at the bottom, though not very elegantly formed: perhaps it was never finished: the whole piece is two feet and a half high, twenty-two inches in diameter. The frustum of the column lay in the alehouse yard, where the weather and other accidents have obliterated an inscription consisting of three or four lines, towards the top; it is seventeen inches diameter at top. One corner of this house is a Roman partition wall, built of pebbles and hard mortar, as usual. This house now is by the brink of the river, leaving only a scanty road between; but within memory, a great many houses opposite, and among them the chief inn of the town, were washed away. Farther on, down the stream, a great part of an orchard fell down last year, and the apple-trees still grow in their own soil at bottom. Viewing the breach of the bank exposed thereby, I saw the joists and boards of a floor of oak four feet beneath the present surface, with many bits of Roman bricks, potsherds, and the like; and such floors are to be seen along the whole bank, whence most antiquities are found in the river. The late minister of this place, Mr. Ogden, collected all the coins, intaglios, and other antiquities found here in great quantities; but his widow, as far as I could learn, disposed of them to Mr. Prescott, of Chester. I was shewn the top of a great two-handled Amphora, or wine-jar, taken out of the river of whitish clay; I saw another fragment; and among antiquities, he took up a very large piece of *Corallium Tubulatum*, bigger than a man's head, an admirable curiosity of nature. By symmetry, I find the whole channel of the river, at present, lies within the precincts of the old city, the original channel on the other side being filled up with the city walls and rubbish, for it bends with a great elbow towards the city. The eastern limit of the city, or that upward of the river, lies against a brook, there falling in, and the two streams playing against that angle, have carried it away, and still threaten them. At the western end of the city, or down the stream, a whole road and some houses too by a barn, are absorbed, and great quantity of ashler, the remains of the wall, has been carried off for building; much remains in the ground, and on the edge of the stream. Farther up the land, and all along the West side of the church wall, the ditch is perfect, and the rampire where the wall stood pretty high, and the foundation of the wall a little apparent. They tell me the Ashler-stone lies still, its whole length. They call this Anchor-Hill; and when digging by the house which stands upon part of it, they found anchors and great quantities of iron pins of all sizes for ships or barges; for they say this river was navigable so high formerly, at least for smaller vessels. The North West angle of the city is manifest, and where the northern wall turned down the North side of the church, a little way down a lane at that angle, a great bank runs westward, made of stone, like a Roman road. There is a lane goes down North of the city to the brook called the Strand, which confirms their having some sort of navigation here. At the end of this lane is the street, which is the Roman road, running directly northward up the Fell, called Green Gate, it passes over Langridge, a great mountain so named from it, so through Bowland Forest, it appears green to the eye. In this street, over against the Strand, is an old white house, in which, they say, Oliver Cromwell lay when going to Preston in pursuit of the Scots, after the battle of Marston Moor†. The eastern wall over the brook stood likewise on a sort of precipice. I saw a large coin of Domitian, of yellow brass, very fair, found in the river: 'Imp. Cæs. domit. aug. germ. cos. xvi. cens. per. pp.' Reverse: Jupiter sitting in a curule chair, the hasta pura in his left, an eagle on his right hand, '*Jovi Victori.*' Exergue, 'S. C.' Another pedestal of a pillar found in the river. Just under the Red Lion, a subterraneous canal comes into the river, so high that one may walk upright in it, paved at bottom. Many urns have been found hereabouts, but all lost and disregarded since Mr. Ogden's death, who collected such things. They know the track of the Roman road all over the hills. In a garden by the Unicorn's-head, a gold finger was found, and a brass finger as large as a man's: two intaglios of Mercury, with wings on his feet, the Caduceus, &c. found near Anchor-hill; much ashes and bones found near the city.

Up the river, eight miles off, is Pendle Hill, a vast black mountain, which is the morning weather-glass of the common people; upon it grows the Cloudberry plant. Digging in the church-yard, silver coins have been frequently turned up. The river hither open and deep, but at Salesbury, a mile higher, rocks begin; therefore it is likely this place was chosen by the Romans, because at the extent of navigation. Half of one longitudinal street, and of two latitudinals, are consumed. Horses and carriages frequently fall down the steep from the street, because it is narrow, and but factitious ground. Pan-stones, up the Hill by the Green-moor Lane or Roman Road, is a place much talked of, but they know not for what. I sup-

* Exactly the same with the base of the column and the Anta lately discovered in the church-yard; the diameters also agree.

† A strange mistake: since at Marston Moor Cromwell and the Scots fought on the same side. Cromwell certainly passed through Ribchester, and might probably sleep at this house, on his way to fight Duke Hamilton, in 1643.

The first seems to have been very obscure, and may be supposed to have been transcribed incorrectly. It stands, however, in Camden as follows :

I. SEOESAM
 ROLNASON
 OSALVEDN

AL Q. Q. SAR
 BREVENM
 BEDIANIS
 ANTONI
 VS MEG VI
 IC DOMV
 ELITER.

We are told by Camden, that the stone with this inscription was in a wall at Salesbury Hall, with a portraiture of a Cupid and another little image. I strongly suspect this to have been the stone yet remaining there, and engraved by Leigh, on which, however, the principal figure is an Apollo Pharetratus, which occasioned the mistake; and this may afford some support to the conjectural reading which I am about to offer. Camden fairly acknowledges, that after much study he could make no sense of it. Leigh foolishly mistook the third line for the Saxon name of *Osbaldiston*; and the cautious and accurate Horseley, who seldom ventured

pose it is either some Roman building, or a road eastward, or some terminus. They told me of an altar thereabouts, with an inscription, axes, and the like, carved on it; it is on Duttonley, by Panstones. Houghton Tower is within view, a great castle upon a precipitous hill. Many are the inscriptions found here from time to time. Dr. Leigh has seen them all. Now they are removed, lost, or spoiled. One great altar they told me was carried to Dunkin Hall, the seat of Lady Petre, with an inscription, a ram, and a knife. Many taken away by the family of Warrens, lately living at Salesbury-hall. I saw the fragment of a stone in a corner of a house by the mill, cut with very fair large letters. Under the next house is the frustum of a pillar twenty inches diameter, made into a horse-block. I saw another flat stone at the town's end, laid over a gutter, with a monumental moulding on it.

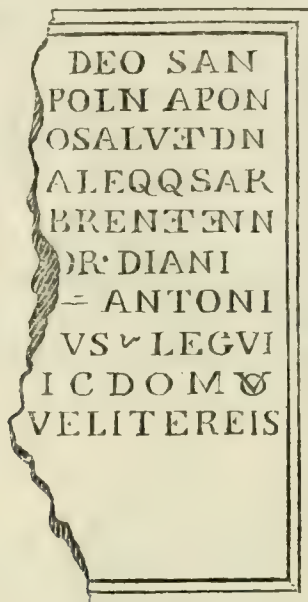
“Above the town, half a mile, is a noble bridge of four arches, built by the County: over this I went to Salesbury; but all the inscriptions are carried away, probably to Mr. Warren's other seat, near Stockport, in Cheshire. I found a large stone in the corner of the house, which has been a Roman monumental stone, foolishly placed there for the sake of the sculpture: there are three large figures upon it, sweetly performed; and good drapery, though half worn away by time; a man and woman holding hands, both half naked, somewhat roundish in the woman's hand; at the end, is Apollo, resting on his harp, his head leaning on his hand, as melancholy for the loss of a votary, for such we may guess the deceased, either a poet, musician, or physician. Probably there was more carving on those sides within the wall*. This has been a very large seat, with a park. They told me there were some carved stones at Dinkley, another seat of Mr. Warren's, a mile further; but I found they were all carried elsewhere, save two altars, both obliterated, but well cut: one stood in a grass plot in the garden, covered over with moss and weeds: another, used in the house as a cheese-press. This is a romantic place, hanging over the river, purling across the rocky falls, and covered with wood. The late Mr. Warren was very careful of these learned remnants. They told me Ribchester was destroyed by the Scots†. These are all the memoirs I could pick up, in about five hours I staid there. — ‘Et antiquum tenuerunt fœmina nomen.’ — OVID.”

* This is the identical altar of Apollo Aponus; now, by the favour of Lord Bolkeley, in my possession: so fallible are the best Antiquaries, in their conjectures! Dr. Stukeley, however, saw its beauties with the eye of a draftsman and a man of taste. The figure of Apollo is probably designed with more freedom and elegance than any sculpture of Roman Britain.

† The tradition was right. For in the “*Inquisitio Nonarum*,” lately published, Ribchester is expressly returned as laid waste by the Scots, in their destructive expedition of 1322. They never crossed the Ribble, at least so as to do any considerable mischief.

far into the regions of conjecture, threw little farther light upon the subject. After the despair of two great men (for Leigh was childishy ignorant of the subject), will it be deemed presumption to offer a conjectural reading of the whole*?

* It is not without some satisfaction that I find my conjecture to have been substantially right. In the summer of the year 1814, by the favour of Lord Bulkeley, I was permitted to detach this fine sculpture from the wall, of which, for more than two centuries, it had formed a corner stone, when, on the third side, appeared the inscription which had been so unskilfully transcribed for Camden, and which, without correction, has found its way into Gruter, Horseley, and Leigh. It was literally this:



After the most attentive consideration, I now think that the Inscription is to be read as follows:

Deo Sancto Apollini Apono, pro salute Domini nostri, Ala equitum Sarmatarum, Brennetennorum Dianus Antonius, Centurio Legionis Sextæ Victricis, Domo (or Domu) Velitris.

There is space for four lines, which appear to have been worn away at the bottom of the stone, and which would probably have explained the connexion of a Centurion of Roman foot with an Ala of Sarmatian horse. I suspect the word which follows Sarmatarum to express a subordinate tribe of that vast and widely-spread nation, the Sarmatæ Brennetenni: at least, I can assign no other meaning to it. There is an instance of a similar combination in Horseley's Northumberland, N. CVIII. "Equites Cæsarienses Corionatæ;" of which the meaning of the last word is equally unknown.

It is remarkable that the engraver, uncertain about the proper termination of the ablative of Domus, cut both the letters V and O, the one over the other, so that it is impossible to discover which was his last determination.

The classical Reader will scarcely deem his attention too severely taxed by the length of the following remarks, much less by that of their attendant citations, when he is told that, according to the most probable conjectures, the *Fons Aponi* was the birth-place of Livy, and that this is the only inscription ever discovered to the Apollo Aponus. That warm springs were usually dedicated to the Sun: our own *Aquæ Solis*, the modern Bath, affords one example, supported by many others. The Fount of Aponus is, I believe, first mentioned by Suetonius, in the Life of Tiberius; and mentioned not for its healing, but its oracular powers:—"Quum Illyricum petens, juxta Patavium adisset "Geryonis Oraculum; sorte tractâ quâ monebatur, ut de consultationibus in Aponi fontem talos aureos jaceret, "evenit ut summum numerum jacti ab eo ostenderent, hodieque sub aqua visuntur ii tali*."

The Piscina Neroniana (which appears to have been the name of one of the baths at this place) proves it to have been frequented by that Emperor; and his contemporary Lucan describes an hill in the Euganean country:—"Aponus terris ubi fumifer exit †."—By Martial these fountains are described as "Fontes Aponi rudes puellis ‡."

A long and elegant Idyllium of Claudian, entitled "Aponus," proves that these salutary springs were equally celebrated in the time of Honorius; and the following Lines are a direct Address to Apollo, the tutelar Deity:

* Tiber. C. xiv.

† Phars. l. vii. l. 192.

‡ L. vi. Epigr. xlii.

.. Salve

Let it be recollected, in the first place, that the figure to which this inscription is supposed to have been attached, is Apollo, in the character of the Sun. We will then read as follows—

SEOESAM
ROLNASON
OSALVEDN
AL QQ SAR
BREVENM
BEDIANIS
ANTONI
VS MEG VI
IC DOMV
ELITER.

DEOSAN
SOLNSOC
OB SALVE DN

AL. EQQ. SAR.
—cui PRE VENT.

ANTONI
n VS. OLEG VI
vIC. DOMV
ELIBER.

That is, *Deo sancto soli invicto socio ob salutem Domini nostri* (the Emperor's name erased) *ala Equitum Sarmatarum cui præest Ventidius Antoninus, Centurio Legionis sextæ Victricis, Domu Eliberi.*—With respect to the first words, Horseley has a similar *formula*, Pl. No. 31. ad p. 192. *Deo invicto soli socio.* The third and fourth lines are

“Salve Pæoniæ largitor nobilis undæ,
Dardanii salve gloria magna soli,
Publica morborum requies, commune medentum
Auxilium, præsens numen, inempta salus.
Felices proprium qui te meruere coloni,
Fas quibus est Aponum juris habere sui§.”

But as the human constitution is the same under every change of religion and manners, the fountain of Aponus continued to be equally celebrated under the Gothic kings; and a tumid and half-barbarous Epistle of Theodoric describes the place and its accommodations in a very curious and lively manner. I shall abridge the passage, for it is very long, as much as is consistent with the sense:—

“Delectat salutiferi Aponi meminisse potentiam. Cæruleum fontem vidimus, in formam dolii concavis hiatibus
“spumantem. Ore plenissimo, in sphæræ similitudinem, supra terminos suos turgescit. Unde latex tantâ quiete
“defluit, tantâ quasi stabilitate decurrit, ut eum non putes crescere. A cautibus unda descendens & aëra suâ qua-
“litate succendit & tactu fit habilis, quum recepta fuerit in lavacris: unde non tantum deliciosa voluptas acquiritur,
“quantum blanda medicina confertur. Scilicet sine tormento cura, sine horrore remedia, sanitas impunita, balnea
“contra diversos dolores corporis attributa. Quæ ideo Aponum Græcâ linguâ, beneficalis nominavit antiquitas||.
“Illud quoque stupendum esse didicimus, quod una fluentorum natura diversis ministeriis videatur accommoda. Nam
“protinus saxo suscipiente collisa, inhalat primæ cellulæ sudatorium qualitatem. Deinde in solum mitigata descen-
“dens, minaci ardore deposito, suavi temperatione mollescit. Postremò, ipso quoque tepore derelicto, in Piscinam
“Neronianam frigida tantum efficitur quantum prius ferbuisse sentitur. Sed, ut ipsum quoque lavacrum mun-

§ Idyll. vi.

|| This explains the word Aponus: “Health restored, without pain or effort.” Compare this with Claudian’s lines on the same subject:

“Quod si forte malus membris exuberat humor,
Languida vel nimio viscera felle virent,
Non venas reserant, nec vulnere vulnera sanant,
Pocula nec tristi gramine mista bibunt:
Amisum lymphis reparant impune vigorem,
Pacaturque ægro luxuriante dolor.

“dins

pretty clear : the reading of the next is conjectural. The capital M, in the eighth, appears to be compounded of the letter L and the centurial mark. The last is plainly *Eliberis*, or *Illiberis*, in Spain, and the *formula* is common. Thus we have *Domo Samosata* on one of the Chester altars engraved by Leigh.

Still, there is an apparent impropriety in placing a Centurion of the sixth legion over an Ala of Sarmatian horse, but this objection is done away by the following authority (see Horseley, Pl. 49. and p. 280.) *Marcus Censorius Cornelianus centurio legionis decimæ fretensis, præfectus coh. primæ Hispanorum.*

II. PACIFE
RO MARTI
ELEGAVR
BA POS
VIT. EXVO
TO.

The word *Elegaurba* is very ingeniously read, by Professor Ward, ap. Horseley, p. 303. *Elegans Aurelius Bassus.*

III. DEO
MARTI ET
VICTORIAE
DD AVGG
ET CC NN.

Here were two *Augusti* and two *Cæsars* at the same time, which corresponds with Dioclesian and Maximian, Augg. and Constantine and Galerius, Cæss.

"dius redderetur stupenda, quadam continentiae disciplina, in undam qua viri recreantur, si mulier descendat
"incenditur *."

The description now becomes more turgid and tedious; but the passage ends with an order to repair a place so salutary and delightful :—

"Palatium longâ senectute quassatum, reparatione assidua corroborat†."

I learn, from Cluver's "Italy‡," together with much of what has here been given, that in his time, about two centuries ago, these fountains were not deserted.

Such, then, is the *Fons Aponi*, the subject of this curious and singular Dedication. From the classical style of the sculpture, this altar must be referred to one of the earliest Emperors, who bore the style of *Dominus Noster*; in other words, to the beginning of the Lower Empire.

The stone is so large, that it appears to have had a distinct base and capital; which accounts for there being no appearance of a focus. The sculptures, especially that of Apollo himself, surpass in correctness and spirit of design everything hitherto discovered in Roman Britain. The name of the emperor is unfortunately omitted, but the dedication (the only one extant) to Apollo Aponus, or Aponi, is distinct and extremely curious.

* Incenditur. Does this explain the *rudes puellis* of Martial? This *continentiae exemplum* was very like a Christian superstition of the age of Theodoric, but very unlike one of the second century, and under the *tutela* of Apollo, who was *non usque adeo rudis puellis*.

† Cassiodorus, in Variar. l. ii. epist. xxxviii.

‡ Phil. Cluverii Ital. Antiq. l. i. p. 148.

IV. Camden's second visit to Ribchester, in 1603, was rewarded by the discovery of a very fair altar, with this inscription:

DEIS MATRIBVS
M. INGENVI
VS. ASIATICVS
DEC. AL AST.
SS. LL. M.

The *Asti*, or *Astæ*, were a people of Thrace, Ἀσται Θρακῶν ἔθνος, Strabo, l. 7. Steph. Bizan. Ἀσται ἐθνὸς Θρακικόν. *Deis*, instead of *Deabus*, is held to be pure Latin, where there is another word expressive of the sex. Vossius de Anal. 2. 4.

V. The last of Camden's inscriptions, which he transcribed out of the papers of Lambard, who had most probably received it from his friend Lawrence Nowell, is in a very peculiar style, and has been justly conjectured, by Mr. Ward, to belong to a very low period in the Empire.

HIS. TERRIS. TEGITVR
AEL. MATRONA. QV
VIX. AN. XXVIII. M. II. D. VIII.
ET M. IVLIVS. MAXIMVS. FIL.
VIX. AN. VI. M. III. D. XX. ET. CAM.
PANIA. DVBBA. MATER.
VIX. AN. L. IVL. MAXIMVS
--- AL. SAR. CONIVX
CONIVGI. INCOMPARABILI
ET. FILIO. PATRI. PIENTIS
SIMO. ET. SOCERAE. TENA
CISSIMAE MEMORIAE. P.

Here the words *mater* and *socera* intimate the same person in two relations: *pientissimo patri*, for *in patrem*, is very barbarous; and *tenacissimæ memoriæ*, in a passive sense, is altogether unauthorized. But the style of this inscription is not only late, but deformed by provincial barbarisms. Antiquaries, while they employ their time and talents in elucidating monuments of fifteen hundred years old, are apt to forget that the objects of their criticism are often compositions of no higher rank than the frail memorials of our own church-yards, "with uncouth rhymes and shapeless sculpture deckt*."

* Doctor Leigh, the historian of Lancashire, was not content with republishing these inscriptions, but in pure compassion to the unlearned, favoured them with his own translations, of which, I select the following as a specimen: "Æl. a matron who lived twenty-eight years two months and eight days, in this earth lies entombed; and M. I. "Maximus her son, who lived six years three months and twenty days; and Camp. Dubba, her mother, who lived fifty "years. Julius Maximus, and Alæ a Sarmatian, wife to her incomparable husband, erects this to the memory of Simo "the son of a pious father and his father-in-law." The following are a few more flowers of his criticism: — Coccium from Coccinus Nerva; CCNN. Coccio Nervæ; IETCCNN. imperatori triumphanti Cæsari Coccio Nervæ, for Imperatori et Cæsaribus nostris. Had this Doctor filled his whole book, as he has done nearly one half of it, with medical cases, it might

VI. The foregoing are from Camden: the next was, I believe, first copied by Leigh, and from him transcribed by Dr. Gale, who made one happy conjecture concerning the etymology of *Coccium*, but proposed it with a degree of diffidence which a visit to the place would certainly have removed, as it must have convinced him that he was in the right. I had long since made the same guess, and was happy to find it confirmed by the authority of so great a man.

DEO MARTI ET
VICTORIAE DEC.
SIATIC. ALAE. SARMAT.
SLLMIETCCNN.

The last line is reasonably conjectured by Horseley to have been compounded of Nos. III. and IV.

VII. This imperfect votive stone was first transcribed by Horseley, and is now remaining (though the letters are more than half effaced) in a garden wall within the village. Who the two emperors were to whom it was inscribed it is now impossible to discover, but the form of the letters seems to point at Severus and Caracalla.

VIII. IMP CAES
MA
CO

A rude milliary stone, engraved by Horseley.

IX. LEG XXVV.
FECIT.

This has been the corner-stone of a building, and is now remaining in an outhouse near the church*. It has two sides exposed, and on the second, is a rude figure of a boar, the well-known cognizance of this legion, which though usually stationed at Chester, might be quartered here at intervals. It has never been published before.

Beside inscriptions, the smaller antiquities discovered here are innumerable. The coins, of which many are found of the large brass, are generally so much corroded as to be scarcely legible. Denarii, of the upper empire, are not uncommon: a very pretty intaglio in a ruby is engraved by Leigh; and I have a gold ring, found here some years since, set with a cornelian of many faces, with a dove in the centre, and round it the words AVE MEA VITA, the present as it should seem of a lover to his mistress.

Tradition also records a singular discovery at Ribchester, viz. the skull of an ox, covered with some remains of leather, and studded with gold. It is very possible that such a pre-

might have been of some use; but how, with all possible allowances for the blindness and self-partiality of human nature, a man should have thought himself qualified to write and to publish critical remarks on a subject of which he understood not the elementary principles, it is really difficult to conceive. After all, his errors might have slept with himself, had not his vanity and petulance been at least equal to his want of literature.

* It has since been removed to Browsholme.

paration might have been used for some sacrificial purpose, and it was an idea not likely to occur to an inventor*.

But the noblest discovery ever made here, or perhaps in Britain, was in the year 1796, when the shelving bank of the Ribble exposed the following remains, which seemed to have been deposited in an excavation of the earth, filled up with soil of a different quality. These were — 1st. a large flat earthen vessel, extremely thick, with the potter's stamp very distinct, "BORIEDOF, Boriedi Officina." 2d. An entire Patera of copper, about six inches diameter, with an handle. 3d. The imperfect remains of a similar vessel. 4th. A Colum, or Colander, of the same size and metal. 5th. Several concave and circular plates of copper, with loops behind, which had evidently been intended to fasten them perpendicularly against a shaft, in order to form a Roman vexillum: such are frequent upon ancient monuments, but, for a particular illustration, the reader is referred to a monument of Lucius Duccius, *Signifer* † of the 9th legion, in Horseley, pl. 63. 6th. A very fine helmet, of which the crest was a sphinx, afterwards unfortunately lost, the head-piece enriched with a *basso relievo* of armed men skirmishing with swords, and a vizor consisting of an entire and beautiful female face with orifices at the eyes, mouth, and nostrils.

From the style of the head-piece it is conjectured by the best judges not to be prior to the age of Severus; but the vizor is a much more delicate and exquisite piece of workmanship, and is supposed not only to be Grecian, but, from the boldness of its lines, to belong to a period somewhat anterior to the last perfection of the arts in that wonderful country.

All these remains are now in the museum of Charles Townley, Esq. who, it is hoped, will one day gratify the publick with a comment on the symbolical figures in front of the helmet‡.

From Ribchester our Watling-street takes a northern course over Longridge Fell, and is distinguished as a long stripe of green intersecting the brown heath of the mountain. Having reached the summit of the hill it takes a turn towards the North, then descends again, is very conspicuous at intervals, has a broad and high ridge in the inclosures of the townships of Thornley and Chargeley, enters Bowland a little below Dowford Bridge, passes about half a mile West from Browsholme, traverses in a direct line the high grounds to the North of that house, and then passes to the North of Newton and Sladeburn, and traces the Hodder to its source at Cross of Greet, which is the northern boundary of the original parish of Whalley.

A portion of this way, about 330 yards in length, was laid open by the cultivation of a morassy piece of ground, and is described by Rauthmell §, the sensible and observing antiquary of Overborough, to have consisted of a substratum of large pebbly gravel spread on the surface of the morass, and covered with large flat paving-stones above. This method of constructing military ways was copied and continued by our immediate ancestors, though upon a smaller scale, in those durable causeways which, imitating in this also the Roman fashion, they carried

* It was most probably one of the ancient encarpia. — There is also in the possession of Dr. St. Clare, of Preston, a Roman cyathus or diota of silver, found at Ribchester, not inelegantly embossed, and containing about half a gill.

† There is now at Standen, near Clitheroe, a sepulchral stone removed from Ribchester by the late Mr. Serjeant Aspinall, without inscription, but with a figure in high relief of a Roman standard-bearer of the lower empire, with the labarum in his hand.

‡ For all these remains and some others, see Plates I. and II. They are now, with the marbles and other remains of that inestimable Collection, in the British Museum.

§ *Bremetona*, p. 19.

in right lines through bogs and over fells, and which have been superseded within the last forty years only by turnpike roads. These well-planned but ill-executed works have indeed opened the scenery of valleys, and added warmth and shelter to expedition, but, after flattering the traveller for a few years by their compact and even surface, have left him for the most part little reason to triumph in the change of rugged but durable pavements, and of the *ἀνὰ τὰ* and *κατὰ τὰ* of the hills, for a road sinking once more into the subjected bog, or worn down to the shelving surface of its parent rock.

The course of this great military way from North to South being thus traced, and the existence of another in the direction of East and West from the Neb of the Nese, assumed on the authority of Mr. Whitaker and of Dr. Leigh, who observed it upon Fulwood Moor, we have next, the assertion of Camden himself for its elongation to the East of Ribchester. Its line must then have been conspicuous, when vast tracts of land, now enclosed, lay in common, and the plough, the great destroyer of such remains, had never passed upon them.

The course of this road is well ascertained. It passed the Calder at Potterford; forms the boundary of the townships of Whalley and Little Mitton; traverses Chatburn and Worston, by Standen, where it was anciently denominated the *Brede* (or *Broad*) Street; has been lately cut through near Downham Hall; and passing through *Olicana* and *Burgodurum*, or *Adel*, joins the great Eastern Iter near Castleford.

But on this line or another, of which I have little doubt, that it traversed the Eastern skirts of Pendle, whether at the distance of eight, or of eighteen, or of twenty-eight miles from *Rerigonium*, the seventh Iter of Richard calls upon us to look out for his station *ad Alpes Penninos*.

Whalley, which is nearly at the first distance, has nothing Roman. Burnley, which exhibits now and then some evidence of a Roman settlement, is too remote from Pendle or Pinhow*; Broughton, however, where it has been fixed by Mr. Whitaker, may be thought to have a very plausible claim. But it is irksome to seek for a nonentity, as the fact really seems to have been that in laying-out one of his new and arbitrary diaphragmata, the Monk having fixed in right positions *Rigadunum* (though miswritten by him *Rerigonium*) on one side of the mountains, and *Alicana*, or *Olicana*, on the other, and having very properly interposed between them on his map the *Alpes Penninos Montes*, saw the distance of the other two to require an intermediate station, and boldly invented this plausible and ingenious name. But had he seen the anonymous Ravennas, his honesty would not have been put to the test; and that unknown topographer, obscure and corrupt as he is, would have furnished him with a genuine station in the very position which he wanted; a station of which the summer-camp remains at Castercliff, and the name is echoed in Coln.

This was *Calunio*, the fourth name in an Iter (if, in an assemblage of names so ill arranged, any number of mere local words can deserve the appellation) which appears to have taken a circuitous route, unlike the regular and rectilinear Itinera of Antonine and the Notitia, from Manchester to Ribchester. The names which precede and follow the first and last words of this route appear to be unconnected with them, and indeed are absolutely unintelligible. Thus insulated, therefore, it will stand as follows:

* That is supposing the Monk's name *ad Alpes Penninos* to be of any authority.

MANTIO
ALUNNA
CAMULODUNO
CALUNIO
GALLUNIO
MODIBOGDO.

Of the first and third of these names, *Mantio* and *Camuloduno*, there can be no doubt but that they are intended for the *Mancunium* and *Cambodunum* of Antonine; of which the former has been fixed at Manchester, by the unanimous suffrage of our antiquaries, and the latter has been removed from Almonbury to Slack, by the diligent investigation of Mr. Watson and by the decisive reasonings of Mr. Whitaker. The second, *Alunna*, is uncertain: if, however, we are to suppose, with Mr. Percival and Mr. Watson, that it is rightly placed between the other two, Castleshaw may have a fair claim to it, and Littleborough, from its situation on the infant stream of the Roach, a still fairer: for it is certainly no argument, or at least a very feeble one, against the existence of a station in the fifth century, that it was unnoticed by Antonine two centuries before; and as there are existing remains upon the two lines (for such I deem them to have been) which led from Manchester to Slack, it seems but fair to assign this hitherto unappropriated name either to the one or the other. If it be misplaced, as undoubtedly many names in this irregular catalogue are misplaced, it may be corrupted from *Alauna* * or from *Alione*; it may have denoted Lancaster or Whitley Castle; but at all events the Iter proceeds from Manchester to Slack.

Next appear *Calunio* and *Gallunio*, of which the latter has been placed by Dr. Gale, and afterwards by Mr. Horseley, at Whalley, though the etymology of that word is purely Saxon, and though there is not a vestige of Roman antiquity about the place. But the probability is (and here I adopt with pleasure Mr. Whitaker's conjecture) that by a very frequent error in the hurry and oscitancy of transcription, the name was repeated in one copy, the orthography altered in another, and by that means two stations produced out of one.

Again, taking it for granted that the barbarous word *Modibogdo* is corrupted from *Rigoduno*, we are next to ascertain the site of a station interposed betwixt Slack and Ribchester. Now the route of this Iter is confessedly circuitous, and the vale of Calder, which would have formed the direct line of communication between these two points, has no remains considerable enough to claim our regard. But a few miles to the North, and in the very line too betwixt *Coccium* and *Olicana*, the name of Colne and the remains of Castercliff plainly indicate the real site of *Calunio*.

It seems probable that the exact spot occupied by this station was in some of the low grounds beneath the present town, and on the banks of the river, where all remains of it have been effaced by cultivation †, for Castercliff itself, placed upon a bleak but commanding

* The name *Al aun* indicates the situation of this obscure place to have been on the bank of a stream.

† Hist Manc. vol. I. p. 134. Perhaps the real site is now irretrievable, but there are two lingule of land betwixt Colne and Barrowford (a name indicating something of antiquity) on the North side of Colne Water, and formed by the influx of the two inconsiderable brooks, which have equal pretensions. The modern town of Colne has certainly none. It is much too elevated and too far from the water.

elevation, which overlooks a large expanse of Craven to the North, and many miles of the vale of Calder to the West, has plainly been the *Castra Æstiva* only of *Calunio*. Hither, however, points the Roman road mentioned by Mr. Whitaker, which, long after, intersecting the Roman way from Manchester to Ilkley, may be traced in a broken causeway over the wild moors above Heptonstall; and hence appears to have issued another vicinal way pointing directly towards Ilkley, of which there are remains in the upper part of Trawden. Neither of these, however, are marked by the high bold rampart of the greater Itinera, or are distinguished from the old English causeways of the country, otherwise than by the direction which they evidently pursue towards objects which have become obscure and uninteresting, ever since the Romans abandoned Britain.

The area of Castercliff has been a parallelogram of about 120 yards by 110, though somewhat rounded off at the angles. It has been surrounded by a double vallum and foss; and all the stones about it bear marks of fire.

Great numbers of Roman silver coins have formerly been discovered in the long ascending lane which leads from Coln Water to Castercliff; but nothing Roman, so far as I have been able to learn, has been turned up within the area of the camp itself. It is singular, however, that an iron cannon-ball, weighing six pounds, was lately found at this place*, a circumstance of which no probable account can be given, but that in the civil wars of the last century the works were still so entire as to constitute a strong post, which was defended by one party and battered by the other.

The environs of Colne appear to have been populous in the Roman times, as great numbers of their coins have been discovered in the neighbourhood, particularly at Wheatley Lane, and near Emmet, where a large silver cup filled with them was turned up by the plough in the latter end of the last century †.

Another Iter from *Mancunium* has crossed a portion of the ancient parish of Whalley from South-west to North-east. The existence of this has been very clearly proved, and its course very accurately laid down by Mr. Whitaker; but from its direction it appears to have pointed immediately at *Cambodunum*, and to have united with the road from thence to Ilkley, which would form a communication with the latter station. At the foot of Blackstonedge, at a proper distance from both the greater stations, and in a commodious site for refreshing the soldiers after their toilsome marches over those inhospitable mountains, appears to have been a subordinate fort, still denominated the Castle, and within half a mile of the modern Littleborough, to which it appears ‡ to have given its name. Whether both the lines of communication between these two stations were contemporary, or one was abandoned for the other, it is now difficult to ascertain. But a discovery made some years since at Castlemere, in the neighbourhood of Rochdale, and very near the line of this Iter, consisting of several coins of the middle brass and of the higher empire, one, if I am not mistaken (for I am compelled to write from recollec-

* It is now in my possession.

† See a very sensible letter of Mr. Hargreave, rector of Brandsburton, and a native of Coln, in Leigh, B. iii. p. 10. Notwithstanding which, that author "stiff in opinion, always in the wrong," determines that Coln was not a Roman station. The first application of *Calunio* to Coln is owing to the learned Dr. Gale. The orthography of this word, in the most ancient charter we have, viz. of Henry the First's time, is *Calna*.

‡ Hist. Manc. vol. I. p. 171.

tion), as early as Claudius, seems to prove, that the Blackstonedged line was at least as early as the other. About two miles North-east from the last-mentioned place, and like that near the line of the Roman road, was dug up in the year 1793, a very singular and noble remain of Roman antiquity. This was the right arm of a silver statue of Victory, of which the length was ten inches, and its weight nearly six ounces. The hand was a cast, and solid; the arm hollow, and formed apparently by having been beaten upon a model of wood; the anatomy and proportions good; and on the inside of the thumb a piece of solder which remained may be conjectured to have held a chaplet or palm branch. There was, besides, a loose Armilla about the wrist, and another united to the arm above the elbow, to the former of which was appended a plate of silver with the following inscription, formed by the pointed strokes of a drill.

VICTORIAE
LEG VI VIC
VAL RVFVS
VSLM

Valerius Rufus, whose name occurs nowhere else among the inscriptions of Roman Britain, may be supposed to have been an officer of rank in the sixth legion, and the arm of this vote has in all probability been broken off and lost in one of their marches from York, their stated quarters, to Manchester, where the altar to Fortune* proves them to have been occasionally stationed. Gruter has a funeral inscription for Valerius Rufus, a soldier of the eighth legion, at Tarraco, in Spain, but a vote of this importance must have exceeded the ability and the ambition of a private soldier.

These images of Victory were frequently of gold, and in great military processions (*ἐν θεαῖς και πομπαῖς*) were borne by a boy elevated on the shoulders of men. The statue to which this arm belonged must have been about two foot high, and therefore of a proper size for the purpose which has been described. Any misfortune which befel these palladia of the camp was held to be extremely ominous, and the loss of this arm and label† must have spread consternation through the whole legion to which it belonged. An accident of this kind preceded, and probably contributed to the defeat and death of Cassius: *λεγεται δε και προτερον* (says Plutarch) *εν θεα τινι και πομπῇ, χρυσῇν Κασσιου ΝΙΚΗΝ διαφερομενην πεσειν, ολισθοντος τε Φεροντος*. Brutus, c. 39. See also Dio. l. 47. c. 40.

It was impolitic and dangerous to call-in superstition to the aid of military enthusiasm, a quality no less open to the impressions of terror than those of hope or resolution from external accidents and appearances.

* Horseley, Pl. 61. N. 1.

† This valuable relic is now in the possession of the Author.

CHAPTER III.

MEMORIALS OF THE PARISH DURING THE SAXON ÆRA.

THESE are more considerable than might have been expected from the obscure situation of the place, and the meagre accounts which have been transmitted to us of that barbarous and uninteresting period.

The deplorable state of weakness and barbarism into which the Britons lapsed after the final desertion of their country by the Romans, is the true cause of that total revolution in language, laws, manners, and property, which took place after the Saxon conquest. Unlike the operation of those irruptions which rude but vigorous tribes sometimes make upon their more polished and feeble neighbours, in which, though property for the most part changes hands, the conquerors themselves are gradually subdued to the habits, the arts, and the language of their captives, these invasions found the miserable remnant of the native inhabitants unable to solicit their subduers by the blandishments of Roman luxury, to refine them by the cultivation of Roman arts, or to enlighten them by the institution of Roman laws. All these, themselves had successively learned and lost; and with them they had nearly lost a greater treasure, which is never found to endure a state of second barbarism; namely, Christianity itself: so that, from the middle of the fifth to that of the sixth century, they are accused by Gildas and by Bede of having lost not only the power of religion, but the external form, of having abolished, except in a few instances, the order of priesthood and the distinctions of civil society*.

The Saxons, therefore, were at full liberty to institute an order of things altogether original: they parcelled out the country upon their own plan, *called the lands by their own names*†, and transmitted to their posterity a local nomenclature and a fundamental system of legal usages, which sustained the shock of the Norman Conquest, and even subsist at present.

Above the rest of Britain, the name of *Deira*, or *Deorpalond*, which marked the whole tract of country interposed between the Tine, the Ribble, and the Humber, leads to the idea of depopulation and decay, from which the Saxons themselves never completely reclaimed it; for, while the map of all their other kingdoms in this island is thickly strewn with towns and cities, *Bernicia* and *Deira* together supply not more than twenty names, among which stands distinguished, on the South Western confines of *Deorpalond*, the *Falalæg* of Simeon of Durham, the *þpællæg*‡ of the Saxon Chronicle, and the modern Whalley.

* Bede, l. i. ch. 22. Gildas de excidio Brit. S. xxvi.

† This was remarkably the case, almost all local names among the Saxons being formed from those of their first possessors. After the Conquest a contrary process took place, and men were generally denominated from places.

‡ In our oldest charters the Saxon aspirate is retained. The Deans sometimes signed themselves *Dec. de Hwall*. and sometimes *Quallay*.

Having now arrived at the word which denominates the subject of this History, it remains that we enquire whether the Saxon language, from which it is obviously deduced, will furnish a proper and descriptive etymology. In that language *peall* is a well, from *peallan scaturire*; and this diphthong was undoubtedly pronounced broad, like the Dutch *Wall*, which is, in fact, the same word. In the neighbouring parish of Rochdale, the true Saxon pronunciation of the word remains to the present day: there they have *Cold Wall* and *Wall Head*, to denote two remarkable springs.—Dr. Plot, *Hist. Staff.* p. 47, mentions a spring called *Hungerwall*, and one of the fountains of Whalley itself is still denominated the *High Wall Well*.*

Walalæg, therefore, is the *Field of Wells*, and a term more strikingly descriptive could not have been chosen: for situated as Whalley is, upon the skirts of Pendle, and upon the face of those half-inverted mineral beds popularly denominated the *Rearing Mine*, the earth, if not drained, bleeds almost at every pore; and there are no less than six considerable springs within the immediate precincts of the village.

The first occasion in which the name occurs, in civil history, is in the year DCCXCVIII. *þær* (says the Saxon Chronicle) *pær mycel gefeoht on Norðhýmbralande on iv. non. Apr. æt þpællæge, 7 þær man ofrloh Alric 7 oðremænige mid him.*

The account of this event by Simeon of Durham, from some more ancient authority than that of the Chronicle, is much more interesting and circumstantial. His words are these:—
“ A.D. 798. Conjuratiōe facta ab interfectoribus Ethelredi regis Wada Dux in illa Conjuratiōe cum illis bellum inivit contra Eardwlfum regem in loco qui appellatur ab Anglis “ Billangahoh juxta Walalega, et ex utraque parte plurimis interfectis Wada Dux cum suis in “ fugam versus est †.”

Billange, or *Billinge*, I suppose to have been at that time the name of the whole ridge extending from the mountain near Blackburn, now bearing that appellation, to Whalley.—*Billangaton*, therefore, will be the original orthography of *Billington*; and *Billangahoh*, or the low hill by Billinge, will leave, after cutting off the first syllable, the modern village of Langho. Of this great battle there are, however, no remains, unless a large tumulus near Hacking Hall, and in the immediate vicinity of Langho, be supposed to cover the remains of Alric, or some other chieftain, among the slain.

But though tradition itself, the faithful preserver of events even more remote than this, be silent on the subject, a few local names in the neighbourhood, which are evidently Saxon, appear to have a reference to some circumstances relating to it. Thus Wadhow, a beautiful swelling hill, four miles higher up the Ribble, may be the hill of *Wada*, perhaps the site of his camp before the engagement. Waddington, in Domesday *Wadeton*, the town of *Wada*.—Edisforth, or *Eadrigforð* ‡, the *Nobleman's Ford*; and Wiswall, which is much nearer to the field of battle, *Wigarpælla*, or the *Hero's Well*.

Considered as an obscure village, in a remote province, this testimony is honourable to

* So also *Walshaw* is a wood, and *Walsden* a valley abounding with springs.

† Leland, *Collectanea*, vol. I. p. 250.

‡ *Eadig*, which means *vir nobilis, beatus, locuples*, is never used as a proper name, but in composition. *Wiga* signifies *heros, semideus*, and is melted into the first syllable of *Wiswall*, as from *Begastown* comes *Beeston*. See *WISWALL*.

Whalley. Few even of our large provincial towns, excepting those which lay claim to Roman antiquity, have any earlier record than the great register of Domesday; but our story reaches nearly three centuries backward into the Saxon æra, is connected in its origin with an important national event, and attested by no private register, but by the annals of the Northumbrian kingdom.

Domesday itself, however, by referring to the tenures in the Confessor's Reign, contains the last memorial of the state of property during the Saxon period; and being perpetually interwoven with representations of the great change produced by the Norman Conquest, has, in a local history, peculiar claims to our attention. The entire district between the Ribble and Mersey appears to have been surveyed by the same commissioners, and bears marks of the same peculiarities. I have therefore subjoined the whole, together with a Commentary, and some previous observations with respect to the situation of the *Terra inter Ripam et Merham*, under the Heptarchy*.

A question has arisen among antiquaries, whether, in the æra of the Heptarchy, the tract of country interposed between the Mersey and Ribble, and consequently the parish of Whalley, were a portion of the Northumbrian or the Mercian kingdom†. The town of *Maniꝝ-cearƿne*, indeed, which was repaired by Edward the Elder, is, in the Saxon Chronicle, expressly said to be in Northumberland. The Council of *Calcluith*, though under the controul of Offa, king of Mercia, is said to have been held in the same kingdom; and it has been powerfully contended, that *Calcluith*‡ is no other than an obscure place called *Culcheth*, near Manchester.

The note beneath will, I trust, have removed all claims on the part of *Calcluith* to a place in Northumbria; and with respect to the little evidence which can be adduced in favour of this tract having once formed a part of *Northumbria*, it refers to periods subsequent to the extinction of the Heptarchy, and when an union of dominion rendered accuracy in adhering to the ancient

* In Delaval's charter, about 50 years after Domesday, Whalley is expressly said to be in *Cestershyriâ*.

† See Hist. of Craven, 2d edit. p. 490, since the publication of which, I scruple not to acknowledge that I have changed my opinion on the subject.

‡ It is strange, indeed, that the attention of no antiquary has been directed to Checkley, in Staffordshire, as the real scene of this quarrelsome and opprobrious assembly. But, upon every hypothesis, Checkley was far within the limits of Mercia; and it is highly improbable that a Council, in the decrees of which so powerful and spirited a prince as Offa had so near an interest, would be permitted to assemble any where but in his own territories. Let us see, however, on what grounds the evidence in favour of Checkley rests. 1st. The initial *c*, in Saxon, was pronounced as *ch* in church. Thus *Ceadde* was altered in the orthography only to *Chad*; *Calcluith*, then, would be pronounced as *Chalcluith*, and the last consonants very indistinctly; invert the two letters *c* and *l*, in the middle of the word, and we have *Chacli*, or *Checkley*.

This, however, would be a wild hypothesis, were it not supported by positive evidence. But at Checkley, in the time of Dr. Plot, were remaining three crosses, of which the constant tradition of the place recorded, that they were erected on the following occasion:—Speaking of “tall pyramidal stones” in church-yards, which he supposes to be sepulchral, the Doctor adds (Hist. Staffordshire, p. 432), that there are “three close together at Checkley, and probably funeral monuments of the dead, which agrees with the tradition at Checkley, the inhabitants reporting them the memorials of three bishops slain in a battle there, about a quarter of a mile from the church. Compare these circumstances with the character of that Council which is called by the Saxon Chronicle § *geflitfullic* (a word yet retained in the Lancashire dialect, which would literally translate it “fliting,”) and the violence with which it is known to have been conducted, and there can be no doubt but that the tradition is an exaggerated account of that event; whence it must follow, that *Calcluith* is Checkley.

boundaries a matter of comparative indifference. Thus nothing is more common, in the South of England, than to denominate all persons Yorkshiremen, who have been born on the North side of Trent.

But, on the other hand, there are two most cogent arguments, the one historical, the other etymological, to prove that this district, under the Heptarchy, formed a portion, not of *Northumbria*, but of the Mercian kingdom; and that, with respect to the present County of Lancaster, the Ribble was the actual boundary. First, then, we have the authority of the *Status de Blackburnshire*, to prove that the parish of Whalley was, from the earliest times, a portion of the diocese of Litchfield; and it is very certain that this diocese, founded as it was by the early Mercian kings, never passed the limit of their territories.—But, secondly, the peculiar dialect of the Northumbrian kingdom, which, with many subordinate varieties, prevails from the confines of the Highlands of Scotland to the Southern verge of Yorkshire, including, that is, the whole of the ancient *Bernicia* to the North, and *Deira* to the South, immediately and strikingly ceases on the confines of the present parish of Whalley, so as plainly to indicate, that on that bounding line it has been met and repelled by the language of another tribe. Were it worth while to illustrate this position by a general comparison between the language of Craven and of Whalley, I could prove this position in the most satisfactory manner. But the following comparative Table of the names of local objects, which severally prevail in these two adjoining districts, and are in a very small degree common to both, will surely suffice for the purpose.

NORTHUMBRIA.	MERCIA.	NORTHUMBRIA.	MERCIA.
Fell—occurs to the Northern bank of Ribble, never to the South	Edge—as Blackstone-edge, Stonedge, &c.	Ings - - - - -	Eases—Holmes, common to both.
Scar - - - - -	Scout.	Thorp - - - - -	Wick, comparatively rare to the N. of Ribble. Thorp never occurs to the South.
Beck - - - - -	Brook—Burn; the last common to both, but more rare to the S.	Hope - - - - -	Greave.
Tarn - - - - -	Mere.	Gill - - - - -	Clough.
Dub - - - - -	Lumb, a deep pool in a river.	Skell - - - - -	Well.
Mire - - - - -	Halgh.*	Scrogg - - - - -	Shaw—Scholes.
Carr - - - - -	Leach, a Plash.	Sike - - - - -	Rindle.
How - - - - -	Know, knoll.	Wath - - - - -	Ford.
Thwait - - - - -	Riding, Ridding, Rode, or Royde.	Scale - - - - -	Twisle.
			Rake.

* *Halgh*. This is the Scottish *Haugh*, a flat spongy piece of ground. We have three instances in which it is compounded with personal names, as *Dunken-halgh*, *Pout-halgh*, *Hesmond-halgh*; and three others in which the local word united with it plainly indicates its meaning, as *Aspen-halgh*, the Halgh of Aspens, *Ridy-halgh*, the Halgh of Reeds, and *Becks-halgh*, the Halgh by the Brooks: the last immediately North of Ribble, which accounts for its combination with *Feck*. *Greenhalgh* is another combination, which may be referred to the same cause.

Dale*	- - - - - {	Dene, or Dean, some-	Stank - - - - -	Wham, a bog.
		times, however, oc-	Hope†.	
Toft	- - - - - {	curing in Craven.	Busk	
		Holt, a tuft of trees.	Ergh, Er, or Argh, in	
		Hurst—Hag—Holgh, a wood.	composition. ‡	

If we try, by the same rule, the hypothesis which fixes the Mersey as the boundary of the two kingdoms, the result will be widely different. Between natives of the Northern and Southern bank of that river, there is scarcely a perceptible difference of language: they are evidently descendants, in common, from the same parental stock.

On the whole, I am persuaded, that the outline of the parish of Whalley, as far as it extends along the Ribble, and afterwards as far as it coincides with the limit of the West Riding of Yorkshire, is the ancient national line of separation between these two great kingdoms of the Heptarchy. A single merestone (an immense natural block), called the wolf-stone, the property of the Writer, marks at once the confine of the townships of Cliviger and Stansfield; the parishes of Whalley and Halifax; the counties of Lancaster and York; the ancient diocese of Litchfield (now Chester), and the diocese of York; the provinces of York and Canterbury; and lastly, the kingdoms of Deira and Mercia.

DOMESDAY-BOOK for LANCASHIRE, South of the Ribble.

Inter Ripam et Mersham.

Terram infra scriptam tenuit Rogerius Pictaviensis, inter Ripam et Mersham.

IN DERBEI HUNDRET.

Ibi habuit Rex Edvardus unum manerium Derbei nominatum, cum 6 beruuichis. Ibi 4 hidæ. Terra est 15 carucatæ. Foresta 2 leucis longa, una lata, et aera accipitris.

Uctredus tenebat 6 maneria, Rabil, Chenulueslei, Cherchebi, Croseby, Magel, Achtun. Ibi 2 hidæ. Silvæ 2 leuuis longæ et latæ, et 2 aeræ accipitrum.

Dot tenebat Hitune et Torbock. Ibi 1 hida quieta ab omni consuetudine præter geldum. Terra est 4 carucatæ, valebat 20 solidos.

Bernulf tenebat Stochestede§. Ibi 1 virgata terræ, et dimidia carucata terræ, reddebant 4 solidos.

Stainulf tenebat Stochestede. Ibi 1 virgata terræ, et dimidia carucata terræ, valebant 4 solidos.

Quinque Taini tenebant Sextone||. Ibi 1 hida, valebat 16 solidos.

Uctredus tenebat Chirchedele¶. Ibi dimidia hida quieta ab omni consuetudine, præter geldum, valebat 10 solidos.

* This appellative occurs precisely on the confines, as Bleasdale, Whitendale, Lothersdale; but in Rossendale only South of Ribble.

† A small valley running up to a point among hills. We have nothing exactly to oppose to it. It is frequent in the hilly parts of the West Riding, and occurs in the Peak of Derby. It is, indeed, a curious fact, that in and adjoining to the Peak of Derbyshire, almost in the heart of the Mercian kingdom, many striking vestiges of the Northumbrian dialect appear.

‡ This is a singular word, which occurs, however, both to the North and South of Ribble, though much more frequently to the North. To the South I know not that it occurs, but in Angles-ark and Brett-ergh. To the North are Bat-arghes (Batterax), Ergh holme, Stras-ergh, Siz-ergh, Feiz-er, Goosen-ergh. In all the Teutonic dialects I meet with nothing resembling this word, excepting the Swedish ARF, *terra*, (*vide Ihre in voce*) which, if the last letter be pronounced gutturally, is precisely the same with *argh*.

§ Toxteth.

|| Sephton.

¶ Kirkdale.

Winestan tenebat Waletone. Ibi 2 carucatæ terræ, et 3 bovata, valebant 8 solidos.

Elmæ tenebat Liderlant. Ibi dimidia hida, valebat 8 solidos.

Tres Taini tenebant Hinne * pro 3 maneriis. Ibi dimidia hida, valebat 8 solidos.

Ascha tenebat Torrentun. Ibi dimidia hida, valebat 8 solidos.

Uctredus tenebat Ulventune†. Ibi 2 carucatæ terræ, et dimidia leuva silvæ, valebant 64 denarios.

Edelmundus tenebat Esmedune. Ibi una carucata terræ, valebat 32 denarios.

Tres Taini tenebant Alretun pro 3 maneriis. Ibi dimidia hida, valebat 8 solidos.

Uctredus tenebat Spec. Ibi 2 carucatæ terræ, valebant 64 denarios.

Quatuor Radmans tenebant Cildeuvelle pro 4 maneriis. Ibi dimidia hida, valebat 8 solidos.

Ibi presbyter erat, habens dimidiam carucatam terræ in elemosinam.

Ulbert tenebat Wibaldeslie. Ibi 2 carucatæ terræ, valebant 64 denarios.

Duo Taini tenebant Uetone, pro 2 maneriis. Ibi 1 carucata terræ, valebat 30 denarios.

Lewingus tenebat Waretreu. Ibi 2 carucatæ terræ, valebant 64 denarios.

Quatuor Taini tenebant Boltelai pro 4 maneriis. Ibi 2 carucatæ terræ, valebant 64 denarios.

Presbyter habebat 1 carucatam terræ, ad ecclesiam Waletone.

Uchtred tenebat Achetun. Ibi 1 carucata terræ, valebat 30 denarios.

Tres Taini tenebant Fornebei pro 3 maneriis. Ibi 4 carucatæ terræ, valebant 10 solidos.

Tres Taini tenebant Emuluesdel. Ibi 2 carucatæ terræ, valebant 64 solidos.

Steinulf tenebat Hoiland. Ibi 2 carucatæ, valebant 64 denarios.

Uctred tenebat Daltone. Ibi 1 carucata terræ, valebat 32 denarios.

Isdem (Uctred) tenebat Schelmeresdale. Ibi 1 carucata terræ, valebat 32 denarios.

Isdem Uctred tenebat Literland. Ibi 1 carucata terræ, valebat 32 denarios.

Wibertus tenebat Eungermeles. Ibi 2 carucatæ terræ, valebant 8 solidos. Hæc terra quieta fuit præter geldum.

Quinque Taini tenebant Otigrimele. Ibi dimidia hida, valebat 10 solidos.

Uctredus tenebat Latone cum 1 bereuicha. Ibi dimidia hida, silva 1 leuva longa et dimidia lata, valebant 10 solidos et 8 denarios.

Uctred tenebat Hirletun, & dimidium Meritun. Ibi dimidia hida, valebat 10 solidos et 8 denarios.

Godene tenebat Melinge. Ibi 2 carucatæ terræ, silva 1 leuva longa dimidia lata, valebat 10 solidos.

Uctred tenebat Leiate‡. Ibi 6 bovata terræ, silva 1 leuva longa, et 2 quarentenis lata, valebat 64 denarios.

Duo Taini tenebant 6 bovatas terræ, pro 2 maneriis, in Holand, valebant 2 solidos.

Uctred tenebat Acrer. Ibi dimidia carucata terræ, wasta fuit.

Teos tenebat Bartune. Ibi 1 carucatæ terræ, valebat 32 denarios.

Chetel tenebat Heleshele§. Ibi 2 carucata terræ, valebant 8 solidos.

Omnis hæc terra geldabilis, & 15 maneria nil reddebant, nisi geldum Regi Edwardo.

Hoc manerium Derbei cum his supradictis hidis reddebant Regi Edwardo, de firma 26 libras & 2 solidos. Ex his 3 hida erant liberæ. Quarum censum perdonavit Teinis qui eas tenebant. Istæ reddebant 4 libras et 14 solidos et 8 denarios.

Omnes isti Taini habuerunt consuetudinem reddendi 2 oras denariorum de unaquaque carucata terræ, et faciebant per consuetudinem domos regis et quæ ibi pertinebant sicut villani, et

* Ince.

† Wolton.

‡ Lidyate.

§ Halshal.

piscarias et in silva haias et stabilituras, et qui ad hæc non ibat quando debebat, 2 solidis emendabat, et postea ad opus veniebat, et operabatur donec perfectum erat. Unusquisque eorum, uno die in augusto, mittebat messorum suos secare segetem regis. Si non, per 2 solidos emendabat.

Si quis liber homo faceret furtum, aut forestel, aut heinfara, aut pacem regis infrungebat, 40 solidos emendabat.

Si quis faciebat sanguinem aut raptum de femina, vel qui remanebat de siremot sine rationabili excusatione, per 10 solidos emendabat. Si de hundreto remanebat, aut non ibat ad placitum ubi præpositus jubebat, per 5 solidos emendabat.

Si cui jubebat in suum servitium ire et non ibat, 4 solidos emendabat.

Si quis de terrâ Regis recedere volebat, dabat 40 solidos et ibat quo volebat.

Si quis terram patris sui mortui habere volebat, 40 solidos relevabat.

Qui nolebat, et terram et omnem pecuniam patris mortui Rex habebat.

Uctredus tenuit Crosebi, et Chirchedele, pro 1 hida, et erat quieta ab omni consuetudine præter has 6, pace infracta, forestel, heinfara, et pugna quæ post sacramentum factum remanebat, et si constrictus justitia præpositi alicui debitum solvebat, et si terminum a præposito datum non attendebat. Geldum vero Regis, sicut homines patriæ solvebant.

In Otringemele Hirleshalla et Hiretun erant 3 hidæ quietæ a geldo carucatarum terræ, et a forisfactura sanguinis, et fœminæ violentia. Alias vero consuetudines reddebant omnes.

De isto manerio Derbei, tenent modo dono Rogeri Pictaviensis, hi homines terram. Geofridus 2 hidas et dimidiam carucatam, Rogerus 1 hidam et dimidiam, Willelmus unam hidam et dimidiam, Warinus dimidiam hidam, Goifridus 1 hidam, Tetbaldus hidam et dimidiam, Robertus 2 carucatas terræ, Gislebertus 1 carucatam terræ.

Hi habent in dominio, 4 carucatas, et 46 villanos et 1 radman, et 62 bordarios, et 2 servos, et 3 ancillas. Inter omnes habent 24 carucatas. Silva eorum 3 levis et dimidia longa, et 1 leuva et dimidia et 40 perticæ latitudine, et ibi 3 aeræ accipitrum.

Totum valet 8 libras et 12 solidos. In unaquaque hida sunt 6 carucatæ terræ.

Dominium vero hujus manerii, quod tenebat Rogerius, valebat 8 libras. Sunt ibi modo in dominio 3 carucatæ, 6 bovarii, et unus radman, et 7 villani.

IN NEWTONE HUNDRET.

In Newetone tempore regis Edvardi fuerunt 5 hidæ. Ex his una erat in dominio. Ecclesia ipsius manerii habebat 1 carucatam terræ, et Sanctus Oswoldus de ipsa villa 2 carucatas terræ habebat quietas per omnia.

Hujus manerii aliam terram 15 homines quos drenchs vocabant, pro 15 maneriis tenebant, sed hujus manerii berewichæ erant, et inter omnes 30 solidos reddebant.

Silva ibi 10 levis longa, et 6 levis et 2 quarentenis lata, et ibi aeræ accipitrum.

Hujus hundredi homines liberi, præter duos, erant in eadem consuetudine quâ homines Derbeæ, et plus illis 2 diebus in augusto metabant in culturis Regis.

Illi duo 5 carucatas terræ, et forisfacturam sanguinis, et fœminæ violentiam passæ, et pasnagium suorum hominum. Alias habebat Rex.

Totum hoc manerium reddebat, de firma, Regi 10 libras et 10 solidos. Modo sunt ibi, 6 drenchs, & 12 villani, et 4 bordarii. Inter omnes, 9 carucatas habent. Valet 4 libras hoc dominium.

IN WALINTUNE HUNDRET.

Rex Edwardus tenuit Walintune, cum 3 berewichis. Ibi 1 hida.

Ad ipsum manerium pertinebant 34 drenghs, et totidem maneria habebant, in quibus erant
42 carucatæ terræ, et una hida et dimidia.

Sanctus Elfin tenebat 1 carucatam terræ quietam de omni consuetudine præter geldum.

Totum manerium cum hundreto reddebat Regi de firma 15 libras 2 solidis minus. Modo sunt in dominio 2 carucatæ, et 8 homines cum 1 carucatâ.

Homines isti tenebant terram, Rogerus 1 carucatam terræ, Tetbaldus 1 carucatam et dimidiam, Warinus 1 carucatam, Radulfus 5 carucas, Willelmus 2 hidas et 4 carucas terræ, Adelardus 1 hidam et dimidiam carucatam, Osmundus 1 carucatam terræ.

Valet hoc totum 4 libras et 10 solidos. Dominium valet 3 libras et 10 solidos.

IN BLACHEBURNE HUNDRET.

Rex Edwardus tenuit Blacheburne. Ibi 2 hidæ et 2 carucatæ terræ. Ecclesia habebat 2 bovatas de hac terra, et ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ habebat in Wallei, 2 carucas terræ quietas ab omni consuetudine.

In eodem manerio, silva 1 leuva longa, et tantundem lata, et ibi 1 aera accipitrum.

Ad hoc manerium vel hundretum adjacebant 28 liberi homines, tenentes 5 hidas et dimidiam, et 40 carucas terræ, pro 28 maneriis. Silva ibi 6 leuis longa et 4 lata, et erant in supradictis consuetudinibus.

In eodem hundreto habebat Rex Edvardus, Hunnicot de 2 carucatis terræ, et Waletune de 2 carucatis terræ, et Penniltune de dimidia hida.

Totum manerium cum hundreto reddebat Regi de firma 32 libras et 2 solidos. Hanc terram totam dedit Rogerius Pictavensis Rogerio de Busli, et Albert Greslet, et ibi sunt tot homines, qui habent 11 carucas et dimidiam, quos ipsi concesserunt esse quietos usque ad 3 annos, et ideo non appreciantur modo.

IN SALFORD HUNDRET.

Rex Edwardus tenuit Salford. Ibi 3 hidæ et 3 carucatæ terræ wastæ, et foresta 3 leuis longa, et tantundem lata, et ibi plures haie et aeræ accipitris.

Radeclive tenebat Rex Edwardus, pro manerio. Ibi 1 hida et alia hida pertinens ad Salford.

Ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ, et Sancti Michaelis tenebant in Mamcestre, unam carucatam terræ, quietam ab omni consuetudine præter geldum.

Ad hoc manerium vel hundretum pertinebant 21 berewichæ, quas tenebant totidem Taini pro totidem maneriis, in quibus erant 11 hidæ et dimidia, et 10 carucatæ terræ et dimidia.

Silvæ ibi 9 leuis et dimidia longa, et 5 leuis et unâ quarentenâ latæ.

Unus eorum Gamel tenens 2 hidas in Recedham*, habebat suas consuetudines quietas, præter 6 has, furtum, heinfare, forestel, pacem regis infractam, terminum fractum a præposito stabilitum, pugnam post sacramentum factum remanentem. Hæc emendabat 4 solidis. Aliquæ harum terrarum erant quietæ ab omni consuetudine præter geldum, et aliquotæ a geldo sunt quietæ.

* Rochdale.

Totum manerium Salford cum hundreto reddebat 37 libras et 4 solidos; modo sunt in manerio in dominio 2 carucatæ, et 8 servi, 32 villani cum 1 carucata. Valet 10 solidos hoc dominium.

De hac terrâ hujus manerii tenent milites dono Rogeri Pictaviensis, Nigellus 3 hidas et dimidiam carucatam terræ, Warinus 2 carucas terræ et alter Warinus 1 carucatam et dimidiam, Gioffridus 1 carucatam terræ, Gamel 2 carucas terræ. In his sunt 3 taini, 30 villani, 9 bordarii, et presbyter, et 10 servi. Inter omnes habent 22 carucas. Valet 7 libras.

IN LAILAND HUNDRET.

Rex Edwardus tenuit Lailand. Ibi 1 hida et 2 carucatæ terræ, silva 2 leuis longa, et una lata, et aera accipitris.

Ad hoc manerium pertinebant 12 carucatæ terræ, quas tenebant 12 homines liberi pro totidem maneriis.

In his 6 hidæ et 8 carucatæ terræ.

Silva ibi 6 leuis longa et 3 leuis et una quarentena lata.

Homines hujus manerii, et de Salford, non operabantur, per consuetudinem, ad aulam regis, neque metebant in augusto. Tantummodo 1 haïam in silva faciebant, et habebant sanguinis foris facturam, et fœminæ passæ violentiam.

De aliis consuetudinibus aliorum superiorum maneriorum erant consortes.

Totum manerium Lailand cum hundreto reddebat de firma regi, 19 libras et 18 solidos et 2 denarios.

De hac terra hujus manerii tenet Girardus hidam et dimidiam, Robertus 3 carucas terræ, Radulfus 2 carucas terræ. Ibi sunt 4 radmans, presbyter, et 14 villani et 6 bordarii et 2 bovarii. Inter omnes habent 8 carucas. Silva 3 leuis longa, et 2 leuis lata, et ibi 4 aeræ accipitrum. Valet totum 50 solidos. Ex parte est wasta.

Rex Edwardus tenuit Peneverdant. Ibi 2 carucatæ terræ, et reddebant 10 denarios. Modo est ibi castellum, et 2 carucatæ sunt in dominio, et 6 burgenses et 3 radmans et 8 villani et 4 bovarii. Inter omnes habent 4 carucas. Ibi dimidia piscaria, silva, et aeræ accipitrum, sicut tempore Regis Edwardi. Valet 3 libras.

In his 6 hundretis, Derby, Newton, Walintune, Blacheburn, Salford, et Lailand, sunt 100 quater 20 et 8 manerii. In quibus quater 20 hidæ geldabiles, una minus. Tempore Regis Edwardi, valebant 45 libras et 2 solidos et 2 denarios.

Quando Rogerius Pictaviensis de Rege recepit, valebat 120 libras. Modo tenet rex, et habet in dominio 12 carucas et 9 milites feudum tenentes. Inter eos et eorum homines sunt 115 carucatæ et 3 boves. Dominium quod tenuit Rogerius appreciatur 23 libris et 10 solidis. Quod dedit militibus, 20 libris et 10 solidis appreciatur.

It is not easy to treat with distinctness of the origin and ramifications of property in Blackburn hundred, otherwise than by connecting it with the rest of the county of Lancaster, which lies South of Ribble. At the period of the Domesday Survey this extensive and most fertile part

of the present county belonged to none, but was separately surveyed under the title of the country *Inter Ripam et Mersham*.

In the time of King Edward, the whole of this district was the property of the Crown. It had been granted soon after the Conquest (a vast donation) to Roger of Poitou: at the time of Domesday, with the exception of the grants made by Roger, it had been taken in exchange or resumed by the Conqueror, and, excepting certain knights' fees previously granted by him, it remained in the Crown.

This Survey has many peculiarities, and many difficulties. Among them one of the most remarkable is the use of the word Hide, which, in every other instance with which I am acquainted, is commensurate with carucate: yet in the Hundred of Derby, and I think evidently in the rest of the district, "In unaquaque hida sunt sex carucatæ terræ." Another general distinction appears to be, that where hides and carucates are mentioned under the same manor, the latter appears to denote (and especially when combined with the word "terræ,") land actually or anciently under the plough: I add "anciently," for there are "carucatæ terræ vastæ." And when an hide is defined as consisting of six carucates, it must be understood to mean as much land as, if thrown into cultivation, would employ so many ploughs drawn by eight oxen, for such was the ancient Caruca. The term Hide also excludes meadows, woods, and commons. It is therefore land fit for the plough, but never actually cultivated: in other words, native pasture land, properly so called.

It must also be observed that the measure of woodland in every hundred, however the woods might be dispersed, is added together and reduced to square miles; a mode which, however compendious, is obviously very inaccurate.

The word Manor, in its more extended sense, denoted the whole Hundred.

The Hundred of West Darby (at what period I do not know) has swallowed up those of Newton and Warrington.

The Hundred of West Darby had two churches, Walton and Childwall. That of Newton had one church belonging to the Hundred, and a separate endowment of Saint Oswald, belonging to the town of Winwick; but as the whole hundred extended over Newton and Winwick alone, it is not probable that there was more than one place of worship. The church of St. Elphin (a dedication now lost) at Warrington, was the only church of that Hundred. Blackburn Hundred had two churches, Whalley and Blackburn. Salford had those of St. Mary and St. Michael in Manchester, with one endowment only: and Lailand had one Presbyter, whose particular situation, by the inaccuracy of the surveyors, is not ascertained.

Of these, Winwick had an endowment of three carucates; Whalley of two (to each of which was annexed the manor of the town); Walton, Manchester, and Warrington, a carucate each; Childwall, half a carucate; Blackburn two oxgangs; and of the Presbyter of Leyland Hundred, we know not what or where was his provision*.

Such was the ecclesiastical establishment of South Lancashire, at the time of Domesday; an establishment adequate to the slender population of that period, and under which there was probably a greater proportion of ministers to people than at present, but attended with this

* Presbyters, in Domesday, are frequently mentioned without churches.

inconvenience,

inconvenience, that many villages were at the distance of fifteen or twenty miles from their parish church, and without the convenience of chapels, which, in the great parishes, they enjoy at present. What increase in the number of parishes had taken place in 1292, when Pope Nicholas's Valor was made, and to what number they have been farther augmented at present, will be noticed in its proper place.

In the whole of this district (the "Terra inter Ripam et Mersham") the Survey of the Hundred of West Derby alone, excluding those of Newton and Warrington, which now constitute parts of it, has the advantage of having its manors and vills enumerated by name. In the other Hundreds they are grouped together, unless, where some peculiarity of custom or tenure rendered it necessary to specify the places so differing from their neighbours. In this, and in all the other Hundreds, however, within this insulated district, the same method is pursued. It begins with the town from which the Hundred (or manor, in its most extended sense) received its denomination; gives a particular survey of that and its immediate dependencies or berewicks, specifying the measurement of wood and forest within the same, separately, from the general measurement of similar grounds within the rest of the Hundred; then enumerates the several vills and manors, with their respective owners, customs, tenures, and rents, as they had existed under the Confessor; and lastly recapitulates the same as then subsisting under the great change of property occasioned by the Conquest. There were under King Edward sixty-seven vills or manors (I presume that every vill was at least a manor, though some are divided into two, three, or four manors), subject to the Geld.

The grantees of Roger of Poitou held of these $8\frac{1}{2}$ hides (each hide consisting of 6 carucates, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ carucates.) These several persons held in demesne 4 carucates, besides which there were on the rest of their estates 46 villans, 1 radman, 62 bordarii, 3 slaves, and two female slaves. On the part not granted out by Roger there were 3 carucates in demesne, besides which, the rest of the estate was occupied by 6 bovarii, or herdsmen, 1 radman, and 7 villans.

The whole of the land included under hides and carucates when reduced to carucates amounts to $85\frac{1}{2}$, and as even slaves male and female are enumerated, it may be inferred that the whole population is stated, viz. 136 families; a number very inadequate either to the cultivation of the ground, or to the consumption of its produce. The whole, consisting of at least 8,500 acres, was estimated at £.16. 12s. which, supposing money to be 100 times its present value, amounts to no more than £.1,660. or little more than 4s. per acre; a mere quit-rent, which proves how advantageous was then the condition of a tenant.

The customs of these manors, which extended, with little variation, over the other Hundreds within the district, will be explained here. Under the old Saxon government the Thaness or Mesne Lords of the highest order paid two oræ or thirty-two pence for every carucate; and they were equally bound with the villans to repair the king's houses and fish-ponds, and in the forests the haie (hedges or ditches by which they were surrounded), and the buckstalls. For neglecting the performance of these services, each defaulter paid two shillings, and was bound after payment of the penalty to finish the work. Each of these also was bound to send his reapers to cut the king's corn one day in August.

With respect to the penal code — if any freeman committed theft, or was guilty of forestalling, enticing away a slave, or breaking the king's peace, he incurred a penalty of forty-shillings. It was a crude system of jurisprudence, which classed together felonies and breaches

of the peace; but the heavy penalty upon the last offence, equal at least to £.200. at present, proves our Saxon ancestors to have been a very turbulent and refractory race. In the next place, if any one committed rape or manslaughter, or absented himself from the Siremot, that is, the general assembly of the county, without reasonable excuse, he incurred a penalty of ten shillings. As this district belonged to no county, it may be doubted where the Siremot was held; but the next article plainly distinguishes from the Hundred Court. If any man staid away from the Assembly of the Hundred, and did not attend the pleas of the same when summoned by the Præpositus, or Chief Constable, he forfeited five shillings. If when the Chief Constable summoned any one to assist him in the discharge of his office, such person refused, the penalty was four shillings. If any one wished to leave the king's lands and inhabit elsewhere, he paid forty shillings, and migrated whither he would. Every one paid a relief of forty shillings for entering upon his father's land after his decease. Strange as it may seem, there appears to have been no difference in this respect between the smallest and the largest estates. Besides these, are mentioned three distinct obligations, the breach of each of which incurred a penalty of forty shillings: 1st. "*Pugna, quæ post sacramentum factum remanebat;*" by which, I suppose, is meant, a breach of the peace after having entered into recognizances to keep it: 2dly, "*Si constrictus justitia præpositi alicui debitum solvebat,*" which seems to mean, if a man paid any private debt after his goods had been pledged to the Præpositus for a sum due to the Hundred: and, 3dly, "*Si terminum a præposito datum non attendebat;*" *i. e.* if having been bound by the same to attend on a certain day, he did not appear.

Such were the laws and customs of South Lancashire before the Conquest.

NEWTON HUNDRET.

Whether it were that the remaining hundreds of this district were surveyed by less able and accurate commissioners, or from whatever cause, there is, henceforth, no distinct enumeration of villis and manors as in West Derby. The first peculiarity under Newton Hundred is that there was a church belonging to the whole hundred, as well as the church of St. Oswald belonging to the town of Winwick, if indeed these were not different parts of the same church. Each, however, had a distinct endowment. The quantity of wood or forest land in this hundred (an area of more than sixty square miles) is remarkable. The customs, excepting that the freeholders received pannage of hogs (a valuable payment where there were so many woods) varied little from those of the neighbouring hundred. The number of free men under King Edward, is not enumerated; but there were fifteen drengthes, who held as many manors. At the time of the Survey, the cultivated land was reduced from at least 22 to 9 carucates; and, in consequence, from a rent of 10*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* At that period, it was possessed by six drengthes, 12 villans, and four bordarii. Of these the drengthes appear to have been military vassals, of the next inferior order to thanes: the villans were evidently freemen, who held by rustic services. The bordarii, who were the lowest rank of land-owners, appear to have been such as held cottages and small portions of ground by the service of cultivating the bord or demesne lands of the mesne lord, or who made their payments in kind for the use of his table.

WALINTUNE (NOW WARRINGTON) HUNDRET.

Walintune itself consisted of one hide, and had three dependent berewicks; but, to the hundred itself, appertained 34 manors, consisting of $1\frac{1}{2}$ hide and 42 carucates. St. Elfin, the Church of the Hundred, had the usual endowment of one carucate.

This appears to have been a cultivated tract, as there is no return of wood-land. Here is, unfortunately, no distinct account of the population subordinate to the drengths, or mesne lords, excepting that there were seven homines, who held a large tract of land within the same. The word *homines* appears to be studiously opposed to *liberi homines*, who embrace the taini, the villani (as the word is used in its ancient and proper sense), and the bordarii; and therefore appears to mean those who, in later times, were called villans, or held lands in villanage. But the feudal senses of the word *homo* are so various, that it is not easy to ascertain the precise meaning of it in this and similar passages of Domesday.

The Hundred of Warrington appears to have been depreciated more than one half, since the time of the Confessor.

IN BLACHEBURNE HUNDRET.

It appears, that at the original institution of Hundreds, Blackburn was become a considerable place, otherwise it would not have superseded Whalley in giving denomination to the wapentake. This preference, however, may have been occasioned as much by the extent of the township as the populousness of the town, as there were within the place two hides and two carucates of land. Two oxgangs (the only instance in which that fractional measure is mentioned in this Survey) are specified as the glebe of the church, and 46 acres are the extent of the glebe at present. Yet I would not infer that an oxgang amounted to 23 acres; (as Mr. Whitaker has perhaps somewhat too hastily concluded with respect to Kirkmanshulme, the ancient carucate belonging to the Church of Manchester, that, because it now consists of 246 statute acres, that was precisely the extent of the carucate.) Both the one and the other have probably been extended by enclosures; for there was no township without common, and no common which has not, either wholly or in part, been enclosed. The Church of Whalley held its two carucates free from every custom, even from geld, which, besides itself, was the privilege of Winwick only. This Hundred, south of Ribble, (for the parishes of Ribchester and Chipping then belonged to Amunderness) consists of about 300 square miles: of these, 25 miles are returned as covered by wood. The forests, which are wholly unnoticed, occupied at least sixty more. If we continue to understand the Hide as consisting of six carucates*, and average every carucate at 100 acres Lancashire measure, there was, in corn-land and pasture, 9,150 acres, or nearly 20 square miles: there remain, therefore, little less than two-thirds of the whole extent for wastes and commons appropriated to the several townships or manors. Of these King Edward held, in demesne, Blackburne, Huncot, Walton, and Pendleton, which are therefore specifically mentioned in the Survey. But besides these, by that unhappy inattention which mocks curiosity and baffles enquiry, throughout the survey of every hundred within this district, excepting Derbei, 28 manors, without name or designation, are generally mentioned as having been held, under the former æra, by as many freemen. Neither will this general enumeration give the number of villages or townships, at the time of the Survey, since we are left in uncertainty whether, as in Derbei, single vills might not contain more manors than one.

* See under Derbei Hundred.

The whole of this Hundred, however, had been given to Roger de Busli and Albert Greslet, who at the time of the Survey had re-granted, to certain “homines,” eleven carucates and an half, which were not charged, as the grantors had acquitted them of all burdens for the term of three years. And here again, by the same inattention which marks almost every feature of the Survey as it relates to Blackburn Hundred, no return whatever is made of the part which these grantees retained, amounting to $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of the whole, as to the mode of occupation, the value, or any other circumstance.

IN SALFORD HUNDRET.

In the manor of Salford, which denominated the Hundred, were three hides and 12 carucates of land. Radcliff alone had been the immediate property of King Edward: over the rest of the Hundred, as over the whole of this district, he was only lord paramount.

In Manchester were two churches, respectively dedicated to St. Mary and St. Michael, holding one carucate between them (we are not told whether in common) liable to the geld only. In this Hundred were somewhat more than 45 miles of native wood. To this Hundred, also, in King Edward's time, appertained 21 berewicks, held each by a Saxon thane, for so many manors. They consisted of $11\frac{1}{2}$ hides and $10\frac{1}{2}$ carucates; or, according to the account given of the hide in Derbei Hundred, about 700 acres each. One of these thanes, named Gamel, who held two hides in *Recedham* (certainly Rochdale) had certain peculiarities in his customs, which have been already explained. Nothing is said of the castle, which, as it gave denomination to Castleton, must have existed before this time, but was now probably in decay; yet seems to have been afterwards restored, as the burgesses of a decayed castle here are mentioned as late as the reign of Edward II. The quantity of land held by Gamel will, I think, warrant the conclusion, that he was thane of the four townships into which that parish is divided.

At the time of Domesday a great revolution had taken place in the state of property here. There remained in demesne two carucates, cultivated by eight slaves and two villans, who occupied one carucate between them.

Of the rest of the Hundred, Roger of Poitou had already granted out, to be held by military service, to one Nigel (*qu. De Greslet?*) three hides and half a carucate; to Warin, two carucates; another Warin, $1\frac{1}{2}$ carucate; Goiffrid, one carucate (all Norman names); and to Gamel, perhaps the old lord of *Recedham*, two carucates. These were occupied by three thanes, 30 villans, nine bordarii, one presbyter, and eight slaves, holding, in all, 22 carucates. Here let it be observed, that three hides and seven carucates are described as equal to 22 carucates; therefore, the hide, *here*, consisted of five carucates: the demesne consisted of three carucates. But this is far from accounting for the quantity of land enumerated above, which amounts, at the same rate, to 93 carucates: this will be explained by the difference in the Rental. Under king Edward, the Hundred of Salford yielded £.37. 4s. At the time of the Survey it was reduced (undoubtedly by depopulation and neglect) to £.12.

It is very difficult to conceive the statement here given of the inhabitants to be meant of the entire population; yet, how can any enumeration descend lower than slaves? and even comprehending these, only 63 families are accounted for in the Hundred of Salford; and how should these consume the produce of 2,500 acres; or how indeed cultivate the ground, of which a large portion must have been under tillage?

IN LAILAND HUNDRET.

The Reader is, by this time, so well acquainted with the general style and arrangement of the Domesday Survey, as applied to this district, that, under Leyland, I shall only notice one or two peculiarities.

First, though there was a presbyter within this Hundred, there was no church. It may be enquired, where did this ecclesiastic officiate? I have long been persuaded that there existed many unendowed chapels*, some of which afterwards became parish-churches: Leyland may have been one of these. But the absence of a church, in this Hundred alone, leads to a conclusion, which Mr. Whitaker had already adopted, that Leyland Hundred had, at no long period before the Confessor's time, been separated from that of Blackburn. But a real difficulty remains. For whereas it is said, that in King Edward's time there were 12 carucates held by five men, for so many manors, it is next stated, that these same 12 carucates consisted of six hides and eight carucates; which, even supposing the identity of the hide and carucate here, produces the absurdity of saying that 12 are equal to 14. This, however, is easily removed, by supposing that the first 12 has been miswritten by the transcriber for 40; for, in the old numerals, the mistake would be very easy, as XII might catch an hasty eye, and be confounded with XL; which will make the hide, in this Hundred, consist of something between six hides, which it was in Derby Hundred, and five as it was in Salford.

Penwortham, the only place in this district which had a castle, was a considerable town, having 21 families; and, as no slaves are mentioned, it had probably many more inhabitants in the whole.

Only 32 families are accounted for in the rest of the Hundred, which was partly waste. The reduction in point of value, in consequence of devastation, which must have taken place since the Confessor's reign, is striking. It then yielded £.19. 18s. 2d.; in the latter end of the Conqueror, it was reduced to £.5. 10s. It is thus that Tyranny cuts the nerves of its own power.

* This is not inconsistent with what has been said on the subject, p. 43. I only suppose chapels in hundreds where there are no churches.

BOOK II.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE origin of parishes is justly accounted one of the *opprobria* of English Topography. Too local and obscure to be recorded in the general histories of the times, and too ancient, for the most part, to be preserved in any episcopal registers now extant, these subdivisions of the ancient Diocesan *parœchiæ* usually commenced at an uncertain as well as an early period. It is therefore a circumstance not the least interesting in this history, that it will afford materials for tracing, with considerable exactness, the origin of the church of Whalley nearly to the first preaching of Christianity in the North of England, and also for ascertaining that of its dependent churches and chapels, some of which claim an antiquity higher than the Norman Conquest.

The great extent of the original parish, upwards of fifty miles in length, and containing more than 400 superficial miles, is a proof of its high antiquity. The beauty and fertility of Whalley itself would point it out as an object of prime occupancy in the first re-population of the country after its abandonment by the Romans; and it is pleasing to contemplate the descendants of the first settlers gradually diverging from their first seat, as from a centre, pursuing the course of the valleys which unite near the place, and planting in succession the numerous villages whose names still indicate their Saxon origin. The present parish, from the summit of Little Bowland North to the extremity of Cliviger South, is thirty miles in length, and from the verge of the Chapelry of Colne East, to the Hyndeburn West, fifteen miles. That portion of it which lies South of Ribble has been ascertained to consist of 161 square miles. Little Bowland may be estimated at ten miles, and the scattered and insulated portions of it which lie intermixed with the parish of Sladeburn, in Yorkshire, at as much more. The county of Lancaster, South of Ribble, measures 1003 square miles; that on the North 616; in all 1619 miles: estimating, therefore, the present parish of Whalley at 180 miles, it is nearly equal to one ninth part of the county of Lancaster, or to 115,200 acres. Though a mere village, the parish which it denominates contains within its limits four market-towns, of which one is a borough; and the Church has under it sixteen existing chapels, besides several which are dilapidated. It is also the mother of seven parish churches, with their several dependent chapels.

Of

Of the foundation of the parent-church we will first relate a naked traditional account, preserved in that curious Memoir, the *Status de Blackburnshire*; and afterwards endeavour to appreciate the value of that account, and to confirm its veracity by such external evidences as can be adduced in its support.

The story is shortly this:

“ That in the time of Ethelbert King of Kent, who began his reign A.D. 596, Augustine
 “ the monk was sent to preach the Gospel in England, by Gregory bishop of Rome: that, in
 “ the course of his mission, he travelled into Northumbria, and preached at Whalley: in
 “ memory of which event certain crosses were erected, which, after more than seven centuries,
 “ continued to be called the crosses of Augustine. That, at the same time, a parish-church was
 “ erected, dedicated to All Saints*, and denominated WHITE CHURCH under the LEIGH;
 “ — that the rectors of this church were also lords of the town, and married men, who held
 “ it not by presentation from any other patron, but as their own patrimonial estate, receiving
 “ institution, however, from the bishops of Litchfield, as ordinaries of the place. That these
 “ incumbents wrote themselves and were usually styled not rectors but deans; of which the
 “ reason is supposed to be, that, on account of the remote and almost inaccessible situation of
 “ the place, entangled with woods and over-run with wild beasts, the bishops of Litchfield
 “ devolved upon them a large portion of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, reserving only to themselves
 “ the decision of certain difficult and important cases: that this constitution remained for 470
 “ years before the Conquest; after which period, when the lordship of Blackburnshire fell into
 “ the hands of one grantee from the Crown, the absolute independence of this benefice was so
 “ far intrenched upon, that, though the order of hereditary succession was still preserved, upon
 “ every avoidance commendatory letters to the ordinary were granted by the lords, which *they*
 “ seemed to consider as partaking of the nature of a presentation, and the clerks affected to
 “ accept merely as a testimonial of their birth and family.

“ With this change of constitution, the Deanery of Whalley subsisted down to the Lateran
 “ Council† held in the year 1215, which, by finally prohibiting the marriage of ecclesiastics,
 “ put an end to this order of hereditary succession, and occasioned a resignation of the patronage
 “ to the chief lord of the fee, after which the Church of Whalley sunk into an ordinary rectory;
 “ and this also, after the death of the first incumbent, was farther degraded, by two successive
 “ appropriations, into an impoverished vicarage.”

So singular is the outline of our ancient ecclesiastical story; and, when the Reader is farther told that this account is merely abstracted from a monkish MS. of the fourteenth century‡, though purporting to be drawn *ex antiquis et veracibus Chronicis*, he will probably see reason for suspending his assent to so extraordinary a narrative, till he finds it corroborated by older and more authentic testimonies.

* There is reason to think this account strictly correct; for, though it is called in Domesday, *Ecclesia Scæ Mariæ in Walley*, yet, in a charter almost two centuries later (Townley MS.) it is styled *Ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ et Omnium Sanctorum*.

† “ Defuncto quocunque Decano de Whalley (that is, after the Conquest, as appears from the context), statim filius ejus, aut frater aut alius parens ad quem jus hæreditarium dictarum ecclesiarum (Whalley and Rochdale, the latter of which was not erected at the time of the Domesday Survey,) pertinebat, obtulit se DOMINO de BLACKBURNSHIRE tanquam hæredem proximum earum ecclesiarum, et acceptis ipsius Domini literis hoc testantibus, ad episcopum loci ordinarium,” &c. &c. — *Status de Blackburnshire*.

‡ *Status de Blackburnshire, ubi supra.*

Now it is surely an inauspicious circumstance, that this story commences with a falsehood, for no evidence or probability warrants the supposition that Augustine was ever in Northumbria: and it had been well if his monkish admirers had allowed themselves time to reflect, that, by engaging him in this Northern expedition, they have loaded his memory with a reproach which does not belong to it; I mean, that they have exposed him to the charge of having instigated the murder of the monks of Bonchor. I do not highly esteem the character of this man: his conduct towards the Christian Britons proves him to have had the narrowest views in religion; and he was besides proud, superstitious, and addicted to an indelicate casuistry, which, in men devoted to celibacy, argues at least a contaminated imagination. But I am unwilling to condemn him, upon such evidence, of all that complication of fraud and cruelty in which his unthinking panegyrists have involved him; and am happy, at the same time, to reserve the apostleship of Whalley for a better and more evangelical man*.

In fact, Augustine seems to have been to the monks, what the Theban Hercules was to the Greeks, an object of fond and thoughtless devotion, on whom they were anxious to accumulate the exploits, and to divert the honours of his brethren. Thus precisely, in another instance, nearly akin to the present, they have adorned him with trophies not his own.—“In one Christmas-day,” says a fragment quoted by Camden†, “Austin baptized above ten thousand men, and consecrated the river Swale.”—Yet the whole story, with many concomitant circumstances, is related of Paullinus by Bede, whose authority is incontestible.

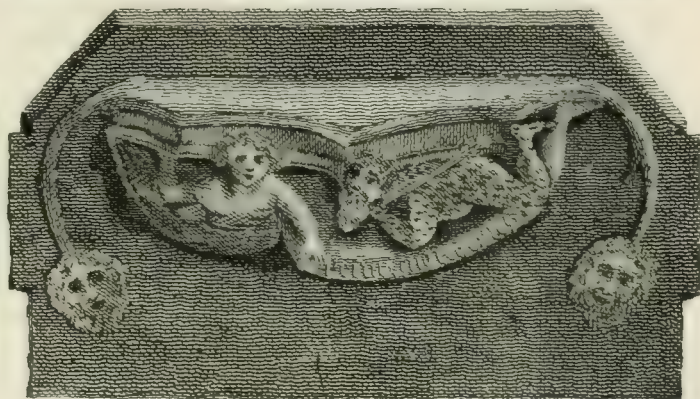
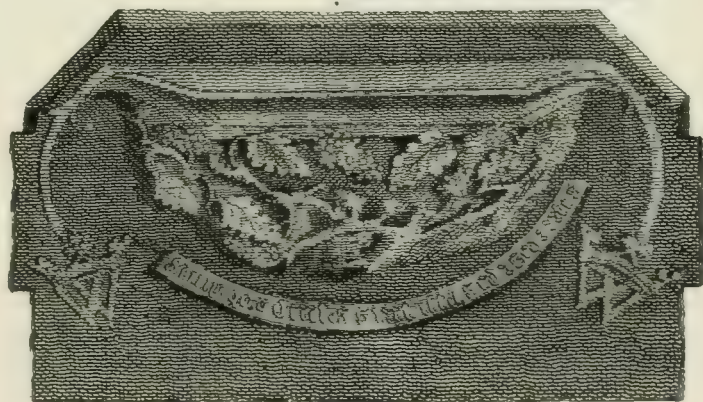
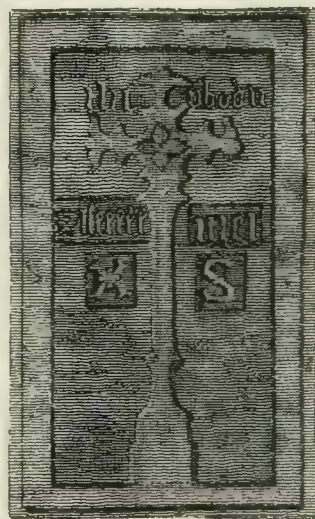
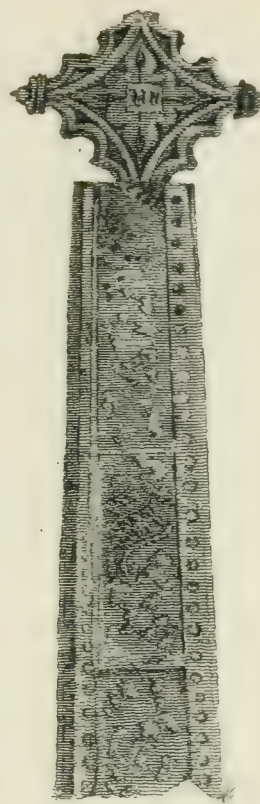
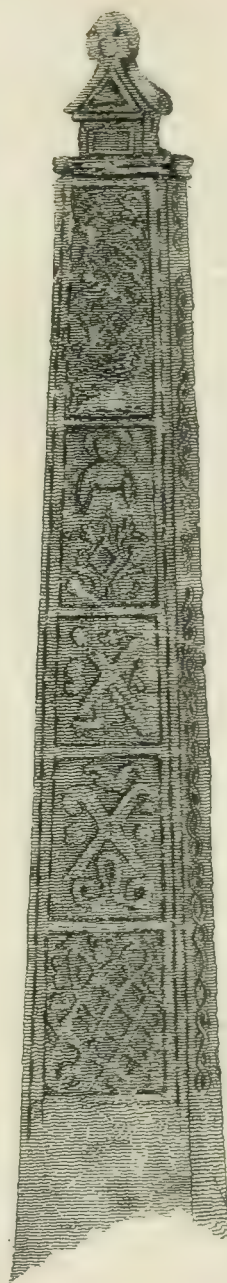
But the credibility of ancient facts is sometimes little affected by an error in the names of persons to whom they are ascribed: so that, if the Gospel were not preached at Whalley in this century by Augustine, it is far from following that it was not preached there at all in that period; and still farther, there is not only evidence to establish the probability of the fact, but to ascribe it to the known apostle of the North of England. This evidence, it must be allowed, is but circumstantial, though surely strong. That Paullinus was diligently employed, under the auspices of Edwyn, in preaching and baptizing throughout the provinces of *Deira* and *Bernicia*, that vast multitudes flocked to him to receive the ordinance of Baptism, and that he usually chose the banks of rivers as the scene of his ministry, for the convenience of baptizing, is recorded by Bede. His presence at Dewsbury is moreover attested by a cross with an inscription, formerly extant, to that effect; and though the three crosses of Whalley‡, to which tradition has with one voice assigned the office of commemorating the same event under another name, have no remaining inscriptions, yet their obeliscal form and ornaments of fretwork §, used in common by the Nor-

* My sentiments on this subject are precisely the same with those of Dr. Smith, the learned editor of Bede. “Id videtur,” says he, speaking of this very story, “erratum esse confundentis Augustinum cum Paullino. Sed tribuunt Augustino scriptores iter boreale consilio multum diverso, hinc ad elevandos (in the English, not the classical sense of that word) ejus labores, auctoritatem et miracula; illinc, ad affigendum illi Monachorum Bonchoriensium cædem, pari utrinque, ut videtur, veritatis specie.”—Note in Bedam, l. 2. c. xiv.

† Gibson's Ed. p. 131.

‡ “One thing I much notid; that was, 3 crossis standing in row at the Est ende of the Chapell Garth. They were things *antiquissimi operis*, and monuments of sum notable men buried there: so that, of al the old monasterie of Ripon” (the work of Wilfrid) “and the toun, I saw no likely tokens left, after the depopulation of the Danes in that place, but only the waulles of our Lady Chapelle and the crosses.”—Leland It. vol. 1. 90.

§ The cross in the church-yard of Bakewell, in Derbyshire: and those in the church-yard of Penrith, &c. are in the same taste.



rendo admodum in Christo Patri ac D^{no} D^{no} Gulielmo Cleaver S.T.P. Episcopo Bangoriensi hanc tabulam, sistentem Cruces Paulinianas Evangelii
Walalegam, ineunte Saeculo Septimo, predicati testes fortasse coevas, in observantiae nec pietate nec interitum testimonium, D. D. D. T.D. Whitaker.

wegians, Saxons, Danes, and other Northern nations, prove their antiquity to be considerable, and probably of no later date than Paullinus. The æra, therefore, of this memorable event, the first preaching of the Gospel at Whalley, may, with an high degree of probability, be fixed between the years 625, when his ministry commenced, and 631, when he was finally driven out of *Northumbria* *, by the death of his royal convert†.

In one other circumstance my authority must be received with some abatement, as the Church of Whalley could not have been exactly contemporary with Paullinus. On this head the testimony of Bede is decisive. “Nondum enim,” says the venerable historian, “oratoria vel baptisteria in ipso exordio nascentis ibi ecclesiæ poterant ædificari, attamen in Campodono, ubi tunc villa regia erat, fecit basilicam. This, therefore, and the church of York, were the only places of worship in the Northumbrian kingdom, contemporary with the ministry of Paullinus. But the place where he had preached at Whalley would probably be held sacred; crosses‡ would be erected, and divine offices performed there, from the beginning; and the climate would soon admonish the most zealous and hardy congregation, that warmth and shelter are necessary to undisturbed devotion. Such are the trifling abatements with which the testimony of our ancient Chronicler is to be received.

The second particular in this account, capable of receiving confirmation from external testimony, is the appellation of *White Church under the Leigh*. The probability is, that, after the example of the original church of York, it had first been built of wood, which was afterwards replaced by stone. Hence the name of *Candida Casa*, or *Whiteherne*, in Galloway, a contemporary or rather prior erection, for which Bede assigns the following reason: “Vocatur ad Candidam Casam eo quod ecclesiam de Lapide, insolito Britonibus more, fecerit §.” The ancient erections of wood were probably turned black from age, and these rare and recent edifices of stone would, for some time, exhibit a very striking contrast to the eye ||.

But, what adds great weight to the circumstantial evidence adduced in proof of the existence of a church here at a very early period is, that the place itself has already been proved to exist in the eighth century, and that it is one of the few towns which, either on their own account, or of events connected with them, have obtained a place on the solitary map of the Northumbrian kingdom. Without a previous knowledge of this circumstance, the tradition of a church must have been applied to prove the existence of the place; but now the positive evidence for that fact may be employed to confirm the tradition.

* It makes a difference of two miles only that, according to the hypothesis which I have endeavoured to establish in this Edition, Whalley was actually in Mercia. Considerable portions, however, of the parish, even of the present parish, were certainly in Northumbria.

† Bede has given an excellent original portrait of our Northern Apostle. He describes him to have been “vir longæ staturæ, paululum incurvus, nigro capillo, facie macilentâ, naso adunco pertenui, venerabilis simul et terribilis aspectu.”—*Ec. Hist.* 1. 2, c. 16.

‡ An ancient form used in the consecration of a church-yard was, the erection of a cross in the centre, accompanied with processions, singing, and sprinkling of holy water. — Gough's *Sepulchral Mon.* v. II. Pref. p. 177.

§ *Eccl. Hist.* 1. iii. c. 4.

|| “Interea sanctum Corpus de illa quam diximus Ecclesiola (de virgis p. 142) in aliam translatus quæ Alba Ecclesia vocabatur.” *Sim. Dunelm.* p. 145. It is remarkable that a perpendicular rock in Cliviger, the property of the author, blanched by exposure to the weather, has immemorially been called *The White Kirk*.

Dismissing, therefore, the name only of Augustine, the particulars of our traditionary account compared with their respective confirmations from external testimony, will stand thus:

TRADITION.

CONFIRMATION.

I.

The gospel was preached at Whalley in the beginning of the seventh century, and Whalley stands nearly at the confluence of the Ribble, the Calder, and the Hodder.

At this precise period Paullinus employed six years in preaching and baptizing through Deira, Bernicia, and the northern part of Mercia, and usually frequented the banks of considerable rivers.

II.

This event was recorded by the erection of three crosses.

His preaching at Dewsbury was recorded by a cross, and the form and decorations of those remaining at Whalley accord with the period assigned to them.

III.

A Church was erected upon the same place, and called the White Church under the Leigh, from some peculiarity about its appearance.

Stone churches of that period were actually denominated White Churches, and they were remarked as an unusual mode of building.

To all these proofs is to be added another confirmation, which adds greatly to their force, namely, that the compiler of the Monkish Record was, probably, ignorant of them all.

Other particulars in this account which require to be established, are, that the incumbents of the ancient church of Whalley were married men; were lords of the town; and were entitled not parsons or rectors, but deans.

The first of these, besides that the constitution of the Saxon church is known to have permitted marriage in the secular clergy, will follow from the fact of the benefice having passed in hereditary succession, which remains to be proved in its place.

The second particular, namely, an union of the character of incumbent, and lord of the manor, though unusual, is far from being singular, and it is to be accounted for thus:

At the first distribution of England into dioceses, the endowment was common, and tithes and oblations constituted one general fund which was applied by the bishop, under certain regulations, 1st, to the support of himself and his own family or college of priests resident at the cathedral church; and, 2dly, to the maintenance of the country clergy, whether itinerant, as they originally were, or partly itinerant and partly resident, or wholly resident as they gradually became*.

But, in order still farther to encourage the erection of churches, which were as yet very inadequate to the general diffusion of religious knowledge, and the general communication of the comforts of religious worship, lords of manors were allured to these acts of munificence within their domains by a concession from the ordinary of the right of patronage, which by

* See Dr. Newton's *Pluralities Indefensible*, p. 56. See also Selden's *History of Tithes*, c. ix. par. 4.

the primitive constitution belonged solely to himself, and by the privilege of annexing in perpetuity all tithes and oblations accruing within their own demesne to the service of that particular church. To these was uniformly added a portion of land or glebe, absolutely necessary to the accommodation of an incumbent at a time when almost all the wants of life must be supplied from the immediate produce of the earth*.

But though, in general, parishes and manors were for this reason commensurate through the kingdom, and manors and advowsons passed together, yet in these barren northern tracts the fact was far otherwise. Here no single person, in the Saxon times, was lord of more than a single vill, or township†; yet the original parish of Whalley must have consisted of more than fifty. This is a strong collateral proof of its high antiquity; for, if we suppose some Saxon lord of *ƿpællez* to have erected his White Church under the Leigh before the existence of any other place of worship for many miles around, the people, anxious as they then were for the blessings of religious instruction, would flock thither in multitudes from every quarter, and would be willing to repay the priest for the spiritual benefits they received from him, in tithes and offerings. I mean not here to enter upon a question so much agitated between Mr. Selden and his antagonists as that of arbitrary consecrations‡; it is of no importance to the present argument, and the other hypothesis will answer my purpose as well. For the bishop of the diocese, concurring with the devotion of the faithful, and seeing no tendency in the lords of neighbouring manors to erect churches upon their demesnes, might, by his own authority, allot to the incumbent all tithes and oblations accruing from the several manors and townships, however remote, whose inhabitants frequented his church.

Either of these hypotheses will account very satisfactorily for the vast extent of our northern parishes, Whalley in particular, and for the number of manors and townships which they contain.

But the extent of the parish of Whalley, and the great value of its tithes and offerings, even in those days of wretched husbandry and slender population, must now be applied to the solution of another difficulty in the constitution of this benefice.

Its incumbents were themselves lords of the town.

We find from Domesday book that the church of St. Mary held in Wallei two carucates of land, free from every custom. Now this was not a glebe, which could ever have been set apart by the founder for the use of an incumbent, but it was in fact the whole domain of the manor itself§. As, therefore, it is scarcely to be conceived that a founder, even in times of the most

* This hypothesis will bring down the foundation of the church of Whalley about a century lower than the period assigned to it by the author of the *Status de Blackburnshire*. For I do not recollect an instance of lay foundations of churches till about the year 700, when there are two mentioned by Bede, one erected by Puc, and another by Addi. *H. Eccl.* l. v. c. 4 and 5. By the year 800, however, they appear to have been common, if we are to credit the charters of confirmation made by Bertulph, king of Mercia, and others, to the abbey of Crowland, on the authority of Ingulphus.

† “*Quot fuerunt villæ, tot fuerunt Domini.*” *Status de Blackburnshire*.

‡ By this term is meant the right of dedicating tithes accruing from a manor or demesne to any church within the same diocese, at the owner's discretion.

§ At the time of the Domesday Survey no manor or vill within the parish contained more than two carucates, and not many more than one. Vide the *History of Property*.

fervid devotion, would strip himself of his whole estate for the endowment of a parish church, only one other reason of this circumstance remains to be given, namely, that in consequence of the immense extent of the original parish, what was at first an accessory outgrew its principal; or, in other words, that the advowson becoming far more valuable than the manor to which it was regardant, the lords, who were also patrons, saw the convenience of qualifying themselves by inferior orders for holding so rich a benefice; and thus the manor itself, having passed for ten descents through a succession of ecclesiastics, ceased to be considered as a lay fee, and grew to be confounded with the glebe of the church.

This hypothesis is countenanced by two singular charters, in one of which, without date, but between the years 1198 and 1208, an incumbent of this church grants to Ughtred the clerk son of Gospatric de Samlesbury, certain lands to be held *de ecclesia de Whalley, et de me et successoribus meis libere ab omni sæculari servitio in feodo et hæreditate* *. And another, somewhat later, grants lands in Donnum *in feodo et hæreditate habend. et tenend. de Deo et omnibus sanctis et ecclesia de Whalley*. I suppress the names and styles of these grantors that I may not forestall evidence which will more properly appear under the next head. But how is it to be accounted for that an incumbent should be permitted to alienate lands in fee to be held of him and of his successors, on any other supposition than that they were originally the demesnes of the manor and had now acquired a mixed character, being treated partly as glebe and partly as a lay fee?

The account farther informs us that these incumbents were styled, not rectors or parsons, but Deans, and that the reason of this name was, that a certain portion of ecclesiastical jurisdiction was delegated to them by the bishops of Litchfield, on account of the remote and almost inaccessible situation of the parish.

Here, in the first place, we are not to confound the office of the deans of Whalley with that of rural deans, a dignity of high antiquity, and once of great importance in the church. For in fact rural deaneries were so far from being hereditary that they were not even offices for life, besides that the jurisdiction of the deans of Whalley extended merely over their own original parish; whereas that of rural deans originally comprehended ten, and afterwards an indefinite number of parishes. Besides, it has never been discovered that the deans of Whalley used an official seal at all, whereas the rural deans had always a seal inscribed with their office, but without a name.

In the same account it is stated that ten persons had held this office in succession, besides an indefinite number of others whose memories are lost in remote antiquity. Those whose names have been here preserved are Spartlingus, Liwlphus Cutwulph, Cudwolphus, Henry the elder, Robert, Henry the younger, William, Geoffry the elder, Geoffry the younger, and Roger.

Should any degree of incredulity remain with respect to the truth of this part of the narrative, it is, like most of the former, capable of confirmation from external evidence. For, though some of the former names in this catalogue rest on the single authority of our monkish record, as we have no remaining charters relating to this parish prior to the reign of Henry I. yet the following personages actually appear either as parties or witnesses to deeds of which the

* Townley MSS.

originals or authentic copies are still preserved. Dns. Galfr. Dec. de þwalley, Joh. frat. Galfr. Dec.; Henr. et Gaufr. fil. Gaufr. Dec.; Dns. R. Decanus de Whalley, Ric. frat. ejus; Galfr. fil. Robti. Decani de Whalleia *.

After these attestations to his veracity, our old chronicler is surely entitled to credit for the earlier part of the line.

But there is a circumstance related of one of these which may be shewn, at least, to be probable, and in character. It is recorded in the same narrative, of Liwlfus, second in the catalogue, that he acquired the name of Cutwulph from having cut off the tail of an animal of that species, while hunting in the forest of Rossendale†, at a place called Ledmesgreve‡. On this account, I have to observe, that the chronology of the line proves this circumstance to have happened about the reign of Canute, and a mere falsary of the reign of Edward III. would almost certainly have acquiesced in the vulgar story of the extinction of wolves by Edgar§. But, secondly, the deans of Whalley, like other ancient and dignified ecclesiastics, were mighty hunters, and enjoyed the right of chase, first, to a considerable extent in other manors adjoining to their own domains, and 2dly, within the forests themselves.

The first of these facts is ascertained by the following record in the Coucher Book of Whalley.

“Metæ, inter quas rectores de Whalley solebant pro libitu omni tempore anni venari. Scil. incipiendo ab Holpscolgh, juxta Twisleton usque Downum, et sic per totam terram de Merlay mag. et parv. usque Hasseldene super Peneltun, et sic infra boscum de Peneltun et forestam de Penhull, et sic ultra le Rugge in Kynefete Clogh usque aquam de Caldre ||.”

But they also claimed and exercised a right of hunting in the forests; for the abbey and convent having succeeded to all the territorial rights of the deanery, Henry de Lacy exacted an express renunciation of this right from the first abbot on the translation of his house to Whalley ¶.

For the fact of the dean's exercising spiritual jurisdiction we must (and I think may safely) take the word of our old and well-informed chronicler, for no other evidence can now be adduced on the subject.

On the whole, then, it appears that the dean of Whalley was compounded of patron, incumbent, ordinary, and lord of the manor, an assemblage which may possibly have met in later times and in some places of exempt jurisdiction, but, at that time, probably an unique in the history of the English church **.

* Townley MSS.

† Wolfenden in Rossendale, and Wolfstones in Cliviger, both attest the existence of this animal there, when those names were imposed.

‡ There is a place of the name of Levensgreve (Leofwine-greve) not far from Whitworth, but this was never within the forest. I suspect, therefore, that the real scene of this adventure was a place called in the perambulation of Brandwood under Roger de Lacy, about the year 1200, Senesgreve, probably corrupted from Lenesgreve.

§ I shall hereafter apply the same argument to prove the authenticity of the laws of Canute.

|| Coucher Book of Whalley.

¶ Ibidem.

** It is not here meant that the mere fact of hereditary succession in benefices was at all unusual in those early times, notwithstanding the general irregularity of the practice, and the particular canons which were directed against it, as that of the synod of Westminster, 3d Hen. I. “Ut filii presbyterorum non sint hæredes ecclesiarum patrum suarum.” But this difficulty was obviated by an *investiture*, which enabled an incumbent, who was also patron, to transfer

Yet a character almost exactly resembling this may actually be traced in the church of Ireland, which, as Mr. Selden * observes, bore, in many respects, a strong resemblance to that of our own country: this was, the Corban, Plebanus, or Chorepiscopus, of whom Archbishop Usher communicated a learned and curious account to Sir Henry Spelman †; not, however, distinguishing with his usual accuracy, between this ecclesiastic and the archipresbyter or rural dean, an error into which he seems to have been led by Isidore Moscovius. The *Plebanus* of the canon law was, properly speaking, incumbent of a mother church out of which one or more dependent parishes had been taken, and of which he retained the patronage. In an inferior sense it may be yet applied to the parochial incumbents of great benefices, who have the patronage of several dependent chapels ‡. If the *Plebanus* had perpetual chaplains (or a vicar and chaplain) in his own church, he was a dignitary, and always occupied the first stall in his own choir.

Nearly akin to this Plebanus, if not altogether the same, was the Corba, Corban, Comorbanus, all corruptions of the word Chorepiscopus. This office, and the inferior office of Herenach, which much resembled it, was hereditary; was held by persons sometimes only in the inferior orders, and sometimes in none, but always literate persons. The glebe of the Herenach was called *honorem villæ*, or the lordship of the town. Both received institution from the ordinary and exercised an inferior jurisdiction, one over the tenants of the termonland or ecclesiastical demesnes committed to him, the other over the clergy of his plebania or corbanate. All these are instances of a strong tendency to the secularization of ecclesiastical property in very early times, a natural consequence of enormous landed endowments, which always lead either to violent resumptions on the part of the crown, or, as in the instance before us, to a silent transition from patronage to property, and, from the character of incumbent to that of impropiator. It is a fact little known, that fifteen persons held the archbishopric of Armagh itself in hereditary succession, and of these eight were married men without episcopal consecration, but all literate persons §.

With what exactness do the several characters of these kindred offices in the church of Ireland apply to the dean of Whalley!

For, like the Herenach, he had *honorem villæ*; like the plebanus (which, however, was not confined to the Irish church), he had patronage and jurisdiction over several dependent churches, together with a vicar and chaplain in his own; and like the corban, his function was hereditary, tenable also by persons in inferior orders and compatible with the married state.

That he was lord of the town has already been proved: that he was patron of one, at least, of the filial churches, will be proved hereafter, that he exercised jurisdiction over all has been asserted by our author, whose veracity we have been able to confirm in many instances, and to

transfer, during his life-time, all his rights in a benefice, without the intervention either of bishop or archdeacon. It appears, in particular, that St. Peter's church, in Cambridge, was thus conveyed. Rot. Plac. 6. Ri. I. Rot. 1. and Selden, c. xii. § 4.

* History of Tithes, c. ix. par. 4.

† Vid. Spelm. Gloss. in voc. Corba.

‡ “Plebania est aliud genus beneficii et majus quam rectoria: habet sub se capellas, et dignitatem esse putant interpretes.” Syntagma juris canon. l. xv. c. 24. Weever applies this to our *side-wasted* parishes in Lancashire, and particularly to Whalley. Fun. Mon. p. 130.

§ Spelman's Gloss. in voce Corba.

impugn in none: that he had a vicar and chaplain may be proved by the attestations of charters in which “*Rog. Rect. or Dec. Ughtred Cler. et Gilb. Cap. de Whalley **” appear together, and by the stalls, three in number, which yet remain in the choir of the parish church. Lastly, that he was married and had received only the lower orders, is demonstrated by the example of the last dean, of whom it is affirmed, in contradistinction to his predecessors, “*quod continenter vixit et ad sacerdotalem se fecit ordinem promoveri.*”

Another proof of extreme accuracy in the *Status de Blackburnshire*, is the following. We have before observed, that in this memoir there is an hint of some dependence to which the deans of Whalley were reduced under the lords of Blackburnshire after the Conquest, which though it did not break the order of hereditary succession in the benefice, imposed upon them a necessity of obtaining commendatory letters from the lord previous to institution. This was undoubtedly regarded by the latter as a species of patronage: and accordingly, when upon a temporary forfeiture of the Lacies, in the reign of Henry the First, this great fee became vested in Delaval, the latter actually granted to the priory of Kirkby (Pontefract) in Cestria-shyre †, “*Walleyæ ecclesiam et ad eam pertinentia, et capellam castri de Clyderhow cum decimationibus omnium terrarum dominicalium mei ejusdem castri, et ibi ecclesiam beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ et ecclesiam de Calna et ecclesiam de Brunlaia.*” A subsequent restoration of the Lacies prevented this alienation from taking effect; but it was contested with the true pertinacity of monks even after the foundation of the abbey, and a lapse of two centuries.

However, it seems probable from these facts, that after the Conquest, though these ecclesiastics certainly nominated themselves to this benefice for several generations, they continued to use that privilege not so much in strictness of right, as through the indulgence of the Lacies, by whom they were much favoured, and with whom they afterwards intermarried.

But there is another circumstance in its constitution which may seem almost equally singular with the institution of the deanery; and that is, the existence of an endowed vicarage before an appropriation of the rectory.

This, however, like the other, is a genuine remnant of Saxon antiquity: for, though it has been remarked that vicarages, in the present sense of the word, (endowed, that is, in perpetuity with a certain portion of glebe, tithes, and offerings, by an act of the ordinary,) rarely occur before the reign of John ‡, yet the institution of vicars in a larger and more general sense is certainly coeval with the first donations of benefices to religious houses, and evidently arose out of the necessity of the case. Neither were these substitutes merely stipendiary

* Townley MSS.

† Cestershyria. The antiquity of this charter will be considered hereafter: but I cannot help remarking here, the peculiarity of this description. In Domesday Book, we have seen that what is now the part of Lancashire, South of Ribble, appears to be classed with neither county, but is surveyed by itself under the title of “*Terra inter Ripam et Mersam.*” But, in Delaval’s charter, it is plainly considered as part of Cheshire; and, of the dependent parishes, Sladeburn is afterwards granted by name to the same priory of Kirkby, and the churches of Blackburn and Rochdale are not mentioned at all, because the former was already become private property, and the latter was not yet in existence. It is farther remarkable, that St. Michael in the Castle is described as a Chapel, though endowed with tithes, and St. Magdalen in the Town, together with Colne and Burneley, are called churches, though it does not appear that they ever received tithes at all.

‡ There is, however, one instance of an endowed vicarage as early as 1129, 29 or 30 Hen. I. Kennet’s Par. Ant. p. 90.

curates removable at pleasure, for they appear to have held their offices by institution, but their provision at first was arbitrary, and the subsequent endowment of vicarages seems to have arisen from a general abuse of this discretion in the regulars, of which bishops were willing to take advantage, as it contributed at once to an extension of their own authority, and to the independence of a depressed and useful body of men.

But a circumstance which approaches much nearer to the case before us is this: it appears from Domesday, that many benefices were even then, wholly, or in part, fallen into the hands of lay-men; and the minister actually officiating in such churches, whether he received a portion of the tithes, or by what means soever he were supported, was, both then, and later, called “*Presbyter qui ecclesiæ servit**, *sacerdos, clericus ecclesiæ,*” &c. though, a little before that time, Thomas, Archbishop of York, 17 William I. in a general confirmation to the priory of Durham, enjoins “*ut Vicarios † in eis libere ponant.*” This is the first instance in which the word has occurred to me.

If, therefore, these substitutes were in actual use from the year 800 ‡, when appropriations of churches, founded by lay-men, first occur, and were wanted alike in benefices appropriate, and those which had been seized by lay-men, there can be no doubt that they would be equally employed by the semi-sæcular Deans of Whalley; and that they were, in fact, so employed, may be proved by the example of the last Dean, who, in conformity to the decree of the Lateran Council, having aspired to the Order of Priesthood, though he resigned the Deanery, retained, or rather presented himself to the vicarage, with its rights, which were not inconsiderable; for we find that Peter de Cestria, the first and only Rector, who was the presentee of John de Lacy, received from the benefice, during the life of Roger, only a pension of fifty marks, or about a third part of the income. The largeness of the sum reserved to the vicar, will excite the less surprize, when it is understood that the Dean had yet a power, *jure patronatus*, of fixing the endowment for himself, as Ordinaries had then scarcely begun to interfere in such concerns; and, indeed, he could have encumbered his own resignation with such conditions as he thought proper.

This ancient vicarage, however, expired in the same person with the Deanery, for on the death of Roger, Peter de Cestria procured from Roger, Bishop of Litchfield, a consolidation of both parts of the benefice, after the following form:

“*Rogerus, &c. Noveritis nos vicariam quam Rogerus de Whalley quondam in vita sua obtinuit personatui ejus quem quidam Petrus de Cestria ante obtinuit sibi canonico intuitu consolidasse. Dat. apud Stanlaw prid. Cal. Jun. An. Pont. 4to. sc. A. D. 1245.*”

This resignation of Roger broke the order of hereditary succession, and his surrender of the advowson, together with the act of consolidation, put an end to the peculiar constitution of the benefice itself; but Richard, brother of this incumbent, himself also an ecclesiastic, profiting by the bounty of the Lacies, his kinsmen, settled upon the Villa de Tunlay, and became progenitor of a flourishing family, yet subsisting, after a lapse of six centuries, legiti-

* Domesday, in *Clamoribus Everwykschyre*.

† *Seld. Hist. Tithes*, C. 12. Part 1. and *Rog. Hoveden*, P. 1. f. 263. This injunction shews that the Ordinary did not yet ordain Vicarages, but exhort patrons and lay possessors of benefices to the appointment and liberal payment of Vicars.

‡ *Seld. Hist. Tithes*, C. 9. § 4.

mate descendants and representatives at once of the ancient Deans of Whalley * and Lords of Blackburnshire.

Peter de Cestria, the first and last rector, properly so called, of this church, is supposed, with great probability, by Sir Peter Leycester, to have been a natural son of Lacy; he was a very long-lived man, having been instituted A. D. MCCXXXV. and dying on the festival of St. Fabian and Sebastian A. D. MCCXCIII. He was also rector of Slaydburn, and provost of Beverley. All that I find concerning him farther was, that he vigorously opposed the erection of Altham into a parish church; and that he obtained a charter of free warren in his manor of Whalley †. During his incumbency that church became appropriated to the Abbey of Stanlaw, and his death was the commencement of a new and memorable æra in the history of Whalley.

Before we take leave of this subject, it may throw some light both upon the preceding disquisition, and upon the origin and constitution of the dependent churches, which arose out of our ancient parish, to state the respective ranks and rights of these foundations, according to the Saxon laws.

These were of three orders:

- 1st. The ealðan mýnŕtpe, or mother church.
- 2d. The church having a legeŕtpe, or place of burial.
- 3d. The ŕelðcŕpŕc, field kirk, or chapel without a cæmety.

The word ealðan mýnŕtpe appears sometimes to mean the cathedral church; but more generally denotes those churches of ancient erection, to which tithes were due of common right, from the first foundation of parishes in the present sense of the word ‡. Cŕpŕc and mýnŕtpe appear to be synonymous; for not only cathedrals but the larger mother churches had frequently more priests than one, living, probably, in the collegiate manner; and the Saxon monasteries themselves, before the time of Dunstan, usually consisted of secular priests, who lived together without rule and without vows. In this sense Whalley may properly be considered as the ealðan mýnŕtpe, or mother church.

But if a *Thane* had erected on his own *Bocland* (freehold or charter land) a church having a legeŕtpe, he was allowed to subtract one third part of his tithes from the mother church, and to bestow them upon his own clerk; and so essential was this circumstance of a legeŕtpe, or cemetery, to the constitution of a church, that even as late as 23 Henry III. § in a case of *quare impedit*, the issue was not whether it were church or chapel, but whether it had rights of baptism and sepulture ||. But before that time a check appears to have been put to the practice of endowing new parishes, so that foundations claiming rights of sepulture and administration of the sacraments, henceforth assumed an intermediate rank between churches of the second order, and mere “field kirks,” and were called “parochial chapels.” To the former class, in this subdivision, belong the filial churches of Rochdale, Blackburn, Sladeburn, &c., to the second, all the chapels of the old foundation, as Saddleworth, Law, Clitheroe, Colne,

* Vid. Towneley, where the connection is distinctly traced.

† Tower Records, 12 Edw. Confirmed 20 Ric. II. P. 1. Mem. 14.

‡ Leges Eadgari, Par. 2. The same distinction is observed in the laws of Canute with respect to the Weregild. Leges Cnuti, Par. 3.

§ Selden, *ubi supra*.

|| Selden, *ubi supra*.

Burnley, &c. of which hereafter. This also accounts for the resistance made by Peter de Cestria, in the very period alluded to above, against the erection of Altham into a parish church*.

Last in rank was the feldkirk, a mere oratory, or chapel of ease, so called, not from its situation in the country, but from its lying unenclosed and open to the adjoining fields. This had no right or place of sepulture, and no stated endowment; but the founder was required by the same laws of Edgar †, without subtracting anything from his tithes for the support of his chaplain, to sustain him according to his own discretion out of the remaining nine parts of his income. To this class belonged many chapels of ease within the original parish, since become parochial, some by gradual usurpation, and others by positive concession. Thus the chapel of Samlesbury, originally dependent upon Lawe, was made parochial by a grant of the rights of sepulture and baptism ‡.

The little chapel of **Whitewell**, in **Bowland**, still remaining without cæmety or enclosure, affords a complete example of these humble foundations.

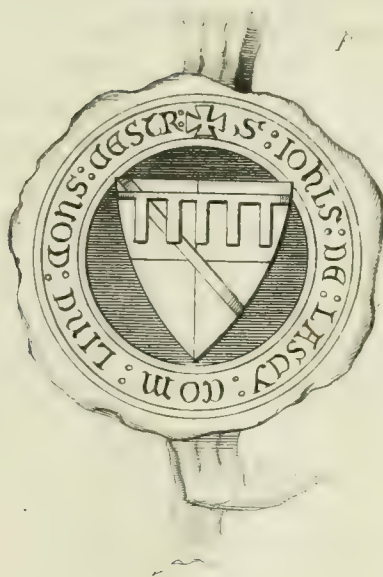
If the subject be not yet sufficiently clear, it may further be illustrated by the several *effects* which these subsequent endowments had upon the rights of their parent churches. For the erection of a church with *λεγεριτοπε*, occasioned a subtraction both of tithes and oblations; that of the parochial chapel in later times, of oblations alone; and that of the *feldkirk*, neither one nor the other.

It may be worth while to observe that the distinction between the second and third of these ranks does not appear to have been understood at the date of Delaval's charter, (temp. Hen. I.) in which the now parochial chapels of Clitheroe, Colne, and Burneley, are denominated churches, though they never received tithes; and that of St. Michael in Castro is plainly termed a chapel, though its endowment of tithes is expressly mentioned. Hence it may be inferred that in the conception of that age, a λεγεριτοπε without tithes constituted a church; and that tithes without a λεγεριτοπε did not.

* About the year 1245.

Leg. Eadgari, *ubi supra*.

† Townl. MSS.



CHAPTER II.

LOCUS BENEDICTUS DE WHALLEY.

"BONUM EST NOS HIC ESSE, QUIA HOMO VIVIT PURIUS, CADIT RARIUS, SURGIT VELOCIUS, INCEDIT
 "CAUTIUS, QUIESCIT SECURIUS, MORITUR FÆLICIUS, PURGATUR CITIUS, PRÆMIATUR COPIOSIUS."

BERNARD*.

IN the Year 1178, a period when the veneration of mankind for monastic institutions in general was at its height, and when a partial reform of the Benedictine order under St. Bernard had directed for a time the bounty of kings and nobles almost exclusively into that single channel, John, Constable of Chester, founded a monastery of Cisterrians at Stanlaw, in Cheshire, not far from his Castle of Halton, endowing it with the villages of Aston, Stanye, and other lands, and appointing that it should be called "*Locus Benedictus*†:" but the situation was low and unpleasant; at spring-tides nearly inaccessible, and sometimes overflowed; besides that the sea made continual encroachments upon the adjoining lands. These inconveniencies were patiently endured for about a century; but the vast accession of property which the Barons of Halton received in that interval from the first house of Lacy, had enabled them to multiply their benefactions to Stanlaw; and the acquisition of the rectory of

* A sentence usually inscribed on some conspicuous part of the Cistercian houses.

† *Locus*, in monastic Latin, technically expressed a religious house: thus, in missals formerly belonging to monasteries, this suffrage occurs, "*ut locum nostrum conservare digneris.*"

Rochdale from Roger de Lacy, and of Blackburn and Eccles from John Earl of Lincoln, followed by many private donations in the same quarter, occasioned a vast preponderance in the property of the Monks on the side of Lancashire, and naturally turned their eyes (never wanting in sagacity to discover warm and fertile situations) to a place at once more commodious in itself and better adapted to the inspection of their other estates. Those estates indeed afforded no situation to their taste. The glebe of Blackburn, for instance, was a bed of sand, and that of Rochdale surrounded by morasses; but the parent church of Whalley itself presented, as they truly said, “*locum habitationi admodum idoneum* *;” the glebe was fertile, warm, and spacious; the tithery extensive; the incumbent aged; themselves importunate; and their patron bountiful.

Thus two of the filial churches were reduced once more to their original dependence upon the ealdan mýnſ ƿtpe; and Whalley, previously venerable for its ecclesiastical antiquity, became the seat of a flourishing establishment, which continued for two centuries and an half to exercise unbounded hospitality and charity, to adorn the site which had been chosen with a succession of magnificent buildings, to protect the tenants of its ample domains in the enjoyment of independence and plenty, to educate and provide for their children, to employ, clothe, feed, and pay, many labourers, herdsmen, and shepherds, to exercise the arts, and cultivate the learning of the times, yet, unfortunately, at the expence of the secular incumbents, whose endowments they had swallowed up, and whose functions they had degraded into those of pensionary vicars or mendicant chaplains †.

But the secular clergy were not the only persons who felt or fancied themselves to be aggrieved by this translation. The elder convent of Sallay, which was never richly endowed, and whose lands were better adapted to the feeding of cattle than to the growth of grain and other necessities of life usually raised by the religious houses within their own domains, exhibited a large catalogue of grievances, which, at the distance of more than six miles, they experienced or apprehended from the new foundation. This dispute, however, was compromised by arbitrators of their own order. In fact, the monks knew how to lay their own damages; but the complaint was not altogether groundless, for the introduction of so numerous an establishment into a country scarcely able to support its own inhabitants before, must necessarily be felt in a defect of provisions, or an increase of their price.

But to return, Stanlaw, notwithstanding the name of *locus benedictus*, appears to have been eminently unblest, for, in addition to the calamities recited above, the tower of the church fell down in the year 1287; and in 1289, great part of the abbey was consumed by fire. These misfortunes would undoubtedly quicken the impatience of the monks for a removal. The advowson of Whalley, together with a licence of translation, had been obtained from Henry de Lacy by charter, dated at Pontefract, on the day of the Circumcision, A. D. 1283; but Peter de Cestria, the long-lived rector, survived this transaction ten years, and, after his death, the translation was delayed for three years longer ‡ by the want of an appropriation,

* In their petition for the appropriation.

† Couch. Book, &c. For proofs of all these particulars, see the Computus of the House for the years 1478 and 1521, which will be given in their place.

‡ The grant of an advowson to a religious house must be carefully distinguished from an appropriation, or concession in *proprios usus*. The former was merely a transfer of the patronage, and might be transacted without licence,

for which the Bull of Nic. IV. and the subsequent ratification of the founder, were not obtained till 1295; so that, it was not before the festival of St. Ambrose, or April 4th, 1296, that Gregory de Northbury, eighth abbot of Stanlaw, and his convent, took possession of the old deanery or parsonage, which was to be their abode during the erection of the new monastery.

The following Inquisition, transcribed from an ancient copy, will prove the value of this Donation, and throw considerable light on several particulars in the ancient state of the parish.

Inquisitio facta de valore et proventibus Ecclesie Matricis de Whalleia, et capellar' ejusdem, die Veneris proxime ante festum Sancti Georgii, anno Domini MCC nonogesimo sexto, per xxiv fide dignos jurat. et examinat. qui dicunt quod

WHALLEY.]—Decime Garbarum de Whalleia valent viii*l*. Item terra de D'nicis cu' fir' ville viii marc. It' Wyswall valet ix marc. It' Coldcote valet xxs. It' Magna Penhulton valet viii marc.* It' Reved valet ix marc. It' Symondston valet vii marc. It' Padiam cu' † Whitacre valet xii marc. It'm Hapton et Bryddestwysell valet xii marc. It'm Alteragium dicte Eccl'ie valet xvii*l*.

CLYDERHOW.]—It'm Decime Garbaru' de Clyderhow valent xiiii marc. It'm Chatbo'n valet vi marc. It' Worston valet vi marc. It'm Magna Merley et Parva Merley valet v marc. It' Parva Penhulton valet xxs. It'm Alteragium ejusdem capelle valet iii marc. ‡

DOWNHAM.]—It'm Decime Garbar' de Downh'm valent x marc. cu' Twyselton. It'm Alteragiu' ejusdem capelle valet iii marc. It'm terra de Dominicis de Downh'm valet i marc.

COLNE.]—It'm Decime Garbar' de Colne cu' Alcancotes §, valent viii marc. It'm Folryg valet vi marc. It'm Ferneside || cum Bernesete || valet iv marc. It'm Merclesden valet x marc. It'm Parva Merclesden valet xls. It'm Alteragiu' ejusdem capelle valet xl. It'm terra de D'nic' de Colne valet viis.

BRUNLEY.]—It'm Decime Garbar' de Bru'ley valent xv marc. It'm Clivacher valet x marc. It'm Brereclyff valet iii marc. et di. It'm Worstorn valet vi marc. It'm Extwysel valet xls. It'm Habrincham valet viii marc. It' Hightenhull ¶ valet iii marc. It'm Alteragium ejusdem capelle valet xx marc. It'm terra de D'nicis de Bru'ley valet i marc.

licence, by a lay-patron; the latter was an act of the ordinary, or sometimes, as in the instance before us, of the Pope himself, *ex plenitudine potestatis*. During this interval of two years, as the monks never presented a rector, the church must have been considered as litigious, otherwise the Bishop of Litchfield would scarcely have neglected to avail himself of the lapse, and the monks would have lost their turn and their translation together.

* The distinction between Great and Little Pendleton is now unknown, and the Vicar of Whalley receives the alterage of both. Little Pendleton, which is here described as in the chapelry of Clitheroe, appears to be that part of the village in which the Hall is situated.

† Whitaker, from which the Author of this Work derives his name and descent, is no longer an Hamlet under Padiham, but is reduced to a single house—the ancient Hall.

‡ The omission of all mention of glebe in Clitheroe, proves that the glebe elsewhere mentioned in that place, belonged to the Chapel of St. Michael in the Castle.

§ Alcancotes is in the same predicament; no Hamlet, but a single gentleman's house.

|| The name of Fernesete is lost. Barnside remains, like Alcancotes, in an ancient manor-house.

¶ This proves that Ighten-hill is not extra-parochial, but merely an Hamlet, within Burnley.

CHYRCHE.]—It'm Decime Garbaru' de Chirche valent IIII marc. Ib'm Oswaldestwysell valet VI marc. It'm Dukword valet II marc. It'm Huncot valet VI marc. It'm Alt'agiu' ejusde' capelle valet V marc. It'm terra de D'nicis valet xs.

HASLINGDEN.]—It'm Decime Garbar' de Haslingden valent V marc. It'm Alt'agi'm cu' terra de D'nicis valet IV marc.

S'MA CCXII. VIIS. *

Ad h' dicit Inq'sitio q'd octava pars Matris Eccl'ie de Whalleia et capelle ville de Cliderhow et capelle de Downh'm de jure et consuetudine p'tinet ad Eccl'iam de Blagburn. It'm ad alia onera sustinenda et supportanda oportet invenire ibi septe' capellanos, viz. ad Whall', Clyd'how, Downh'm, Colne, Bru'ley, Church, et Haslingden, viz. unicuique capellano IIII marc. sec' consuetudine' patrie. It'm in Procurationibus D'ni Archiep' xls. et in synodal' IIIS. It'm ad inveniend. pane' et vinu' annuati' xls. It'm ad hæc Abbas inveniet ibi xx mo'chos sc'm tenore' Bulle sue cu' aliis ministris necessariis in Abbathia de novo constructa cu' aliis su'ptibu' necessariis. Et licet ista Inquisitio capta fu'it ex mandato D'ni Archiepi' Cant' ut postmodum de taxacio'e vicarie in certis porcionibus ordinaret; tamen hoc per ipsum non fuit factu', sed postea per D'n'm Walt'um de Langton Coven' et Lich. Ep'm d'ca Vicaria fuit ordinata, videliz. Anno D'ni Mill'mo CC'mo nonagesimo octavo.

Before we take leave of the original house, it may be proper to record the names of its abbots, with the date of their respective deaths, which is all the intelligence that can now be retrieved concerning them, excepting that, on the morrow of St. Simon and Jude, A.D. 1259, the abbot returned from the Council of London with the Bishop of Litchfield's confirmation of the church of Blackburn, and that their foundation consisted of 20 monks, the expences of each of whom were estimated at v marks, or LXVII. XIII. IVd. in the whole.

ABBATES DE STANLAW †.

Dns. RADULPHUS, primus Abbas, ob. die Bart. A. D. 1209.

OSBERNUS, 2dus. ob. die Phil. Jac.

Dns. CAROLUS, temp. Joh. Scott. Cons. Cest. ob. 3 Non. Jan.

PETRUS, ob. prid. Non. Mart.

SIMON, ob. 7 Id. Dec. 1268.

RICARDUS THORNTON, ob. 7 Id. Dec. 1269.

RICARDUS NORTHBURY, ob. Kal. Jan. 1272, nocte circumcisionis.

* It might be proved, if necessary, that the Rectory was, at this time, nearly equal to the rental of the whole parish: the reason of which is, that the tithes are a tax upon the actual produce, while rents bore a much smaller proportion than at present to the real value: or, in other words, the tenant had a more and the landlord a less lucrative interest in the estate.

It is remarkable that the alterage of Whalley with Padiham, exceeded its present amount; one reason of which is, the vast numbers of sheep and lambs which were not only tithed in kind, but paid a modus to the Easter Roll.

The expression of Abbathia de novo constructa can only be understood of some temporary erection for the accommodation of the Monks, as the present Abbey is unquestionably of later date.

† This catalogue is transcribed from Bib. Cotton. Titus, f. 3.

ROBERTUS HOWARTH, ob. 10 Kal. Maii. 1304,
having resigned the Abbey, and remained at Stanlaw*.

The names of the fraternity, at the time of their translation, were as follow :

1. GREGORIUS DE NORTHBURY, primus Abbas de Whalley, ob. Die Vincentii Martyris, A.D. 1309†.
- Robertus Haworth, quondam Abbas de Stanlaw, ob. 10 Kal. Maii, 1304.
- Fr. Thurstanus de Cestr. Prior, ob. Kal. Ma. 1296, et sep. est ante altare B. V. M. in ecc. par. de Whalley.
2. HELIAS DE WORKSLEIGH, S.T.P. Abbas secundus, cess. ab. et ob. A.D. 1318, apud Mon. de Baxley‡.
- Fr. Ričus de Preston.
- Fr. Hugo de Hely.
- Fr. Symon parvus de Smetlay.
- Fr. Johes de Hely.
- Fr. Willmus de Cestri.
- Fr. Rob. de Toftes, ob. 1311.
- Fr. Rog. de Melcz.
- Fr. Willmus de Worbie de Leigh, sive Workesleigh ?
- Fr. Ric. de Rodierd. Abbas de Cumbermere, ob. 1316, sep. in cemiterio ab Whalley.
- Fr. Ric. de Aston.
- Fr. Johes de Buckclegh, al. Bulhaughe.
3. JOH'ES DE BELFIELD, Abbas 3tus. ob. 8 Kal. Aug. 1323.
- Fr. Helias de Moston.
- Fr. Willmus de Segbroke.
- Fr. Robtus de Werington Prior, ob. 3 non. Ap. 1348.
- Fr. Willmus de Wicoe.
- Fr. Adam de Lostokes.
- Fr. Rob. de Midleton Prior.
- Fr. Rog. de Bromburghe, ob. 9 Kal. Sept. 1339.
- Fr. Ričus de Mottram.
- Fr. Ričus de Wheatley, ob. 13 Kal. Ma. 1355.
- Fr. Tho. de Upton.
- Fr. Rog. de Frodsham.
- Fr. Joh. de Walton.
- Fr. Warinus de Ones vel Ines.

* This ancient foundation, which, after the translation to Whalley, seems to have subsisted as a small cell down to the general dissolution, is now merely a farm-house, the property of Sir Ferdinando Poole, Bart.; and the demesne belonging to it, a rich grass-farm, appears to be fertilized, rather than injured, by the periodical inundations of sea-water, to which it is still exposed. The Abbot of Stanlaw was one of the spiritual barons who held under the Earls of Chester, and sat in the little parliament of that Palatinate, of which there is a good view in King's Vale Royal.

† For the seal of this abbot appended to a charter dated 1208, *vide* Pl. III. No. 4.

‡ Boxley, in Kent.

Fr. Rob. de Buri, ob. 1311.

Fr. Ričus de Sutton.

Fr. Hen. Storesworth.

Fr. Humph. Niger.

Fr. Tho. de Lene.

Fr. Rog. Pes Leporis*.

In all thirty-five.

Of these†, however, five were left at Stanlaw under the government of their old abbot, Robert de Haworth; *viz.* Upton, Frodsham, Walton, Ines, and Buri; Sutton and Storesworth were appointed to the care of the Grange of Merland‡; Niger and Lene were left for the same purpose at Stayning's; Harefoot, or *Pes Leporis*, at Staneye; and Worsley was sent to pursue his studies at Oxford, where he afterwards proceeded to the degree of doctor in divinity. Twenty-four, therefore, remain, as the original convent of Whalley, a number too considerable to be well accommodated in a single parsonage.

It is a matter of some curiosity to determine the site of the ancient deanery or parsonage of Whalley; for we are not to take it for granted that the abbey was erected on the precise spot where the other had stood, as the monks were empowered by the charter of foundation, "*Monasterium in terra Ecclesiæ de Whalley ubicunque sibi viderint expedire de novo construere et edificare.*" Now there is at the East end of the church-yard a very ancient structure of wood and stone, surrounding a small quadrangle, the most ancient form of such

* The dates of this obituary are principally from a MS. Cotton Lib. Titus, F. 3. It is often difficult to trace the parentage of monks, 1st, because they frequently dropped their family name, and assumed a local one; and, 2d, because they were persons dead in law, and therefore never occur in wills or inquisitions, which might serve to connect them with their father's house. But, in this investigation, one of the best rules is to seek for them, either in the immediate vicinity of the Abbey, if it afforded any family or any place of the same name; or, 2dly, among the tenants and dependants of the house, though more remote. In order to illustrate this latter rule, if we attend to the catalogue above, we shall observe, among thirty-five names, of which the rest belong principally to Cheshire, five who appear to have been natives of the parish of Rochdale. The abbey of Stanlaw had, at this time, very large possessions in this parish; and appears, from many circumstances, to have been extremely popular among the inhabitants. Again, the higher we ascend towards the origin of local names, the less they are ramified, and the greater is the probability, that any person was really born at the place whose name he bears. Laying all these circumstances together, we may, without much hesitation, refer Abbot Haworth to the ancient house of Great Haworth, near Rochdale, which ended about thirty years ago in Radclyffe Haworth, LL.D. Fellow of All Souls College, Oxon.; the two Helys to the hamlet of that name; John de Bucklegh, to the family of Buckley, which may be traced up to a much higher antiquity; and, lastly, Abbot John de Belfield, to the ancient stock of Belfield, in Butterworth, then inhabiting the house so called, and which continued at Cleggswood, down to the middle of the last century.

† Cotton Libr. Cleopatra, c. 3.

‡ Merland, one of the earliest acquisitions of the abbey of Stanlaw in those parts, is a pleasant village about two miles S.W. from Rochdale, with a mere or small lake of about seven Lancashire acres, whence it derives its name. There is a tradition in the neighbourhood of Rochdale, that Gooselane was a grange; the only foundation for which seems to have been a resemblance of name to a place also belonging to Stanlaw and Whalley Abbeys, called, in the Coucher Book, Goselone; but the arrangement of that accurate compilation proves the latter place to have been in the vicinity of Chester.—It may be worth observing, that the morasses about Merland afforded the last retreat, in this country, to the black game. The mere abounds with trout, perch, and roach; and the village had once a chapel, probably a remnant of the Grange; and is thence denominated, in Speed's maps, A.D. 1610, *Chap. Marland*. It was overlooked by Speed's predecessor, Saxton.

buildings,

buildings, and still denominated the old hall. As therefore we have shewn the manor and glebe of the deanery to be the same, or rather the one to have been swallowed up in the other, and as the old hall of every village uniformly designed the manor or principal mansion-house, it will follow that here was the primitive residence of the dean, and here the temporary dwellings of the abbot and of his monks. I do not mean to affirm that the individual building now remaining was the house in question; for it scarcely appears, from the style of the timber-work, to be older than Hen. VII. but that the real parsonage of Whalley stood upon the same site and bore the same name.

Moreover, this house, though immediately contiguous to the parish-church, had a domestic oratory; for I find, in Dodsworth's MSS. V. 159, 97, that on the 4th Kal. Ma. MCCCVI. the altar in the chapel, which Peter de Cestria had made in the manor of Whalley, was dedicated by Tho. Bp. of Candida Casa (Whitern or Galloway); and that, on the festival of St. Philip and James he celebrated mass, *in pontificalibus*, within the convent of Whalley; that is, I suppose, in the above chapel.

But, to return.—The monks, who must have been much incommoded in their new habitation, would naturally be anxious to provide themselves with better lodgings; and therefore, instead of increasing the number of their religious to sixty, which, according to the second charter of appropriation by Pope Boniface VIII. they were bound to do, we now find them applying all their superfluous income to the erection of a spacious and magnificent abbey, of which their own estimate was 3000*l*.* sterling, an enormous sum in those days.

Accordingly, the foundation-stone was laid on the morrow of St. Barnabas, I suppose in the year of the translation, by Henry de Lacy in person; and, in ten years from that time the work was in such forwardness, that on the 4th of the Cal. Ma. 1306, great part of the abbey, and the whole precinct, were consecrated by Thomas Bishop of Candida Casa, commissioned by the Bishop of Chester†.

This fact will determine a question which has perplexed our writers on monastic antiquities; namely, what parts of religious houses, besides the churches, were actually consecrated; and it seems to have been taken for granted, that the chapter-houses and cloisters only were hallowed, as the former were generally honoured with the interment of some great persons, and the latter were the common cemeteries of the house‡. But it now appears, that the whole close and precinct received a general benediction from the Bishop; though the other parts of the building, more peculiarly devoted to holy offices, received, no doubt, a more formal and solemn dedication.

* Petition for the appropriation of the church of Preston. Coucher Book.—The average rent of lands at that time was four-pence per Lancashire acre; but, as the intrinsic value of a penny in the reign of Edw. II. was nearly three-pence, this is, in reality, about a shilling. Multiply, therefore, by thirty (as thirty shillings are about the $\frac{1}{2}$ average at present), and this sum amounts to £.90,000.—But at that time lands were cheaper, in the true sense of the word; that is, the tenant expected a larger profit in his farm, probably by one half: divide, therefore, by 2, and we have £.45,000.—No extravagant estimate, if the parts which have perished were equal to those which remain.

† “A.D. 1306, 4to, Cal. Ma. consecrata fuit magna pars Abbatiae de Whalley cum toto præinctu, ab Epo. Cestri. “Tho. Cand. Cas. vicaria dimissione sancta gerente in honorem Gregorii Papæ et aliorum doctorum. Præs. Dno. “Wm. de Leigh Abb. de Cumbermere, Dno. G. de Norbury Abb. de Whalley, Rob. de Werington Priore, Rob. de “Topcliffe Subpr., Rob. de Middleton Celler., Robt. Talbot sen. de Blackburnshire,” &c. Townl. MSS.—It may be necessary to apprise the Reader, that the Bishops of Litchfield were frequently styled of Chester.

‡ Vide Fuller's “History of Abbeys.”

§ Much more 1815.

It may also be doubted what was meant by the terms *great part of the abbey*; but I suppose that in this first period of ten years the precinct was marked out and inclosed, and some habitable parts of the building, at least those of more immediate necessity, erected; but the church and dormitory were not yet begun.

Abbot NORBURY survived this dedication about three years; and, dying on St. Vincent's day 1309, was succeeded by

II. HELIAS DE WORKESLEY, D.D. of whom it may probably be conjectured that he was descended from a celebrated hero in the Crusades, of both his names, commonly called Elias the Giant*, who was born at Worsley, and after many triumphs over the Infidels, died and was buried at Rhodes.

Of this abbot we know nothing, but that he resigned his charge, and died, according to the MS.† A.D. 1318, in the Monastery of *Baxley*, that is, I suppose, Boxley, in Kent. Colleges or abbeys, during the time of their erection, require a man of business at their head rather than a scholar: Worsley was probably a scholar, as he was certainly a student, and therefore would naturally prefer a private station in another house, to unquiet pre-eminence amidst the noise of axes and hammers in his own.

On his resignation, of which the precise time is not known, the convent elected

III. JOHN DE BELFIELD, in the beginning of whose government (A.D. 1316, as I presume that Worsley had now resigned) so little progress had yet been made in the building, that we find the monks still unsettled, dissatisfied with their situation, and calling upon their patron for a second translation. The place, which heretofore seemed the great object of their wishes, was now become “minus sufficiens, maxime propter defectum bosci pro meremio ad monasterium suum de novo construendum, et alias domos suas faciendas, et propter defectum focaliæ et etiam propter distriktionem et insufficientiam loci ad blada et alia cariaga Abbatiae necessaria!” So different is the language of hope and of possession! In consequence, however, of these representations, which surely had no foundation, excepting in that part which related to difficulty of carriage, the monks obtained from Thos. Earl of Lancaster, their patron and the firm friend of their order, a grant of *Toxteth* and *Smethedon*, near Liverpool, accompanied with a licence “ut inhabilitatem et insufficientiam loci prædicti fugiendo, monasterium suum ab eo loco de Whalley amoveant, et in dicto loco de Toxtath, ubicunque sibi viderint expedire, de novo construant et edificent.”—Dat. in fest. Jac. A.D. 1316.

Why this plan never took effect must now be left to conjecture; but as Worsley seems to have resigned the abbey, and to have been succeeded by Belfield a little before this time, the latter might prefer remaining in the neighbourhood of his friends and of the principal estates of his house; and indeed a translation to *Toxteth* would have brought back many of the inconveniencies which attended the situation of Stanlaw.

About this time I am inclined to fix an undated transaction, which is recorded in Harl. Lib. MS. 1830, in these words:—“8 Id. Oct. Gilb. Ep. Suff. Walteri Ep. Litchfield dedicavit “magnum altare in Oratorio de Whalley V. M. et Omnibus Sanctis.”

It was one of the offices appertaining to Suffragans, to hallow altars. Walter Langton became Bishop of Litchfield in the very year of the translation of this house, and died in 1322; and the most probable account of this dedication seems to be, that, as the work had languished

* Lancashire pedigrees, MS.

† Cotton Libr. Titus, F. 3.

under Abbot Worsley, upon his surrender, and upon the resolution having been formed of remaining at Whalley, the fabric was carried on with more spirit; some of the habitable parts of the house were immediately entered upon; the old manor-house or parsonage of Peter de Cestria was abandoned, and therefore the domestic chapel and altar, consecrated, as we have seen, in 1306, ceasing to be convenient for the devotions of the convent, a temporary oratory was erected upon some site immediately adjoining; for we are not to dream of the high altar in the abbey church, of which the foundations had not yet been laid*.

A grant from Adam de Huddleston of his quarry, beyond the bridge of Calder, in Billington, dated 12 Ed. II. or 1319, proves that the monks were at length setting about their buildings in earnest†.

The year after, or 1320, the Convent was visited by Adam, Abbot of Cumbermere, as visitor of the Cistercian Order, when the stock and finances of the house appeared as follows:

Recept. de Mero a Visitatione

ad Vis. - - - ccxciii. xs. xd.

Exp. ab ead. usq. ad eand. cccxxl. xviii. viii.

Debita Domus in toto clxxviii. xis. viii.

This excess of the expences above the receipt, seems to imply that considerable sums were now laying out upon the buildings.

Stauri boves - - - ccxi

Vaccæ - - - cxcix

Tauri - - - vii

III Annor. - - - xcvi

II Ann. - - - cxxxiii

Stirci - - - cxix

Affri utriusque sexus - xxxix

Equi portantes - - - ix

III Ann. - - - xv

II Ann. - - - xi

Pulli - - - xv

In all, 800 head of horned cattle, and only 837 sheep, a very extraordinary disproportion, and especially at a time when so much more ground lay in common than at present.

The wild cattle in the park, if any such there were, are not distinguished in this account from the common breed.

No draft-horses are mentioned in this account, whence I conclude that the cartage of materials for the building was hired or given; or, what is still more probable, performed by oxen.

Porci utriusque sexus - lxxxviii

This was pretty plainly an herd of swine, kept in the woods: they were far too numerous for the farm-yard; and, indeed, though the hog would of course be put up to fatten at that time as at present, he was, in his general habits, more of a wild animal than now, feeding, as his snout imports, on roots, mast, &c. and very far from the filthy impounded glutton to which we have degraded him.

Oves - - - dcccxxxvii

* Townl MSS. Ibid.

† In the same year or the next, the abbot and convent obtained Huddleston's moiety of the manor of Billington from Thomas Earl of Lancaster, subject to the life estate of Huddleston, which he had in the said moiety, by grant from Hen. de Lacy.—The licence of mortmain bears date Nov. 10, 12 Ed. II.

It farther appears, from the account of this visitation, that the house were indebted to Gilbert de la Leigh *c/l.* sterling, which they had been compelled to borrow, for the accommodation of their patron, Thomas Earl of Lancaster.

This is the last transaction which occurs during the government of John de Belfield, who died 8 Cal. Aug. 1323, and was succeeded by

IV. ROBERT DE TOPCLIFFE, who, in 1306, had witnessed the general consecration of the precinct, being then a young man, and subprior of the house.

This abbot is memorable for having begun that spacious and magnificent pile, the Conventual Church; of which he laid the first stone on the festival of St. Gregory the abbot, A.D. 1330*. This† great work appears to have been slowly but regularly pursued; for, within fifteen years from its foundation, I find that John de Kuerdale, who had left lands to the abbey of the annual value of five marks, was interred in the new conventual church‡. The work, however, was not yet carried beyond the nave.

The stones, of which the church was constructed, appear to have been brought from the quarries of Read and Symondstone; for Nic. del Holden and Joh. de Symondstone licence the abbot and convent to dig for stone in Symondstone, *pro fabrica monasterii sui*, A.D. 1336.

John del Holt, of Read, granted a similar permission, in vasto de Read 7^o. Ed. III. or 1334.

This abbot, in the same year in which he laid the foundation of one church, contrived to despoil and ruin another; for in 1330, by representing the necessities of his house, and the immoderate endowment of the vicarage of Whalley, he prevailed on Roger, bishop of Litchfield, to annul the former equitable ordination, and to substitute in its place a wretched appointment, which has starved the church from that time to the present§.

In the year 1341 we have the following curious account of the provisions of the house, from a transcript in Harl. Lib. MS. 2062:

MEM. fr. Wm. de Preston dimisit in officio provisoris conventûs de Whalley feriâ III. in capite Geminorum, A. 1341, fratri Tho. de Routhcliffe succedenti eidem in officio p̃dic. viz.

ccccxxiv de duris Piscibus; that is, stock-fish.

De Salmonibus Grossis xxviii.

De Halicibus mmm.

* Cotton Lib. Titus, F. 3.

† The importunity of the monks for contributions to carry on their buildings, is thus divertingly represented by Chaucer:

“ Give me then of thy gold to make our cloister,
Quod he; for many a muskle and many an oyster
When other men have been full wele at ese
Hath been our food, our cloister for to rease:
And yet, unneathe the fundament
Performed is, ne of our pavement
Is not a tile yet within our wones,

—— We owen forty pound for stones.

SUMPNER'S TALE.

These good men had not met with a Nicholas del Holden or John de Symondstone.

‡ It is also recorded, that the manor-house of Kuerdale was burned down the year following. — Ib'm.

§ Vide Chap. III.

1 Capulani de fruct.; probably one basket of dried fruits.

De Carcosiis bovum VIII petras 1 marc.

De Baconibus II.

De Caseo XXIV petr.

De Butyro $1\frac{1}{2}$ petr. The proportion of butter is extremely small.

De Riis (Racemis) XLII lb. The common word *raisin* is a corruption of *raceme*.

De Amygdalis LX lb.

Ceparum MMM.

Ol. Ol. 1 lagen.

De Cumin III lb.

Pip. 1 lb.

Saffr. 1 qr. et dim.

Abbot Topcliffe made considerable acquisitions to the estates of the abbey, was active in recovering the chapel of St. Michael in the Castle, and seems to have been in all respects a zealous friend to his convent. I have some reason to believe that he was a native of Billington*, and that he was the first monk admitted after the translation. He is said to have died 10 Kal. March 1350; which date, if it be correct, will prove that he had resigned his charge; a fact not improbable on account of his age, as he had been professed above fifty years.

However this may be, in the year 1342 appears†

V. JOHN LYNDELAY, D.D.‡ of whose birth and parentage I regret my inability to give any account, as he was a man who, for many reasons, ought not to be forgotten. For to his care and industry we are indebted for the *Coucher Book* of Whalley, which is a complete and accurate chartulary or transcript of evidences belonging to that and the parent-house of Stanlaw, digested into twenty titles, every title referring to a distinct parish or township, and to the title-page is prefixed the following inscription:

MARIA T. V. S. IOHANNES.

Hic liber fuit scriptus tempore bonæ memoriæ Magistri Joh. Lyndelay sacre pagine professoris
A. MCCCXLII.

But there is also the strongest internal evidence to prove that he was author of that singular and valuable tract, the *Status de Blackburnshire*, which has preserved so many particulars of our parochial history from the earliest periods, namely, the origin and constitution of the deanery, the state of property before the Conquest, the foundation of the dependent parishes, and a number of circumstances, in attestation of which we have been enabled to adduce such a body of external testimony.

* For there was a William de Topcliffe of Billington, who, in one charter, is called his brother; or, what is the same thing, of John de Topcliffe, vicar of Whalley.—Townl. MSS.

† This is proved by the following coincidence of circumstances: John del Clogh grants to Adam de Gristhwaite and John de Topcliffe, in trust for the abbey, 10th part of the manor of Reved, A.D. 1342. And in the *Status de Blackburnshire* we are told, “Tempore Joh. Lyndlay, abb. 10^{ma} pars manerii de Revard adquisita fuit.”

‡ In the Townley MSS. the name of this abbot is spelt *Livesay*; which, had it been right, would have left no doubt with respect to his family: but, in an original charter now before me, the orthography is precisely as I have given it.

For, as this account is carried down to one of the first transactions of Lyndlay, it cannot be prior to his time; and, as it contains not the most obscure reference to any thing of later date, it must, by every rule of criticism, be held contemporary with the last facts which it records.

This memoir displays, indeed, a measure of curiosity and intelligence little to be expected in that dark age and obscure situation. The latinity of it, though far from classical, is not inferior to the style of the best historians of its time: the technical terms of canon-law, in particular, are applied with strict propriety. But, as it has been proved to belong to that period, it proves itself to belong to the place; and, when these limitations have contracted our enquiries to so narrow a compass, to whom can this germ* of the History of Whalley be with any colour of probability assigned, but to the known compiler of the Coucher Book, the contemporary abbot, the accurate and industrious Lyndlay?

The first act which occurs of this abbot is the acquisition of a tenth part of the manor of Read, in 1342; and the next, that of the manor of Choo, and the second moiety of the manor of Billington. The latter of these was an object of great importance, both from its value and its contiguity to the house.

In 1349, he, together with the convent, obtained a licence from Ed. III. *ob majorem securitatem suam et domus suæ, quod ipsi Eccliam et Clausum Abbie suæ muro de petra et calce possint firmare et kernellare*.—This was probably the part of the fabric completed under abbot Lyndelay; for 13 years after, or in 1362, the provincial of the Cistercian order, at his periodical visitation, releases the abbey and convent of Whalley from their rated contribution† *quousque ecclesia conventus sit perfecta, et simul dormitorium et refectorium, quæ sunt totaliter construendæ*. The church‡, we see, had been advancing very slowly, if at all, during the last twenty years, and the refectory and dormitory were not yet begun.

In the same year§ Henry Duke of Lancaster, patron of the house, granted in trust to the abbot and convent “2 cottages, 7 acres of land||, 183 of pasture, 200 of wood, called Rommesgreve, in the chase of Blackburn: likewise 2 mess. 126 acres of land, 26 of meadow, 130

* It has a right to that appellation; for the first idea of this Work was conceived many years ago in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, after a perusal of the *Status de Blackburnshire*, in the Mon. Angl.

† Townley MSS.

‡ In the tower of the church there appear to have been five bells, of which I met with the following imperfect memorial, among the papers of my worthy predecessor, Mr. Johnson:—“Thomas Talbot, of Dinkley, A. D. 1515, gave to the steeple of Whalley one bell, called the mourning-bell; the second was consecrated to St. John the Evangelist; the third to St. John Baptist; the fourth in honour of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin; the fifth to the Holy Trinity, and All Saints, and all Souls going out of this world. This bell was given by Wm. Redcliff of Wimbersley, who gave his body to lie at Whalley, if his dear wife died after him; but, if she died first, she might choose where she would lie, but All Souls' bell towing for her at her departure, which was A.D. 1505.

“Roger Fitton, of Martholm, in Harwood, gave the third bell; and Matilda, his dear wife, gave an acre of land, and other lands in Harwood and Billington, for good of her poor soul and her consort, to be prayed and sung for in the choir.

“Also Roger Nowell, of Merley, gave xix acres of arable land, on condition that every priest of the said house daily, in the Canon of the Mass, should make special commemoration of the souls of his family, as well the dead as the living. A. D. 1283.”

§ Coucher Book; from whence this indenture, in old French, has been transplanted into the *Monasticon*.

|| Land, in the old law sense, is arable land.—*Terra* (says Sir Edward Coke, who always affected quaint etymologies) *à terendo*.

“ of pasture called Standen, Holcroft, and Grenelache, lying in the towns of Penhulton and
 “ Clyderhow, with the fold and foldage of Standen, to support two recluses in a certain place
 “ within the church-yard of the parochial church of Whalley; as also two women servants to
 “ attend them, there to pray for the soul of the said Duke, his ancestors and heirs, and to find
 “ them every week 17 loaves of bread, such as are usually made in the convent, each weighing
 “ fifty shillings sterling, and seven loaves of an inferior sort and the same weight; also eight
 “ gallons of their better beer, and three-pence for their food. Moreover, at the feast of All
 “ Saints, yearly, to provide them 10 large stock-fishes, one bushel of oatmeal for pottage, one
 “ bushel of rye, two gallons of oil for their lamps, one pound of tallow for candle, six loads of
 “ turf (no coal), and one load of faggots; also to repair their habitations, and to find a chaplain
 “ to say mass in the chapel of these recluses daily, with vestments, utensils, and ornaments for
 “ the said chapel. The successors of these recluses to be nominated by the Duke and his heirs*.”

This endowment was ample; but turned out, as we shall hereafter see, more to the emolument than either the credit or comfort of the house upon which it was engrafted.

Six years after this time appears another visitation by the abbot of Rivaulx, as deputy to the provincial of his order; the result of which, I fear, will induce a suspicion that abbot Lyndlay was more of a scholar than either a disciplinarian or œconomist. For

† Recept. an. MCCCLXVI	DXXVIII <i>l.</i> xs.	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Recept. an. current. usq. ad} \\ \text{diem Visitationis, viz. diem} \\ \text{post fest. S. Petri ad Vincula} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{CCLl. is. vd.} \\ \\ \text{CCCCXXXVIIIl.} \end{array}$
Exp. in eod.	DCLXXXII <i>l.</i> xvs. viii <i>d.</i>	

In ultimo computo debetur Duci Lanc.

pro Capella Castri Cliderhow	- - -	cccl.
Diversis Creditoribus	- - -	CCXLVIII <i>l.</i> vis. viii <i>d.</i>
Solvend. de pecunia recepta de	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Abb. de Cumbermere et aliis} \\ \text{malefactoribus} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{CLXIIIl. xiis. viiid.} \\ \text{At the meaning of this article} \\ \text{I can offer no conjecture.} \end{array} \right\}$
Abb. de Cumbermere et aliis		
malefactoribus		
Debita de claro	- - -	DCCXVI <i>l.</i> iiii <i>s.</i> iv <i>d.</i>

Boves	- - -	c
Tauri	- - -	ii
Vaccæ	- - -	xxx
Bovunculi et Juvenc.	ii ann.	xx
Sturci	- - -	xx

CLXXII

* This is a good specimen of English œconomics 450 years ago: but the provisions vary exceedingly, both in kind and in proportion, from what would be allowed in the foundation of a modern alms-house. Bread and beer seem to have been intended for the principal support of these recluses. Even oatmeal pottage, the wholesome food of our Lancashire peasantry, of which we have here the first mention, must have been a rarity, as one bushel *per annum* would not have supplied a meal per day. Peat was the principal fuel, with a little wood; no fossil-coal; a very small provision of oil for lamps; and of tallow, little better than none. Hence I conclude, that the recluses must have been intended to keep very early hours at night. But, from what follows in their history, it may be feared that some of them *loved darkness rather than light*.

† Townl. MSS.

Verveces	-	-	-	CCLXXII
Ov. Matric.	-	-	-	CLXXVII
Agni	-	-	-	CVI
Affri ad grang. pro opere	-			IV

Monachi XXIX.

De quibus III sæculariter evagantes.

Conversus I. *

From the increase of rents, and great decrease of stock, it appears that the monks had let out a considerable portion of their demesne within the last forty years.

I have met with no other memorials of the house during the life-time of Dr. Lyndlay, who sat at least 35 years, as he was alive in 1377, but probably died soon after.

He was succeeded by

VI. WILLIAM SELBIE, Vicar of Whalley, of whom nothing is remembered but the name.

His successor was

VII. NICHOLAS DE EBORACO, or YORKE, who occurs in 1392; and, by inq. appears to have died 5th of Hen. V. or 1417.

He was succeeded by

†VIII. WILLIAM WHALLEY, undoubtedly a native of this place, in whose time, after an interval nearly of 60 years, we meet with another notice relating to the progress of the building; for “ in Vigilia Thomæ Ap. A.D. 1425, intravit conventus de Whalley in novum dormitorium ad noctem immediate post completorium‡ in ecclesia ab omnibus decantatum, insuper “ Dns. Wilhelmus abbas et totus conventus processionaliter stantes cantabant hymnum Te Deum “ et cantando Abbas indutus copa cum pastorali virgâ aspersit aquam benedictam in omnes “ lectos dormitorii §.”

This was a striking ceremony; and serves to show with what judgment and knowledge of the human heart, the gloomy uniformity of monastic life was occasionally varied, by exhibitions calculated to strike the senses and amuse the imagination.

It is not impossible that it might have a better effect that, as the hours of severest trial to those who were debarred from the great privilege of their nature were to be passed in that apartment, an awe, which, in superstitious minds, would long accompany the remembrance of this *outward sprinkling*, might be an inducement, where purer ones were wanting, to *keep the heart sprinkled from an evil conscience*||: And, after all the outcry that has been raised against ceremonies, in days of comparative darkness, a real use might thus result from *divers washings, and carnal ordinances, imposed on them until the time of reformation*¶.

The refectory, which, with the kitchens, probably formed the South side of the cloister-court, now destroyed, seems to have been completed in the interval betwixt the year 1362 and 1425.—The dormitory appears to have been the upper story of the Western side of the same quadrangle, which is yet remaining, and consisting of one apartment, at least 120 feet in length.

* The *Conversi* were lay brethren.

† In the possession of Mr. Barret, of Manchester, is a general pardon granted to William, Abbot, and the Convent of Whalley, dated at Westminster A.R. Hen. VI. 3°. Test. Joh. Duc. of Bedford, and countersigned Clitherowe.

‡ The *Complegium* or *Compline*, in the Romish ritual, is the last part of the evening-service.

§ Harl. Lib. MS. 1830.

|| Hebr. x. 22.

¶ Hebr. ix. 10.

Abbot

Abbot Whalley survived the benediction of the dormitory nine years, and seems to have devoted his latter days to the erection of the choir of the church, which, however, he did not live to see completed, for he died in 1434*, after an active and useful presidency of 17 years.

Next succeeded

IX. JOHN ECCLES, who must have been an aged man at his election, as he was considerably senior in order of admission to his predecessor. There can be little doubt that he was a native of the town whose name he bore, and of which his house had the appropriation. This abbot had the honour of putting the last hand to the fabric of his abbey, at least according to the original plan†, after a period of 142 years from the first foundation; for, in 1438, “in vigilia Omnium Sanctorum intravit conventus de Whalley in nova stalla tempore Johannis Eccles Abbatis‡.

Notwithstanding this information, which I have no reason to think incorrect, the abbot's stall, which, with great part of the rest, is still preserved in the parish-church, has the cypher W. W. which undoubtedly means William Whalley. But the chronological difficulty may be obviated, by supposing that the stalls had been begun in the latter end of abbot Whalley's time; that the abbot's stall had been carved first, and that the choir was not ready for them, or they for the choir, till four years after, as the monks appear to have carried on their works with great deliberation.

Indeed, a question naturally arises out of this account; namely, to what concurrence of circumstances it was owing, that the completion of an edifice, of which every part was wanting either for the accommodation of its inhabitants or for the pomp of worship, had been deferred so long§. But the answer is obvious: the Abbey of Whalley, with great revenues, was never rich; and though the monks had not only neglected to increase their number to 60, as they were bound to do by the Bull of P. Boniface, but had even reduced their numbers beneath the original establishment of 40; yet, from the two statements of their affairs which have been given, they appear to have been usually in debt. Their founder had, indeed, bestowed upon them, in addition to their other possessions, a valuable rectory and a rich and extensive glebe; but this was all: he permitted them to take possession of the old parsonage-house, and to provide for themselves better accommodations at their leisure; and thus circumstanced, they judged wisely, to adopt a magnificent plan, and to pursue it, though slowly, yet with uniformity, rather than to disgrace themselves, and what they conceived to be the cause of God, by mean and hasty erections.

But by what mismanagement, it will be asked, were their funds inadequate to the completing of the present building in a much shorter period? Perhaps, by no mismanagement at all.

The claims upon their hospitality were immense, and sometimes drew from them complaints on a subject, which, to do them justice, rarely excited their murmurs without cause. Hospitality was a virtue common to all the religious houses; but the peculiar situation of Whalley, almost at an equal distance between Manchester and Lancaster, in the centre of a

* The Lady Chapel, built by abbot Paslew, seems not to have formed a part of the original plan.

† Townley MSS.

‡ Harl. Libr. MS. 1830. — I now think that no more is meant by these words, than that the new stalls were substituted to old ones. The choir itself appears to have been finished long before.

§ It had not been wanting so long. — See the last note.

barren and inhospitable tract, and in the great route of the pilgrims* from North to South, rendered these demands singularly oppressive here. Their liberality in money was also great.—The nobility and gentry of the county had corrodies or pensions; the poor friars, the minstrels, the officers of the Ecclesiastical Court in their visitations, and even the servants of ordinary visitants, partook liberally of their bounty. Then again, the most hopeful of their novices were educated at the universities, and encouraged to proceed to the higher degrees, when degrees cost at least half as much in terms of money as at present†.

Besides, their demesnes, though rich in pasturage, were not very favourable to the growth of grain. The collection of corn-tithe in kind, throughout the greater part of their parishes, must have been nearly impossible; and the conveyance of the grain they were compelled to purchase, *extra patriam*, as they termed it, must have been extremely inconvenient, in consequence of the state of the roads.

On the whole, it will leave no very unfavourable impression of the monks of Whalley to assert, what may be proved from their accounts, that not more than a fourth part of their large income was consumed in their own personal expences.

But these considerations will be more properly resumed, when we enter upon the subject of their receipts and expenditure.

Of the adjoining hermitage, founded by Henry Duke of Lancaster, nothing has occurred since the foundation; but, in the time of abbot Eccles, an instance of misconduct, in a votaress on this establishment, afforded a pretext, which may seem to have been willingly embraced, for petitioning the King, who was now become patron, as Duke of Lancaster, to dissolve an institution, which did no credit either to itself or the monastery on which it depended.

It appears, that under the general description of a recluse, votaries of either sex might be included. Accordingly, King Henry VI. by letters patent dated July 6, an. reg. 15°, nominated one “Isole de Heton de Com. Lanc. vidua, quod ipsa pro termino vitæ suæ esse possit “anachorita in loco ad hoc ordinato juxta ecclesiam parochialem de Whalley.” This vow was probably taken in the first fervors of sorrow, which soon wore off, so that the widow grew weary of her confinement, and broke loose from her vows and her cell together. Vowesses like these, who, under pretence of total solitude, were only exempted from the restraints of social retirement, seem to have been, in general, a disgrace to their profession. Leland mentions an anchoress “in media urbe (of the town of Wakefield) unde aliquando inventa fecunda;” and, among some old charters relating to the parish of Rochdale, I have seen an attestation, *fili monialis* (in the proper sense of anchoress) *de Newbold*. Nay, even among those females who were kept under the stricter discipline of the cloister, many, it is to be feared, were little better than these solitaries who kept their own keys; and friar Wrath, the mischievous spy of Peirs Plowman, would remember many instances like that of dame Parnel‡, though he does indeed hint that her misconduct stood in the way of her advancement.

* The mention of Pilgrim Cross, in Tottington, at once marks their route and the frequency of their journeys. The shrine of Becket, and of Our Lady of Walsingham, probably had many devout and idle visitants from the North; and in the title *De Donis* of the Computus A. 1478, is a sum charged as given “*itinerantibus versus Jerusalem*.”

† In the Computus of 1521 is the following entry: “*Scolari pro gradu Bac.*” 9 : 6 : 8.—which is almost equivalent to £.100 at present.

‡ And Dame Parnel a priests file, prioress was she never,
for she had a child in chery time, all our chapter hit twist.

However,

However, the behaviour of this Isole, or Isold de Heton, occasioned a representation to the king, which contains the following passage* :

“ TO THE KYNG OWRE SOVEREIGN LORD, &c.

“ Be hit remembryd that the please and habitacion of the seyd recluse is within place
“ halowed, and nere to the gate of the seyd monastre, and that the weemen that have been
“ attendyng and acquayntyd to the seyd recluse have recorse dailly into the seyd monastre, for
“ the livere of brede, ale, kychin, and other thyngs for the sustentacyon of the seyd recluses
“ accordyng to the composityon endentyd above rehersyd: The whyche is not accordyng
“ (fitting) to be had withyn such religyous plases. And how that dyvers that been anchores
“ and recluses in the seyd plase aforetyme, contrary to theyre own oth and professyon have
“ brokyn owte of the seyd plase, wherin they were reclusyd, and departyd therfrom wythout
“ eny reconsilyatyon.—And in especyal how that now Isold of Heton that was last reclusyd in
“ the seyd plase at Denomynatyon and Preferment of owre Sovereign Lord and Kyng that now
“ is, is broken owte of the seyd plase, and hath departyd therfrom contrary to her own oth and
“ professyon, not willyng, nor entendyng to be restoryd agayn, and so livyng at her own liberte
“ by this two yere and more like as she had never bin professyd.—And that divers of the
“ wymen that have been servents ther and attendyng to the recluses afortym have byn misgo-
“ vernyd, and gotten with chyld withyn the seyd plase halowyd, to the grete displeasaunce of
“ hurt and disclander of the abbeye aforeseyd, &c.

“ Please hyt your Highness of our espesyal grase to grant to your orators the abbat, &c.”

This petition had the desired effect of delivering the abbey from the shame and vexation occasioned by these disorderly women; for, by letters patent reciting the scandals which had been given by the recluses upon this foundation, Henry VI. dissolved the hermitage endowed by Henry duke of Lancaster, his ancestor, appointing, in its place, two chaplains to say mass daily, in the parish-church of Whalley, for the soul of the said duke Henry, and for his own good estate while living, and on the anniversary of his own death for ever, ordaining an obit to be celebrated by 30 chaplains†.

Under the three succeeding princes of the house of York, it is scarcely to be supposed that the latter condition would be performed, unless the monks of Whalley were bold and faithful Lancastrians indeed. It might, however, be remembered after the accession of Henry VII. who felt or affected great reverence for the memory of this blameless man; and would, in all probability, have obtained his beatification, had not the reigning Pontiff (Julius II.) as Lord Bacon‡ observes, “ been a man who knew how to distinguish between innocence and sanctity.”

Of the house and chapel of these recluses nothing now remains; but they appear to have stood upon the site of those dirty cottages which defile and disgrace the Western side of the church-yard §.

* It is now extant at Whalley Abbey in the old book marked A. C. from whence it was transcribed, in the beginning of the last century, by Weever, and inserted in his “ Funeral Monuments,” p. 155; but he omitted to mention the reception which it met with, and the effect which it produced. Indeed, it was a representation likely to interest the chastity and zeal of Henry VI. and is far from conveying an unfavourable idea of the state of morals in the house.

† Coucher Book, *ubi supra*.

‡ Life of Henry VII.

§ These nuisances are now removed, at the instance of the Author, by walling-up the doors; which, till within the last five years, opened into the church-yard, on the North and West sides.

Nothing farther is recorded of the administration of abbot Eccles, who died in the 21st of Henry VI. 1443 or 4.

After his death is a succession of four abbots, in the space of 29 years, of whom nothing is remembered but their names, viz.

10. RALPH CLIDERHOW*, vicar of Whalley.

11. NICHOLAS BILLINGTON.

12. ROBERT HAMOND, al. Harwood†.

13. WILLIAM BILLINGTON.

All, probably, monks names, indicating the places of their respective births. Next occurs a man whose name frequently appears in the local transactions of those times.

14. RALPH HOLDEN, elected the 11th or 12th Ed. IV. It is in the highest degree probable that this abbot was younger son of Adam Holden of Holden, and Alice his wife, daughter of Wm. Holland of Heaton.

Adam Holden occurs in charters of the year 1411, and is known to have had a son, Christopher, whose oldest son, the first of that name in the direct line, was Ralph, and probably so called after the abbot. There appears also a Ralph Holden, of Aspden, in the year 1454‡, who seems to have been progenitor of the Holdens of Chargeley§, but must have been too young to have been ancestor of the abbot||.

In the latter part of this Abbot's time, a great dispute fell out between the abbey of Whalley and Sir Christopher Parsons, rector of Slaydburn, on account of the tithes of certain lands,

* The family name of this abbot was Sclater; for there is a receipt, Townl. MSS. G. 20, from Joh. Pilkinton to Rad. Sclater, Abbot of Whalley, for 6s. 8d. 6th Edw. IV.

† I have never met with any original charters of this abbot, who must have sat a very short time; but in the Townley MSS. the name is spelt *Harwood*; which I am inclined to think right, as *Hamond* is no common name in the North, and nothing is more probable, than that a native of the neighbouring village of Harwood should have become a monk of Whalley.

‡ Townley MSS.

§ John Holden, of Chageley, had a second son, Ralph, who is referred to in the Townley Pedigrees as living 12th Edw. IV.; and though he is not mentioned as Monk or Abbot of Whalley, I think it most likely (on account of the vicinity of Chageley to Whalley) that he was the person.

|| At the inthronization of archbishop Nevile, 6th Edw. IV. the great Northern abbots sat at the second table, and were arranged in the following order, in which, it must be understood, that they ranked by pairs:—

	I.	
Abbot of St. Maries, York.		Prior of Duresme.
	II.	
Abbot of Fountains.		Abbot of Whalley.
	III.	
Abbot of Salley.		Abbot of Kirkstall.
	IV.	
Abbot of Rivaux.		Abbot of Bylande.
	V.	
Abbot of Whitby.		Abbot of Selby.
	VI.	
Abbot of Meaux.		Prior of Bridlington.

The rank which these great ecclesiastics bore is strikingly displayed at this feast, in which the temporal barons were placed at an inferior table.

called

called Hall Flatt and Countess Meadows, together with Slaydburn Mill, which, though not included within the forest of Bowland, and actually surrounded, like many other small insulated tracts, by another county, were in fact ancient demesne lands belonging to the Castle and Castle parish of Clitheroe. Some servants of the abbey, with Christopher Thörnbergh, then bursar of the house, at their head, driving away a few tithe calves from these lands, were set upon by a mob instigated by the rector, who, with dreadful outcries of *kill ye monk, slaye ye monk*, attacking the titling party, sent them home cruelly beaten, and in very evil plight. Their next step was to swear the tenants of these *bateable* lands, upon the crosse of a groat, to pay no tithes but to the rector, whose conduct, on the whole, appears to have been extremely violent and unwarrantable.

This story, with all its circumstances, is most tragically and lamentably set forth by the sufferers, *recentibus odiis*, in a memorial yet extant in the Coucher Book, and subscribed by the abbots of Salley, Cockersand, &c. for the whole fraternity were up in arms at such an attack upon the property of a monastery and the person of a monk. However, each party appealed to his own ordinary; and as it did not seem very clear to whom the cognizance of the cause appertained; whether to the Bishop of Litchfield, in whose diocese the abbey stood, or the archbishop of York, in whose diocese the tithes accrued*; at length, after much wrangling, both parties agreed to refer the dispute to Edward IV. who, after an hearing before the privy-council, determined it very rightly in favour of the house†.

This award was farther confirmed by letters patent of Richard III. dated Dec. 3d, an. reg. 2^{do}. from which I transcribe the following passage, as a specimen of the language and orthography of that time.

“Wee therfore remembring wele that wee be thair founder and protector, by reason
“wherof wee owe to succor thaim in all theyr rights, wole and charge you and every of you
“that unto thaim in conytnuyng thaim in the same, yee be helping aidyng and assistyng to
“your powers. And in especiall our tenants of Boulond, that yee do pay the said abbot and
“convent as ye have done aforetyme after the tenor of the said jugement, havyng no consi-
“deracyon to noo awarde, bounde ne dome made contrary to the said jugement withouten assent
“and wyll of the said abbot and convent, and that yee ne faile to do the premisses as yee will
“avoyde our great displeasir.”

Abbot Holden died in 1480, after having sat about nine years, and was succeeded by

15. CHRISTOPHER THORNBERGH, junior bursar of the house, whose activity and suffering in the cause which has been related above, might possibly recommend him to this dignity, which he enjoyed only six years; and, dying in 1486‡, was followed by

16. WILLIAM REDE; so called, in all probability, from the neighbouring township of that

* Hence it appears that tithe-causes, in the 15th century, were cognizable by the ordinary. The Court of Exchequer is never mentioned.

† It is remarkable, that in an inspeximus of 7th of Hen. VII. relating to this cause, of which the original is now before me, Edward IV. is styled *Dn. Ed. nup. reg. Angl. quart.* but Richard III. *Dn. R. nuper de facto et non de jure reg. Angl.*—Surely personal resentment had its share in this distinction; for Henry VII. no more acknowledged the right of Edward V. on which the usurpation of Richard was grounded, than that of his father. It is curious, that this appellation of kings *de facto* was applied by the house of York to that of Lancaster, but afterwards retorted.

‡ Comp. A. D. 1487, ab *W. Rede primo*.

name. His government began nearly with that of Henry VII. and ended about four years before it: a period of great tranquillity, such as usually precedes a storm*.

On his decease, the convent elected their prior

17. JOHN PASLEW, B.D. whom his arms, lately remaining in the windows of the abbey, prove to have been of the Paslews of Wiswall. I suppose him to have been son of Francis Paslew, who occurs in charters about the year 1460. To him, or to his predecessor, Rede, is to be ascribed that quadrangular building which the Assheton family chose for their habitation, and which appears to have been the abbot's lodgings. I am induced to refer this part of the abbey to so late a period, by some appearances in the wood-work, which, I think, were peculiar to the reign of Henry VII. and the earlier part of that of his son.

To Abbot Paslew† also must be ascribed the new chapel of our Ladye of Whalley, referred to in the indentures for erecting the North aisle of Burnley church A.D. 1533‡, which appears to have been building A.D. 1521, from a considerable sum charged in the *compotus* of that year, *pro fabrica ecclesiæ*. Thus the first twenty years of this abbot passed like those of his predecessors, in the duties of his choir, in the exercise of hospitality, in attention to the extensive possessions of his house, or in the improvement of its buildings; but a storm was now approaching, before which either conscience or bigotry prevented him from bending, and which brought quick and premature destruction on him and his house.

The religious houses, in general, were now greatly relaxed in discipline, and many of them dreadfully corrupted in morals. What was the state of Whalley, however, as no report of the visitors is extant, must now be left to conjecture; but charity should incline us to think no evil of an institution professedly religious, against which no specific evidence appears.

* The following contract between this Abbot and Sir John Talbot, of Salesbury, seems to indicate that some considerable buildings or repairs were going on in his time.

“ This Indenture, &c. bearing date Jan. 28, 6 Henry VII. witnessyth that William, Abbot of Whalley, hath bought “ of Sir John Talbot, knight, a parcel of wood callyd Keytey-hurst, for which ye said Sir John is payd xviii*l*. The “ Boundes whereof begin at the great Holgh § standing in the Southe parte of ye wood without Whitefeld Rawe, so “ following ye Rawe to Dinkelly Moor, and from, &c. &c. to Ribble Bank — then to Deidweynstobbe, and so following “ fro Deidweynstobbe uppe through the Wode, fro oke to oke, as they are markyd, and so following ye skirts of ye “ Hurst, fro oke to oke, unto the Holgh Sappeling, standyng in ye Southe parte aforesaid. Ye seid Abbot to have alle “ Wode within ye Boundys aforesaid, except Sappeling, Holyn, Ashe, Crabtre, and Haythorne, with^t. they be deid.” Townl. MSS.

† To the beginning of Abbot Paslew's time must be referred the following Memorial, written either by himself or one of his monks, in the Leiger Book|| of Whalley, out of which it was copied by Weever (Fun. Mon. p. 394.):— “ A.D. MVCXIII. Hoc anno Jacobus Scotie rex in Borea triumphaliter ab Anglis interemptus est: cujus Corpus, “ quum hæc scripserim (quoniam membrum ab Ecclesia evulsum de hoc mundo abscesserit) huc usque in domo Carthu- “ siensium apud Rychmund mortalibus miserandum spectaculum inhumatum jacet — ‘ Qui videt testimonium perhibuit, “ et verum est testimonium ejus.”—Lib. Monasterii de Whalley, in Com. Lanc.—No very decent application of the words of St. John.

‡ MS. pen. Auct.

§ I have long doubted the meaning of the words Holgh and Holgh Sappeling; but am now inclined to think them synonymous with Hag, in the following passage of Lawson's “ New Orchard and Garden, 1597,” which I quote from Dr. Hunter's edition of Evelyn's “ Sylva,” p. 476:— “ I see a number of Hags; where, out of one root, you shall see three or four pretty oaks or ashen, strait and “ tall.”—I think the meaning is, a large old root, sending up several young stems.

|| I have never seen this book.

respect to his order; and he is supposed to have been interred in the North aisle of the parish-church, under a stone yet remaining*.

The attainder of an abbot was understood, how rightly soever, by the crown lawyers of that time, to infer a forfeiture of the house; and accordingly, without the form of a surrender, and without any provision, so far as can be discovered, for the remaining monks, many of whom were probably innocent, the abbey of Whalley, with all its appurtenances, was instantly seized into the king's hands; and thus fell this ancient and opulent foundation.

More caution and less zeal might have prolonged its existence about three years, might have secured a splendid establishment for the abbot, and competent stipends for his subordinate brethren; but the fate of Paslew was not unmerited: it was his duty to suffer for conscience sake, but nothing can justify his rebellion.

Having thus closed the annals of the monastery, nothing remains, but that we record the names of the monks, the extent and value of their possessions, the particulars of their expenditure, their successors in the site and demesnes, and the present state of their mansion.

The following catalogue, beginning with abbot Topcliffe, whom I suppose to have been the first monk admitted at Whalley, is taken from an imperfect transcript out of one of the abbey-registers, which appears to terminate before the year 1500, for it exhibits only four admissions after Paslew, who became abbot in 1506, when it is scarcely to be supposed that he was of less than 10 years standing; and the register itself will shew, that nearly one admission took place every year.

Robertus Topcliffe, abbas 4tus. ob. 10 Kal. Mar. 1350.

Fr. Willielmus Morley, prior.

Fr. Walterus de Cornubia.

Fr. Walterus de Sledmer, hospes monach.

Fr. Robertus Driffield, ob. 12 Cal. Mar. 1342.

Fr. Adam Gerston, ob. 1343.

Fr. Willielmus Eccleston, 3 Id. Aug. 1346.

Fr. Willielmus Preston, cellararius, ob. 1343.

Fr. Johannes de Glover, al. Glauster, 3 Kal. Ap. 1328.

Fr. Galfrid de Brockhall, al. Burchell, ob. Pr. non. Nov. 1339.

Fr. Gilbert de Leigh, ob. 18 Kal. Ap. 1336.

Fr. Robertus de Manchester, pr. Id. Sept. 1354.

Fr. Willielmus Boulton, ob. Kal. Nov. 1342.

Fr. Johannes Greenacres, ob. 6 Kal. Nov. 1353.

Fr. Robertus Stanfield, ob. pr. non. Nov. 1339.

Fr. Robertus Donnington, ob. 1338.

Fr. Robertus Boulton, ob. 12 Kal. Ma. 1322.

Fr. Johannes Barton, convers. ob. 1338.

Johannes Lynedlay, S. T. P. abbas 5tus.

* Trafford, abbot of Salley, the partner of his crime and of his sufferings, was executed at Lancaster two days before. He was second son of Sir John Trafford, of Trafford, and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Assheton, of Assheton.—*Vide* Plate IV. No. 4.

Fr. Willielmus Banester.
 Fr. Radulphus Pontefr.
 Willielmus Selbie, vicar. et postea abbas 6tus.
 Fr. Willielmus Singleton, doct. et prior.
 Fr. Geoffry de Worston, convers. 16 Ed. III.
 Fr. Willielmus Biland.
 Fr. Robertus Newton.
 Fr. Adam Castleforth.
 Fr. Roger Lyndlay, abbas de Cumbr.
 Fr. Henricus Duffield.
 Fr. Willielmus Whitmore, interfect. sagitta 5 Kal. Nov. 1351.
 Fr. Hugo de Bradeley, ob. 6 Id. 1532.
 Fr. Johannes Stabulton.
 Fr. Richardus Dower.
 Fr. Robertus de Selby.
 Fr. Johannes de Bedingley.
 Fr. Arnald de Embsay, prior.
 Fr. Alanus de Salley.
 Fr. Edmund de Bromehurst.
 Fr. Willielmus de Topcliffe.
 Fr. Robertus Pollard.
 Fr. Johannes Bolling.
 Fr. Johannes Baghill.
 Fr. Johannes Halghton.
 Fr. Robertus Normanvile, prior et vicar.
 Fr. Lucas de Sevell.
 Fr. Richardus Hertforth.
 Fr. Johannes Burton.
 Fr. Thomas de Halton.
 Fr. Johannes de Ese.
 Nicol de Eboraco, abbas 7tus. ob. 3 Hen. V.
 Fr. Roger de Anworth.
 Fr. Johannes de Pontefracte.
 Fr. Johannes Tollerton, vicar.
 Fr. Thomas Blackburne.
 Fr. Johannes Woodhouse.
 Fr. Henric. Deyne.
 Fr. Johannes Brotherton.
 Fr. Thomas Ledes.
 Fr. Willielmus Otlay.
 Fr. Dionysius Carleton, abbas de Halton.
 Fr. Richardus Cliderhow.
 Fr. Robertus Ottrington.

Fr. Johannes Burne.
Fr. Johannes Haiton.
Fr. Johannes Salley, prior, postea vicar.
Fr. Willielmus Hert.
Fr. Stephanus Brimstone.
Fr. Johannes Saintpole.
Fr. Thomas Shupton.
Fr. Willielmus Eastbie.
Fr. Johannes Butterie.
Fr. Johannes Dalton, al. Calton.
Fr. Willielmus Darwyn.
Fr. Willielmus Knottingley.
Fr. Robertus Foole.
Fr. Willielmus Hyde.
Fr. Johannes Hesketh.
Fr. Johannes Dorein.
Fr. Johannes Bradforth, prior.
Fr. Johannes Selbie.
Fr. Rogerus Symthay.
Fr. Johannes Thornere.
Fr. Henric. Bradforth.
Johannes Eccles, abbas 9, ob. 21 Hen. VI.
Fr. Johannes Keleby.
Fr. Johannes Wederbie, prior.
Fr. Thomas Rigley, abbas de Cumbr.
Fr. Edwardus Steelton.
Willielmus Whalley, abbas 8, ob. 12 Hen. VI.
Fr. Willielmus Ashton.
Fr. Laurence Rede.
Fr. Willielmus Morwyke.
Fr. Johannes Preston.
Fr. Richardus Burghett.
Fr. Robertus Parish.
Fr. Johannes Moore.
Fr. Joannes Downam.
Radulphus Cliderhowe, vicar. postea abbas 10.
Fr. Rogerus Norwyke, prior.
Fr. Thomas Harden.
Fr. Ricardus Neston.
Fr. Nicol. Chatburne.
Nicol Billington, abbas 11mus.
Fr. Ricardus Masham.
Fr. Willielmus Holden.

Fr. Thomas Wood, prior.
Fr. Robertus Salley, vicar. de Blackburn.
Fr. Willielmus Ledes.
Fr. Johannes Whitaker.
Fr. Johannes Steresacre.
Fr. Willielmus Dinkley, vicar. de Whalley.
Fr. Willielmus Thornehill.
Fr. Rogerus Whitaker.
Fr. Thomas Brotherton.
Fr. Johannes Wakefield.
Fr. Robertus Burneley.
Fr. Willielmus Forster.
Fr. Robertus Lyndsay.
Fr. Johannes Harden.
Fr. Rogerus D'Arcy.
Robertus Hamond, al. Harwood, abbas 12mus.
Fr. Johannes Croston.
Fr. Johannes Bolland.
Willielmus Billington, abbas 13us.
Fr. Richardus Scalez, prior et bursar. 1484.
Fr. Edmund Whalley.
Fr. Milo Bradforth.
Radulphus Holden, abbas 14us, ob. 1480.
Fr. Johannes Walton.
Fr. Jacobus Lawe.
Fr. Lauren. Grinton.
Fr. Henric. Hamond.
Fr. Willielmus Wood.
Fr. Johannes Keppes, prior 16 Ed. IV.
Christopherus Thornbarr, abbas 15, ob. 1485.
Fr. Johannes Smershall.
Willielmus Rede, abbas 16, ob. 1505 vel 6.
Fr. Johannes Cliderhowe, abbas de Hayles.
Fr. Johannes Standen.
Fr. Nicol. Forrest.
Fr. Otwell Whitehead.
Fr. Willielmus Henthorne.
Fr. Radulphus Murton.
Fr. Nicol. Downham.
Fr. Reginald Wood.
Fr. Edmund Choe.
Fr. Johannes Otes, prior.
Fr. Johannes Chatburne.

Fr. Jacobus Dugdale.
 Fr. Willielmus Forrest.
 Fr. Henric. Sallay, vicar. de Blackburn.
 Fr. Johannes Seller, vicar. de Whalley, 9 Hen. VIII.
 Fr. Johannes Grinton.
 Fr. Johannes Forrest.
 Fr. Robertus Eddleston, bursar. 1521.
 Fr. Jacobus Fontaine.
 Fr. Thomas Chatburne.
 Fr. Thomas Becrofte, oc. 1517.
 Fr. Johannes Dewhurst.
 Fr. Willielmus Bancrofte.
 Fr. Robertus Sudell.
 Fr. Radulphus Walmsley.
 Fr. Willielmus Preston.
 Fr. Henric. Cowper.
 Johannes Paslew, prior, postea abbas 17, elect. 1506 *.
 Fr. Christopher Smith, prior ultimus †.
 Fr. Rogerus Cloghe.
 Fr. Johannes Rede.
 Fr. Milo Whitaker.

This register not having been continued to the dissolution, I can only gather a few scattered names of those who were admitted at a later period. Of those who occur in the foregoing catalogue, Smith the prior, Sudell, and Chadburn, survived the dissolution.

The following are from later authorities.

Fr. Nicholas Downham, bursar with James Fountain, 1509.
 Fr. Richard Hill, bursar with Robert Edleston, 1521.
 Fr. William Chatburne and John Chester, last bursars, 1537.
 Fr. Lawrence Forest, procurator domus 1536.
 Fr. Richard Mersden 1536.
 Fr. Rob. Parish, 1537 ‡.

To these must be added John Eastgate and William Haydock, remembered only by their tragical end: and, lastly,

Fr. Thomas Holden, younger son of Gilbert Holden, of Holden, Gent. who appears to have been the surviving monk; for I find, from his own papers §, that in 1534, being then an acolyth, he received under the convent seal in the chapter house of Whalley, a title for the

* Johannes Paslew capitale fuit affectus supplicio, 12^o Mensis Martii, A. D. 1536-7.

† Sept. July 5th, 1539, Dns. Christoferus Smythe quondam prior de Whalley.—Reg. Whalley.

‡ Whose interment is thus entered in the Parish Register:

“ 1572. Rob'tus Paris, al's Birche, capellanus vet. de *Winsum*.” What is meant by Winsum?

§ Townley MSS. G. 16.

order of subdeacon, addressed to Roland (Lee) bishop of Litchfield. In 1535, he received letters dimissory, and was ordained subdeacon “titulo monachatus Beatæ Mariæ de Whalley,” by John, bishop of Sodor and Man. On the dissolution he appears to have retired to his native place. In 1550, I meet with him once more under the title of Sir Thomas Holden, curate of Haslingden; and in 1574, he was licensed to the same cure at the metropolitical visitation of archbishop Grindall, held at Preston by the style of Thomas Holden, clerk, of sober life and competent learning. How long he survived this last transaction, I cannot ascertain, for the register of that place does not commence till the year 1607, and the records of the ecclesiastical court at Chester have been searched in vain.

But it is satisfactory to have pursued this ancient stem to its last ramifications, and to have found the surviving monk of Whalley, a protestant minister, thirty-seven years after the dissolution. Had he been aware, in his latter days, how interesting many facts which he alone remembered would one day become, and had he, instead of a few meagre facts and dates relating to himself, recorded the order and œconomy of the house, the state of its buildings when entire, the tone of morals, piety, and discipline, the intrigues which were carried on, the personal characters of his brethren, the scandal conceived at the king’s measures, the particulars of the pilgrimage of grace, the distress occasioned by the abbot’s execution, the despair of age and helplessness when driven to penury in a world which had forgotten them, the exultation of youth when restored to liberty and domestic comforts, yet the melancholy with which all must have beheld their noble retreat in solitude and ruin; what a treasure would such a collection of anecdotes and reflections have been at present! But it would probably have required a mind more curious and comprehensive than that of Fr. Thos. Holden.

The state of their receipts and expenditure will best appear by placing the annual computus of two different periods in opposite columns, so that a comparison of each may be formed by carrying the eye from line to line.

Compotus fratrum Johannis Kypas et Christopher Thornbergh burs. de Whalley, A. D. MCCCCLXXXVIII. nec non anno Radulphi Holden abb. vii ^o .	Compotus fratrum Rob. Edelstone et Ric. Hill, burs. de Whalley, A. D. MDXXI. et anno Dni. Jo. Paslewe, abb. xv.
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IN SPIRITUALIBUS.

REC. ECCLESIARUM *.	RECEPT. ECCLESIARUM.
P. ecclesia de Whalley cum capellis † CXXIXl. IIIs. IIIId.	Pro ecc. de Whalley cum capellis CCXXVIIIl. XIIs. VIIIId.
P. ecclesia de Blacburne LXXXIXl. XVIs. IXd.	De Blakeburne - - - CXXXIIIId. Is.

* The former of these accounts is transcribed from an original roll, written upon a very large sheet of parchment, with the title and initials beautifully tricked by a pen. The latter is from a copy in the Harl. Library, MS. 2662—4.

† In this interval of 42 or 43 years, we find the income of the house arising from spiritualities nearly doubled. The proportions paid by the several chapelries within Whalley in 1536, were these:

	£.	s.	d.
Whalley, including Padiham, cum stip. sanc. ap. Whalley et stip. S. Leonard de Padiham	39	8	5
Clyderbow cum stip. sch. Martini de Chadburn	-	-	13 0 4
Downham cum stip. sti. Leonard et al.	-	-	9 18 0

Colne

P. ecclesia de Rachdall	-	-	LXIVl.
P. ecclesia de Eccles	}	LXXIIIl. xviii. vd ob.	
P. capella de Deyn			
Sum.	-	-	CCCLVIl. xviii. vd. ob.

De Eccles et de Deyne	cxixl. xs. ivd. ob.*
De Rachdall cum capellis	- cxil. id. †
Sum. totalis Spir.	dxchl. iiis. id. ob.

REX FIRMAR.

Pro Cestria	-	-	-	-	xviii. ivd.
P. Staney	-	-	-	-	xxl.
P. Willaton	-	-	-	-	liiis. ivd.
P. Aston	-	-	-	-	viii. l. xvs. ivd.
De Acton	-	-	-	-	xivl. viis. ivd.
De Mol. ibm.	-	-	-	-	xxviis. viiid.
De Decimis, ibm.	-	-	-	-	xs.
De Turbaria, ibm.	-	-	-	-	xxs.
De Piscaria, ibm.	-	-	-	-	xxxs.
De Weryngton	-	-	-	-	iiis.
De Denton	-	-	-	-	xiiid.
De Garston	-	-	-	-	liiis. ivd.
De Akebergh	-	-	-	-	xxviis. viiid.
De Croenton	-	-	-	-	xviii. l.
De Alt	-	-	-	-	ls.
De Chyldwall					
De Wygan	-	-	-	-	iiis. ivd.
De Stanynges	-	-	-	-	vl.
De Orreo, ibm.	-	-	-	-	xiiid.
De Mol. ibm.	-	-	-	-	xxs.

IN TEMPORALIBUS.

Recept.

Firmarum pro Cestria	-	-	-	-	-	il. xs. viiid.
P. Staney	-	-	-	-	-	xxl. †
P. Willaton	-	-	-	-	-	ii. l. xiiis. ivd.
P. Aston	-	-	-	-	-	viii. l. xvs. viiid.
P. Yltley inclus. in parc. de Dutton	-	-	-	-	-	is.
P. Molendino, ib.	-	-	-	-	-	il. vis. viiid.
P. Decimis, ibm.	-	-	-	-	-	xs.
P. Turbaria, ibm.	-	-	-	-	-	il.
P. Piscaria, ibm.	-	-	-	-	-	il. xs.
P. Croenton	-	-	-	-	-	xviii. l. vs.
P. Molend. ibm.	-	-	-	-	-	xviii. l.
P. Denton	-	-	-	-	-	is.
P. Garstan	-	-	-	-	-	ii. l. xiiis. ivd.
P. Akeberg	-	-	-	-	-	il. vis. iiiid.
P. Waryngton	-	-	-	-	-	viii. l.
P. Wygan	-	-	-	-	-	iiis. ivd.
P. Alt	-	-	-	-	-	ii. l. xiiis. ivd.
P. Childwall						
P. Stanyngs	-	-	-	-	-	vl.
P. Orreo, ibm.	-	-	-	-	-	is.

	£.	s.	d.
Colne	31	17	3
Brunley cum stip. sanctorum	50	0	0
Church et Altham cum stip. sanct.	22	8	0
Haslingden	7	12	9
Cap. Cast. de Clyderhow	Bowland	12	5 9
	Penhull	24	4 10
	Trawden	8	6 4
	Rossendale stip. sanctorum.		
Ightenhill Park de perq. capelli.			

From a MS. remaining in the Augmentation office 1635, but transcribed into the Townley MSS.

* Deane, anciently, at the appropriation styled capella de St. Maryden, seems to have become in this interval a parish church, as it is at present.

† Rochdale, besides the ancient chapel of Saddleworth, seems to have had now Todmorden, Littleborough, which was licensed for mass in 1476, and Milnrow, all erected since the year 1400, as none of them are mentioned in the confirmation of archbishop Arundel.

‡ These farms appear to have been let out upon a long lease, which accounts for the identity of the rents in the two columns. They were the original endowment of Stanlaw abbey.

De Merton - - - - -	xs.	P. Mol. ibm. - - - - -	il.
De Carleton - - - - -	xviii <i>d.</i>	P. Merton - - - - -	xs.
De Banckhouse - - - - -	iv <i>d.</i>	P. Carlton - - - - -	is. vi <i>d.</i>
De Edylswyke - - - - -	iiis. iv <i>d.</i>	P. Ethilleswyke - - - - -	iiis. iv <i>d.</i>
De Preston - - - - -	iiis.	P. Bankhouse - - - - -	ivs.
De Dutton - - - - -	ivs.	P. Maunton - - - - -	xvii. xviii <i>s.</i>
De Ribylcester - - - - -	iiis. i <i>d.</i>	P. Federforthe - - - - -	xiiis. iv <i>d.</i>
De Edysford - - - - -	xls.	P. Placea Alice Morell - - - - -	iiis. iv <i>d.</i>
De Wadyngton - - - - -	iiis.	P. Swynton - - - - -	iv <i>l.</i> vii <i>s.</i>
De Clyderhowe - - - - -	viii <i>l.</i> xii <i>s.</i>	P. Gadiswallhede - - - - -	vi <i>l.</i> xvi <i>s.</i> viii <i>d.</i>
De Standen - - - - -	iv <i>l.</i> xii <i>s.</i> iv <i>d.</i>	P. Wolden - - - - -	ix <i>l.</i> iiis. iv <i>d.</i>
De Hulcroft - - - - -	xxis. viii <i>d.</i>	P. Haghton - - - - -	ii <i>l.</i> xiv <i>s.</i>
De Coldcoates - - - - -	iv <i>l.</i> viii <i>d.</i>	P. Mol. de Hulcroft - - - - -	iiis. iv <i>d.</i>
De Wysewall - - - - -	vi <i>l.</i>	P. Rypall and Westwode - - - - -	il. vs.
De Reve de - - - - -	xiiis.	P. Westslakks - - - - -	il.
De Cowhope and Brendwood - - - - -	vi <i>l.</i>	P. Norwico * - - - - -	ii <i>l.</i> xiiis. iv <i>d.</i>
De Roclyffe - - - - -	liis. iv <i>d.</i>	P. Rachdale † - - - - -	xxiv <i>l.</i> xviii <i>s.</i> iv <i>d.</i> ob.
De Whitworth - - - - -	viii <i>l.</i> xs.	P. Whitworthe † - - - - -	xiv <i>l.</i> xix <i>s.</i> ii <i>d.</i>
De Rachdale - - - - -	xxiii <i>l.</i> xs. i <i>d.</i> ob.	P. Cowop † and Brendwode - - - - -	vi <i>l.</i>
De Mawnton - - - - -	xi <i>l.</i> xiiis. viii <i>d.</i>	P. Mol. ibm. - - - - -	il.
De Federforth - - - - -	xiiis. iv <i>d.</i>	P. Roclyff - - - - -	ii <i>l.</i> xiiis. iv <i>d.</i>
De Swynton - - - - -	ivs. viii <i>d.</i>	P. Stanworth - - - - -	iii <i>l.</i> vi <i>s.</i> viii <i>d.</i>
De Gadwalshede - - - - -	iv <i>l.</i> xvi <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	P. Brendscolles - - - - -	ii <i>l.</i>
De Wolden - - - - -	vi <i>l.</i> iiis. iv <i>d.</i>	P. Wheelton and Withynhill - - - - -	viii <i>s.</i>
De Halghton - - - - -	liv <i>s.</i>	P. Witton - - - - -	ii <i>l.</i> xiiis. iv <i>d.</i>
De Molend. de Hulcroft - - - - -	iiis. iv <i>d.</i>	P. Romesgreve - - - - -	iv <i>l.</i>
Lyrepul and Westwode - - - - -	xxvs.	P. Brunley - - - - -	il. xiv <i>s.</i>
De Brendscoles - - - - -	xxxiii <i>s.</i> iv <i>d.</i>	P. Ribchester - - - - -	iiis. i <i>d.</i>
De Weleton and Withinhall - - - - -	viii <i>s.</i>	P. Dutton - - - - -	ivs.
De Stanworth - - - - -	iii <i>l.</i> vi <i>s.</i> viii <i>d.</i>	P. Edisforth - - - - -	ii <i>l.</i>
De Whyton - - - - -	xlvi <i>s.</i> viii <i>d.</i>	P. Wadyngton - - - - -	iiis.
De Romesgreve - - - - -	iv <i>l.</i>	P. Placea quondam Johannis Clyderhowe - - - - -	iv <i>l.</i>
De Byllyngton - - - - -	xxxviii <i>l.</i> xviii <i>s.</i> x <i>d.</i>	P. Preston - - - - -	iiis.
De Yltley in parc. de Dutton inclus. - - - - -	xi <i>i</i> d.	P. Clyderhowe - - - - -	viii <i>l.</i> xii <i>s.</i>
De Westslakes - - - - -	xx <i>s.</i>	P. Baldwynhill - - - - -	il. vi <i>s.</i> viii <i>d.</i>
De Baldwynshill - - - - -	xxii <i>s.</i> ii <i>i</i> d.	P. Standen - - - - -	iv <i>l.</i> xiiis. iv <i>d.</i>
De Norwyco - - - - -	xx <i>s.</i>	P. Hulcroft - - - - -	il. is. viii <i>d.</i>
De Browulay - - - - -	xxxiv <i>s.</i>	P. Coldcoates - - - - -	iv <i>l.</i> is. vi <i>d.</i>
De Placea Alice Morell - - - - -	iiis. iv <i>d.</i>	P. Wyswell - - - - -	vi <i>l.</i> viii <i>d.</i>

* That is Northwich. Here ends the rental of the Cheshire estates originally belonging to Stanlaw.

† The rental, therefore, of these large estates, which included Castleton and Merland, amounted to 45*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* which, if multiplied by 100, would probably not exceed the present value, — a decisive proof of a fact generally taken for granted, that the monks were good landlords, as the rack rent of lands in Henry VIIIth's time may be averaged at a thirtieth of their present value. Much, however, is to be allowed for subsequent inclosures and improvements.

De

De Placea Johannis Clyderhowe	-	ivl.
De Servitio de Byllyngton	-	xxvīs. viiīd.
De Servitio de Coldcoates, Wyswale, and Asterlee	- - - -	vs.

Sum. tot. - - cccxli. xīs. ix d. ob.

DE PERQUISITIS.

De Stipite S ^c e Marie†	-	-	ii s. vii d.
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P. Rede	-	-	-	-	-	xī s.
P. Byllington	-	-	xxxvī.	xvī s.	vi d.	
P. Servitiis ejusdem	-	-	il.	vi s.	vii d.	
P. Parv. Harwode	-	-	ivl.	xī s.	iv d.	
P. Newfeld and Grenefeld	-	-			ii l.	
P. Harrowsbanks in Dutton	-	-			iii l.	
P. Calfhagh in Chatterton	-	-			vi d.	
P. Smarshall Place in Rede	-	-			il.	
P. Terra Jacobi Garthsyde	-			iii s.	iv d.	
P. Halstydds in Rachedall	-	-			is.	
P. Clayton sup. Moras	-	-	-		x s.	
P. Penhulton	-	-	-		xī s.	iv d.
P. Bagsladhey in Rachdale	-			iii s.	iv d.	
P. Molend. de Rossyndale	-	-		il.	vs.	
P. Grenewarth apud Stanlaw*			iii l.	vi s.	vii d.	
P. Roclyffswood in Rossyndale	-	-			x s.	
P. Mol. de Coptrode	-	-			iii s.	iv d.

Sum. tot. - cclxxxīl. vii s. x d. ob.

DE PERQUISITIS.

P. Stipite S ^c e Marie† et S ^c i Hen.						
apud Capellam	-	-	-		is.	vi d.

* Probably a new improvement, and therefore not included in the old rental.

† Here is a very curious fact ; to account for which, let it be observed, that, in the *Compotus* of 1478, this article stands *pro Stip. S^ce. Marie*, and in that of 1521, *p. Stip. S^ci. Mar. et S^ci. Hen. ap. Capellam*. How is this difference to be accounted for ? 1st, These were offerings, in the former account, at the high altar, which was then the altar of the Virgin Mary ; but we have already seen, that in Abbot Paslew's time a *Lady Chapel* was erected contiguous to the Abbey Church ; so that our Lady, in this interval, had changed her lodgings, and was become *St. Maria apud Capellam*. So far all is clear. But who is St. Henry, who had the high honour of being associated with the Virgin in her own chapel ? The name, as far as I know, is not to be found in the Romish calendar. On this subject, therefore, I can only hazard a conjecture, of which those who are better skilled in the rituals of that Church than myself will judge for themselves. King Henry VI. as we have before observed, at the dissolution of the adjoining hermitage, converted that foundation into a chantry of two priests, to sing for his good estate while living, and for the soul of Henry Duke of Lancaster, the founder, and to celebrate his own obit yearly, with 30 chaplains.—I have also conjectured that this appointment, though it would be overlooked in the reigns of the Line of York, would probably be remembered and put in execution after the accession of Henry VII. Accordingly, we find no mention of it in 1478, which is the 18th of Edw. IV. ; but, at a period subsequent to the restoration of the Lancastrian house, here is actually a *Stipes S^ci Henrici*, whatever may be the meaning of the words. The only conjecture, therefore, which I can offer, is this ; that though Henry VI. was never regularly canonized, yet the monks of Whalley, who were zealous partizans of his house, and probably also great admirers of his virtues, disappointed by the reserve or by the rapacity of Julius II. ventured upon an act of private and voluntary beatification, and erected a St. Henry for themselves. Were the name of Henry to be found in the canon, my conjecture, of course, would fall to the ground ; but, as that is not the case, the pious and royal patron of Whalley has the fairest claim upon this hitherto unappropriated honour.—Since the foregoing remarks were written, I have the satisfaction of finding my conjecture established by the following proofs :—Henry VI. was actually adored at Windsor, by the name of Holy King Henry. Stowe's Ann. p. 424. There is also a prayer addressed to Henry VI. in the “*Horæ B. V. M. in usum Sarum*,” printed by Wynkyn de Worde, A. D. 1502. See “*Gough's Sepulchral Monuments*,” Vol. II. p. 235.

De Sigisterio * - - -	xxxiiis. ivd.	P. Sigistio - - -	xl. xiiis. ivd.
De Agistamento Æstiv. - - -	xls.	P. Agistamentis æstivis - - -	xl. ivs.
De Agist. Yemali - - -	ls.	P. Ag. Yemalibus - - -	ii. xivs.
De Superexcrec. in offic. Cellar. -	xxis. vii. d.	P. Superexcrecentiis officii Subcelle-	
De Superexcr. in off. Subcellar. -	iv. l. viiis. id.	rarii - - -	viii. iis. vii. d.
De mensa Vicarii † - - -	iv. l.	P. Superexcr. off. Cellerarii -	ii. l. xvs. ii. d.
De eodem pro pane et vino - - -	xxs.	P. mensa Vicarii † - - -	ii. l. xiiis. ivd.
De eodem pro ort. et vacca - - -	xs.	P. eod. pro pan. et vino -	xl. vis. vii. d.
De mensa Ric. Trygge capelli -	xls.	P. eod. pro orto et vacca - - -	xs.
De mensa Wil. Thornb. capell. -	xls.	P. Tannaria ‡ - - -	iii. l. vis. vii. d.
De Tannaria ‡ - - -	iii. l. vis. vii. d.	P. Pellibus bov. et vacc. - - -	iv. l. xs.
De Pellibus boum et vaccarum -	iv. l. xiiis.	P. Cortice arb. - - -	vs.
De Corticibus arborum - - -	vis. vii. d.	P. Amerciam. cur. - - -	xiiis. ivd.
De Amerciam. curie - - -	xiiis. ivd.	P. Orto et Stabul. - - -	vs.
De terris R. Cundclyffe, vide Brodmede		P. Rydds venditis apud Wyllaton	xl. vis. vii. d.
et Grenehey - - -	xls.	P. Nova Clausura apud Romesgreave -	iv. l.
De Duscroftes ? § - - -	xiiis.	P. Ter. Rob. Cundclyff per forisfac-	
De Servitio ux. Rob. Wode -	vis. vii. d.	turam - - -	ivs. vii. d.
De ter. nob. dimiss. per Jac. Marshall	iii. l. viiis.		
De mensa Ric. Caterall - - -	ls.		
De off. Bail. Wapent ¶ - - -	xls.		
Sum. - - -	xxxix. l. xixs. ii. d.	Sum. ** - - -	xxxiv. l. iis. ix. d.
S. tot. Rec. - - -	dcxxxviii. xis. id.	S. tot. Rec. - - -	dcccclviii. iis. ix. d.

* *Sigisterio, Sigistio.* I once conjectured that the first word, of which the reading is very clear in the original roll, was a contraction of *Sigillisterio*; as the sealings in colleges, at present, afford a considerable emolument to the senior fellows. But as these must necessarily vary, according to the number of leases sealed, and the sum charged in these two distant years is exactly the same, I must leave the word to future enquiry and better information.

† In the charge for the Vicar's table, who appears to have lived a sort of fellow-commoner in the house, it is remarkable, that the sum is diminished in the latter account. He probably sat at the Monks' table; and the two Chaplains, who possibly served the N. and S. altars in the parish-church, were in lower commons, with the Novices.

‡ *De Tannaria.* The later of these accounts, it must be recollected, was before the statute 21 Henry VIII. which forbad priests, whether secular or regular, to engage in such base employments. Of these monkish tanneries it is observed by the witty Dr. Fuller, "That though the monks themselves were too fine-nosed to dabble in tan-fats, yet they kept others (bred in that trade) to follow their work. These convents having bark of their own woods, hides of the cattle of their own breeding and killing, and, which was the main, a large stock of money to buy at the best hand, and to allow such chapmen they sold to, a long day of payment, easily eat up such who were bred up in that vocation." *History of Abbeys; Church History*, p. 292.

§ What place is meant by Duscroftes I know not, but it is pretty evidently the reading in the original roll.

|| *Rydds.* The word may possibly mean riddings, or refuse wood, grubbed up in riddling or clearing an estate.

¶ This was their share of the profit arising from the bailiwick of Blackburnshire, of which they held one fourth part; the Towneleys, of Towneley, two; one for Towneley, and another for De la Leigh; and the Banastres, of Altham, the fourth.

** On the whole it appears, from the former account, that the expences of the house considerably exceeded their income; in the latter, the reverse; and the reason is obvious; that, with an increase, chiefly in the spiritualities, to the amount of nearly one third part of their annual receipts, the price of the necessities of life, in some instances at least, appears to have diminished. But of this, more hereafter.

[This

[This title, consisting principally of prescriptive payments, is very nearly the same in both accounts, excepting a few verbal differences.]

EXP. DE FIRMIS EXTERIORIBUS.

Dno. Regi pro Edisforth	-	-	-	IIIS.
P. Stodworth	-	-	-	IIId.
P. Standen	-	-	-	III. VIS. VIIId.
P. Baldwynhyll	-	-	-	Id. IIId.
P. Whytworth	-	-	-	XIIS. VIIId.
P. Mawnton	-	-	-	VIS.
P. Brunley	-	-	-	IIId. ob.
Dño de Eland	-	-	-	XIVS. Id.
Dño de Barton	-	-	-	XId.
Dño de Worsley	-	-	-	VIIIS. XId.
Hered. Christopher. Holt	-	-	-	IIIS.
Monialibus de Hampole	-	-	-	XIIS.
Abbati Cestr.	-	-	-	IXS.
Castellano de Liverpull pro Sect. et Wardis	-	-	-	XIS.

S. tot. - - - - VIII. XVS. ob.

S. tot. - - - - VIII. VIIIS. XId. ob.

IN DONIS *.

Quat. ord. fratrum	-	-	-	IVS.
Ministrallis	-	-	-	XXXVIS. VIIId.
Thomæ Dño Stanley *	-	-	-	VII. XIIIS. IVd.
Jacobo Harynton Mil.	-	-	-	XLS.
Joh. Savage Mil.	-	-	-	XIIS. IVd.
Tho Pylkynton Mil.	-	-	-	XLVS.

IN DONIS *.

Quatuor ordinibus fratrum	-	-	-	IVS.
Ministrallis *	-	-	-	III. IVS.
Dño de Mountegylle *	-	-	-	IIId.
Mño Merney	-	-	-	IIId. XIIIS. IVd.
Hug. Sherburne, arm.	-	-	-	Id.
John Talbot, arm.	-	-	-	Id.

* Of the three articles which stand at the head of this title, *De Donis*, it would, perhaps, be harsh to observe, that the smallest is for charity, the next for pleasure, and the largest for ambition. The four orders of begging friars have a small and stated contribution of 4s.; the minstrels from £.1. 6s. to £.2. 4s.; and the Lord Stanley, £.6. 13s. 4d.—From the amount of the sum paid to the minstrels, more considerable than to the organist of the church, and larger, nearly by one half, than the Earl of Northumberland paid to his “minstralls that be daily in his household” (Northumberland Household Book), it should seem that they were a part of the regular establishment of the Abbey; that these fathers could relish the heroic romance or the pastoral ballad; and that the refectory of Whalley often resounded with the rude, but affecting minstrelsy of the times. Yet these men were bitterly inveighed against by the severer orders; and it was even an established rule in some monasteries, that no minstrel should ever enter their gates.—Dr. Percy’s *Essay on the Minstrel’s Notes*, xliii.

With respect to the pension paid to the Lords Stanley and Monteagle, it might be prudent, in times of difficulty and danger, to secure the interest of a great man at Court, even at a high rate; but these were days of perfect tranquillity; and for what services performed, or expected, or from what consideration but mere complaisance, the inferior gentry of the county were thus pensioned, it is not easy to conceive. On the whole, there appears some ground for Peirs Plowman’s complaint against the religious houses:—

And of them yt habeth not they take and gebeth hem yt habeth
And clerkes and knyghtes and communers that be ryche.

Fol. lxxxii.

Right so ye ryche, ye robe (not robbe) that ben ryche
And helpyth them yt helpeth youe and geveth ther no nede is.

Robt.

Robt. Sherborne, jun.	-	-	-	xxs.	Mag. Spede	-	-	-	-	1l.	
Robt. Sherborne, sen.	-	-	-	vis. viiId.	Mag. Rokesby	-	-	-	-	xiiIs. ivd.	
John Talbot	-	-	-	-	xxs.	Tho. Strawe	-	-	-	vis. viiId.	
Hug. Radcliffe	-	-	-	xiiIs. ivd.	Mag. Fairfax	-	-	-	-	1l.	
Robt. Ambrose	-	-	-	xiiIs. ivd.	Wm. Brether	-	-	-	-	ivs.	
Wm. Ambrose	-	-	-	xiiIs. ivd.	Matt. Standysh	-	-	-	-	xiiIs. ivd.	
Tristam Legh	-	-	-	xiiIs. ivd.	Tho. Grymsdych	-	-	-	-	vis. viiId.	
Henry Worsley	-	-	-	xiiIs.	Laur. Starkie	-	-	-	-	xs.	
Duobus Generosis	-	-	-	-	iIs.	Alex. Ryshton	-	-	-	iiIs. ivd.	
Petro Smyth	-	-	-	-	xiiId.	Ursariis *	-	-	-	-	xs.
Scholari vers. Cockersand	-	-	-	-	viiiId.	Famulo Ep. Sodor	-	-	-	-	iIs.
Filiæ W. Heton	-	-	-	-	iIs. ivd.	Fam. Dñi Regis	-	-	-	-	vis. viiId.
Filiæ R. Holand	-	-	-	-	iId.	Quibusdam fratribus cum aliis	-	-	-	-	iiIs. ivd.
Thomæ Leds	-	-	-	-	vid.	Wm. Shyrburn cum aliis	-	-	-	-	ivs. ivd.
Famulis Abbat. de Cumbermere †	-	-	-	-	xxd.	Famulo Regis per vices	-	-	-	-	viiIs.
Rob. Bolling	-	-	-	-	xiiId.	Doctori de Lancaster ‡	-	-	-	-	iiIs. ivd.
Rad. Walmsley	-	-	-	-	xxd.	Rob. Swanisley	-	-	-	-	vis. viiId.
Here the parchment is decayed.					Mon. de Tinterne cum aliis	-	-	-	-	ivs.	
					Hug. Charnock	-	-	-	-	iIs.	
					Hen. Fielding	-	-	-	-	is. viiId.	
					Chanc. Lanc.	-	-	-	-	iiIs. ivd.	
					Chanc. Episc.	-	-	-	-	xs.	
					Mag. Martyn	-	-	-	-	vis. viiId.	
					Mag. Clyff	-	-	-	-	iiIs. ivd.	
					Famulo eorundem	-	-	-	-	vis. viiId.	
					Monachis de Wallia	-	-	-	-	iIs.	
					Monachis de Fontibus	-	-	-	-	iIs.	
					Cuidam presbytero	-	-	-	-	is. viiId.	
					Willielmo Waller, &c.	-	-	-	-	iiIs.	
					Quæstoribus	-	-	-	-	iiIs. ivd.	
					Pauperibus per an.	-	-	-	-	iiId.	
					Forestariis	-	-	-	-	is. xd.	
Ric. Herys medico equorum	-	-	-	-	viiiId.						
Famulo Rectoris de Halsall †	-	-	-	-	viiiId.						
Famulo abb. de Kirkstall †	-	-	-	-	xd.						
R. Bolling Legisperito	-	-	-	-	xxd.						
Ballivo Dñi Regis	-	-	-	-	iIs.						
Famulo Dñi de Balderston	-	-	-	-	ivd.						
Jac. Lawe	-	-	-	-	xivd.						
.						
.						
.						
Peregrinantibus Jerlam §	-	-	-	-	xvid.						
Officiali Dñi Arch. Cest.	-	-	-	-	vis. viiId.						
Registro ejusdem	-	-	-	-	iiIs. ivd.						

* Ursariis 10s. Another symptom of the progressive decay of discipline is the article before us, which proves that an amusement more boisterous and less elegant than the former was encouraged by the monks in the later period.

† A constant intercourse appears to have been kept up between the two houses of Cumbermere and Whalley, the latter of which had sent three abbots to the former. The abbot of Cumbermere, it seems, travelled with two servants, and his brother of Kirkstall only with one. The vails paid to the servants of an abbot were ten-pence, to those of a secular clergyman eight-pence, and to those of a lay gentleman four-pence: a true scale of the estimation in which they were severally held.

‡ A Physician's fee from Lancaster, at least 27 miles, was three shillings and fourpence.

§ Peregrinantibus Jerusalem, vide supra.

|| Perhaps the abbot had a general warrant for venison out of the forests from the Crown. It is not said Forestario de Bowland, but Forestariis, which amounts nearly to a proof that the deer of the other chases were not destroyed in 1521.

Summonitori

Summonitori ejusdem	-	-	-	xiii <i>d.</i>	Baillivo de Wirrall	-	-	-	-	is.
Doctori Dublinie	-	-	-	vis. viii <i>d.</i>	Wil. Withove	-	-	-	-	is. viii <i>d.</i>
Monacho de Waverley	-	-	-	ii <i>s.</i>	Officiali Cestriæ	-	-	-	-	xs.
Suffraganeo Cestriæ	-	-	-	vis. viii <i>d.</i>	Registrario ejus	-	-	-	-	iiis. iv <i>d.</i>
Radulpho Coke Heremitæ	-	-	-	xvi <i>d.</i>	Summonitori	-	-	-	-	iv <i>d.</i>
Duob. fratrib. de Preston	-	-	-	viii <i>d.</i>	Rec. Bank	-	-	-	-	vis. viii <i>d.</i>
Joh. Lawe Legisperit.	-	-	-	ii <i>s.</i>	Capellano apud Wytwell †	-	-	-	-	xs.
Helix Worsley *	-	-	-	xx <i>d.</i>						
Cuidam Capellano pretend. jus ad do-										
mum nostram gra. titl. ‡	-	-	-	xx <i>d.</i>						
Coco Tho. Dñi Stanley	-	-	-	xvi <i>d.</i>						
Famulo ejusdem	-	-	-	ii <i>s.</i> viii <i>d.</i>						
N. Skythorne Cap. gr. tituli	-	-	-	xx <i>d.</i>						
Jac. Cowpe Cap.	-	-	-	xiii <i>d.</i>						
Sm.	-	-	-	xxvi <i>l.</i> iiis.	S. tot.	-	-	-	-	xxiii <i>l.</i> xix <i>s.</i> iv <i>d.</i>

Thus the bounty of the house diminished as its resources increased: a very natural and frequent process.

IN ITERANTIBUS.

Robto Shotylworth et al. usque Horneby				viii <i>s.</i> ix <i>d.</i>
Jake Forster usque Horneby	-	-	-	ii <i>s.</i>
Wm. Cowpe usque Halsall et alibi	-	-	-	xxiii <i>d.</i>
Wm. Henthorne usque Cestr.	-	-	-	vis. viii <i>d.</i>
Wm. Henthorne usque Lanc. et alibi				xxxiv <i>s.</i> v <i>d.</i>
Abbat. usque Coldcotes et Wiswall	-	-	-	xx <i>d.</i>
Cuidam de ñris usque Preston	-	-	-	ii <i>s.</i> viii <i>d.</i>
Nich. Dewhurst usque Cumbermere	-	-	-	iiis. iv <i>d.</i>
Rob. Full usque London	-	-	-	xxxvi <i>s.</i>
Abbat. in obit. R. Sherburne §	-	-	-	ii <i>s.</i> xi <i>d.</i>

IN ITINERANTIBUS.

Domino Abbati versus Borough	-	-	-	il. xvs.
Eidem versus Bolton	-	-	-	xs.
Eidem versus Dorham	-	-	-	il. xs.
Eidem versus Cumbermere et Stanlaw	-	-	-	vl. xs.
Eidem versus Rypon	-	-	-	il.
Christophero Smyth versus Aston	-	-	-	xiiis. iv <i>d.</i>
Eid. vers. Cestr.	-	-	-	xiiis.
Laur. Forest vers. Lancast. bis	-	-	-	il. vis.
Eidem per vices	-	-	-	xiiis.
Lionel Hull vers. London ter.	-	-	-	iv <i>l.</i> viis. viii <i>d.</i>
Eidem per vices	-	-	-	xs.
Ric. Crombock vers. Hull	-	-	-	il.

* The name of the second abbot. This shews how long a Christian name which has once been borne by a distinguished personage, is generally kept in families.

† Capellano apud Whytewell. As this article is not found in the former computus, it amounts nearly to a proof that this chapel was founded in the interval between the dates of the two.

‡ It appears that the monks were accustomed to grant titles for holy orders to young men not professed, but who, receiving trifling pensions, were considered as dependents and beneficiaries of the house. In a very exact account of the Chadwicks of Heley, drawn up by the late John Chadwick, Esq. I find an example of this practice, for by letters testimonial bearing date Nov. 20, 1523, the abbot and convent of Whalley commended their beloved in Christ, James Chadwick, (who does not seem to have been a monk,) to Geoffry bishop of Litchfield, to be received into the order of priesthood. MS. per Joh. Chadwick, Arm.

§ I suppose the abbot to have attended the obit of one of the Sherburnes, at Mitten, or more probably at the Grey Friars, in Preston, for "there lay," saith Leland, "divers of the Sherburnes gentlemen." Lel. It. IV. 21.

Wm.

Wm. Cowpe usque Heton et Rachdall	-	xd.	Eid. vers. Oxforth per vices	-	-	1l.
Famulis ñris laborantibus in officio ballivi			Eid. per vices	-	-	xiiis.
		ivs. vid.	Petro Deyne versus Manchester	-		iis.
Miloni Cokkeshut usque Staynyngs per vices		xvid.				
Famul. nost. usque Lanc. cum Georgio						
Stanley *	-	xviii.				
Geo. Forster usque Ebor.	-	viii. ivd.				
M'och. usque Ord †	-	vis. viii.				
Milo Bradford usque Wyche	-	xii.				
Jacobo Dugdale usque Lychfield pro						
R. Townley ‡	-	xvi.				
Nic. Forest usque Stanlaw	-	xii.				
Abbati usque Blackborne	-	iis.				
Eidem usque Forestam	-	iis.				
Niço Chatburne usque Preston	-	iv.				
Riço Clyfton usque Staynyngs	-	viii.				
Rob. Hyndley usque Holowaye	-	x.				
Nic. Chatburne usque Ebor. bis	-	viii.				
It. eidem usque Tutbury	-	xxs.				
Rob. Hyndley usque Holeway	-	vi.				
M'ocho ñiro usque Ord	-	xxviii. viii.				
Dno. Abbati usque Stanlaw	-	ivl. xs. ii.				
Eid. per vices usque Wiswall	-	iis. iv.				
Christopher Cowpe per vic. usque Preston		xvi.				
Laur. Radcliffe usque Clyderhow	-	viii.				
Nic. Thorniber usque Fylde	-	xii.				
Wm. Strynger usque Bradford	-	xii.				
Nic. Forest de Stanl. usque Whall.	-	iis. ii.				
Joh. Kypas et Wm. Henthorne usque						
Latham	-	iis. ii.				
Rob. Hyndlay usque Brunley	-	iii.				
Thomæ	-	xii.				
S. xxvi. viis. vi.			S. xxi. is. iv.			

* They had been entrusted with the care of George Stanley, son of the lord Stanley, then a boy, and had sent a servant with him to Lancaster. Qu. Whether this young nobleman received a part of his education at Whalley?

† Two monks were ordained this year. The difference of the sums may be accounted for from the different distances they might have to travel.

‡ Rich. Towneley, of Towneley, Esq. Probably to procure a dispensation, or on some business with the ecclesiastical court.

From this table we shall be enabled to draw some conclusions with respect to the comparative habits of the two abbots Holden and Paslew, by no means to the advantage of the latter. In the year before us Holden made only one journey, and that on the necessary business of the house, to Stanlaw; for the short excursions to Bowland, Blackburn, Wiswall, &c. were only morning-rides. But Paslew was perpetually abroad, at Borough (*qu.* Brough, in Westmoreland?), at Bolton, at Durham (spelt *Dorham*, the genuine dialect of Whalley), at Cumbermere, Stanlaw, and Ripon. His bounty was considerably less, but his personal expences were double those of his predecessor. His monks, also, were more confined. Travelling was, to these prisoners for life, the greatest of all indulgences; yet only five monks were permitted to make any excursions in 1521:—in 1478 there were 31; whether it were that at the former period there was more business, or greater lenity.

The sums allowed for travelling would amount to about 1*s.* *per* day. The abbot may be conjectured to have travelled, on an average, with four servants. The prior, Christopher Smith, appears to have been attended by one, and the ordinary monks to have journeyed alone, but all on horseback.

IN VARIIS EXPEN.

Dño abbati pro habitu *	-	-	-	vl.
Conventui pro habitu †	-	-	xxxixl.	
Provisori Conventûs ‡	-	xlivl.	xiiis. iiid.	
Pro vino rubr. §	-	-	xxixl. ivs. iiid.	
Pro vino dulci	-	-	lviiis. ivd.	
Pro vino per vices	-	-	xxxviiis. viid.	
Pro cera	-	-	xxxviiis. ivd.	
Pro filo albo	-	-	viiis. ivd.	
Pro filo nigro	-	-	ivs. xid.	
Pro pan. lin. et canna	-	iiil.	os. xviiid.	
Pro panno lanæ	-	-	xls. iid.	
Clericis in Cœna Domini	-	-	vs.	

IN VAR. EXP.

Dño abbati pro habitu *	-	-	-	vl.
Conventui pro habitu †	-	-	xlviil.	
Provisori Conventûs ‡	-	lxxii.	xviiis.	
Pro vino §	-	-	xxxiiiil. xvs. viiid.	
Pro vin. dulci	-	-	ixl.	
Pro butyr. et cas.	-	-	xxv.	ixs.
Pro robis servientium	-	xviiil.	xiiis.	
Pro plumbo	-	-	viil.	xiiis. ivd.
Pro bobus empt. ad Grang.	-	iiil.	xs.	
Pro animal. empt. ad Staur.	-	viil.	xiiis. ivd.	
Famulis abbatis ¶	-	-	xiiil.	
Cera rubra	-	-	-	is.

* The ordinary habit of a Cistercian abbot was the canonical gown and scapulary of white cloth, but probably of much finer materials than that of the monks.

† If we allow forty shillings for the habit of each monk, the number will in one instance a little exceed, and in the other fall short, of twenty.

‡ Every necessary of housekeeping seems to be included in other articles. I do not, therefore, understand what was the nature of this heavy charge.

§ In 1504, a mean term between these two periods, red wine was sold at the rate of 4*l.* *per* dol. or pipe of 126 gallons; so that the mean consumption of the abbey was about eight pipes *per annum*, besides white wine.—See Fleetwood's Chron. Pret. p. 92.

|| Suppose five shillings *per ann.* to clothe a servant, and this charge will infer 70 persons of that order about the abbey.—*Vide* Fleetwood, p. 130.

¶ In 1514, the ordinary wages of a common servant of husbandry were 16*s.* 8*d.* and of a maid servant, 10*s.*—Fleetwood, *ubi supra*. Suppose an equal number of each sex, and the abbot had about twenty upon his own private establishment.

Pauperibus in Cœna Domini	- - -	vis.	Cera sacristæ	- - -	iii <i>l.</i>
Pro Scatston			Empt. et mut. vas.	- - -	i <i>l.</i> xv <i>s.</i>
Pro clavis equorum			Filo alb.	- - -	vis. viii <i>d.</i>
Pro resina			Do. nigr.	- - -	iiis.
Pro ferro Hispanico			Panno lin.	- - -	i <i>l.</i> vis. viii <i>d.</i>
Pro ferro Anglicano			Panno lanæ	- - -	vi <i>l.</i>
Pro Stanno	- - -	ix <i>s.</i>	Ol. ad ecclesiam	- - -	i <i>l.</i> is.
Pro terebris	- - -	xs. xvd.	Curatione equor.	- - -	vs.
Pro Sharj.	- - -	iiis. vi <i>d.</i>	Capistris fren.	- - -	iiis. vi <i>d.</i>
Pro secur. et astris	- - -	xxi <i>d.</i>	Clavis equor.	- - -	xv <i>s.</i>
Pro panno profess. *	- - -	lviii <i>s.</i>	Ferro Hispan.	- - -	vi <i>l.</i> vis. viii <i>d.</i>
Pro panno nup. profess. *	- - -	xl <i>ixs.</i> x <i>d.</i>	Clavis dupl.	- - -	i <i>l.</i>
Eisdem pro scapular. et tunicis	- - -	ls.	Clavis singul.	- - -	xs.
Pro sect. in cur. Christian.	- - -	xvd.	Stonebrode †	- - -	ix <i>s.</i>
Pro sect. apud Lanc.	- - -	xiii <i>s.</i> ix <i>d.</i>	Strabrode †	- - -	iiis.
Pro merc. curiæ de Gysborne	- - -	x <i>d.</i>	Pice	- - -	is. viii <i>d.</i>
Pro porc. empt. ad Staurum	- - -	iiis. ii <i>d.</i>	Sclaytstonys	- - -	xs.
Pro sport.	- - -	iv <i>s.</i> i <i>d.</i>	Smigmate ‡	- - -	vis.
Pro equo empt.	- - -	xxxiii <i>s.</i> iv <i>d.</i>	Cera abbati	- - -	viis.
Pro equo empt.	- - -	xx <i>s.</i>	Sectis capt. ap. Lancaster	- - -	i <i>l.</i> iiis.
Pro equo empt. scholari	- - -	xx <i>s.</i>	Vomer.	- - -	iiis.
Pro equo empt.	- - -	vis.	Cingulis equor.	- - -	i <i>l.</i> viis.
Pro equo empt.	- - -	xvi <i>s.</i>	Sellis, &c.	- - -	xvi <i>s.</i> iv <i>d.</i>
Pro equo empt.	- - -	xiii <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	Calybe	- - -	iiis.
Cuidam medico	- - -	iiis. iv <i>d.</i>	Pergameno	- - -	vis. viii <i>d.</i>
Itm. pro medico circa	- - -	xxix <i>s.</i> vi <i>d.</i>	Papyro	- - -	is.
Medico equor.	- - -	viii <i>d.</i>	Bitumini	- - -	is. viii <i>d.</i>
Pro Osmundes	- - -	vi <i>d.</i>	Calce	- - -	i <i>l.</i> iiis.
Pro Repar. ap. Downham	- - -	xxix <i>s.</i> iv <i>d.</i>	Resin	- - -	iv <i>s.</i>
Pro Repar. Mol. de Acton	- - -	iiis. iv <i>d.</i>	Canabe	- - -	xiiis.
Pro Rep. ap. Holoway	- - -	vs. ii <i>d.</i>	Sectis capt. ap. London	- - -	iii <i>l.</i> iiis. iv <i>d.</i>
Pro Rep. Ponend. § de Terfyn	- - -	iiis. vi <i>d.</i>	Capellano Castri	- - -	iv <i>l.</i>
Pro Rep. ap. Staynings	- - -	xx <i>d.</i>	Contributionibus studii	- - -	ii <i>l.</i>
Pro Rep. Cancelli de Rachdall	- - -	xx <i>s.</i> iv <i>d.</i>	Collectione earundem	- - -	iiis.
Pro Rep. ap. Brunley	- - -	iiis. x <i>d.</i>	Caricatione focalium	- - -	xs.
Pro repar. librorum	- - -	viii <i>s.</i>	Do. Lapidum	- - -	iv <i>l.</i> xs. x <i>d.</i>
Pro ferram equor.	- - -	viii <i>s.</i>	Messione	- - -	ii <i>l.</i> xs.

* The monks, besides novices, seem to have been divided into two classes, the *professi* and *nuper professi*. Their clothing was before accounted for; so that this extra charge, for cloth, besides scapularies and waistcoats, is not very intelligible.

† I can offer no conjecture as to the meaning of these words.

‡ *Smigma* appears to have been a kind of soap used in washing floors. — Bp. Kennet, Gloss. Par. Ant. in voce.

§ *Ponendum*, I take to be a pound.

Caricat.

Pro Grata ferri *	- - - -	IIIs.	Caricat. focalium conventui	-	x <i>s.</i> iv <i>d.</i>
Pro papyro, viz. Reme	- - - -	IIIs.	Clericis in Cœna Domini	- - -	v <i>s.</i>
Pro sotular. pauperum †	- - - -	vis.	Pauperibus in Cœna Domini	- - -	vii <i>s.</i>
Pro cella empta	- - - -	v <i>s.</i>	Sotulariis eorundem †	- - -	viii <i>s.</i>
Pro Repar. Cellar.	- - - -	x <i>s.</i> vi <i>d.</i>	Ciphis lign.	- - - -	viii <i>d.</i>
Pro concordia facta, &c.	- - - -	IIIs. iv <i>d.</i>	Collectione Dño Papæ	- - -	vii <i>s.</i>
Solar. pro rata §	- - - -	vi <i>l.</i>	Sutrici	- - - -	IIIs.
Eid. ad acc. Grad. baccal. §	- - - -	xx <i>s.</i>	Magistro operum	- - -	IIIs. iv <i>d.</i>
Arch. Ebor. in part. subsid.	- - - -	xxiii <i>s.</i> iv <i>d.</i>	Custodi Orolog. ‡	- - -	IIIs. iv <i>d.</i>
Procurat. Cler.	- - - -	xiii <i>l.</i> ii <i>d.</i>	Custodi de Chymys ‡	- - -	IIIs. iv <i>d.</i>
Pro Wayncloth	- - - -	IIIs. iv <i>d.</i>	Mon. Cell. pro Candell	- - -	IIIs.
Pro Smygmate	- - - -	IIIs. ix <i>d.</i>	Pro collec. firmæ de Clyderhow	-	vis. viii <i>d.</i>
Pro oleo ad. eccliam	- - - -	xxix <i>s.</i> ii <i>d.</i>	De Rachdall	- - -	vis. viii <i>d.</i>
Thc. Sellar pro Deb. Otwel Whithede	- - - -	IIIs. iv <i>d.</i>	Eccles	- - - -	vis. viii <i>d.</i>
Ric. Newton p. eod.	- - - -	xiii <i>d.</i>	Byllington	- - - -	IIIs. vi <i>d.</i>
Pro Moss	- - - -	vii <i>s.</i> ix <i>d.</i>	Introductione Garbarum	- - -	ii <i>l.</i>
Pro sotular.	- - - -	vis. v <i>d.</i>	Pro materia encausti	- - -	is. iv <i>d.</i>
.		In Decasis firm. de Clyderhow	-	viii <i>s.</i>
.		In Decasis pro Harwode Buks pro con-		
Pro iv ^{oz} . supellec. ad Hospitium	- - - -	x <i>s.</i>	ventu	- - -	ii <i>l.</i> vis. viii <i>d.</i>
Pro Rep. Organor. viz. pro Tynne ¶	- - - -	xxx <i>l.</i> x <i>s.</i>	In Dec. de Newfeld et Grenefeld in		
Pro Wyre, viz.	- - - -	ii <i>l.</i> iv <i>d.</i>	propr. man.	- - - -	ii <i>l.</i>
Pro Marcour	- - - -	ix <i>d.</i>	Scholari pro rata §	- - - -	vi <i>l.</i>
Pro Tinglas	- - - -	iv <i>d.</i>	Pro Repar. Terebrorum	- - -	is. viii <i>d.</i>
Pro Glutino	- - - -	ix <i>d.</i>	Conventui pro termino S. Joh. Bapt.		
Pro Wainscot	- - - -	iv <i>s.</i> vi <i>d.</i>			x <i>l.</i> vis. viii <i>d.</i>
Joh. Organistæ pro labor. suo	- - - -	xxxvi <i>s.</i> viii <i>d.</i>			

* Grates and chimneys were beginning to be introduced about a century before this time.

*Nowe hath eche ryche a rule to eaten by hymselfe,
In a privie parler for poore men sake,
Or in chambre with a chimney and lede ye chief halle.*

Peirce Plowman, fol. xliii.

† The shoemaker of the poor. It is pleasing to find that the monks employed a person specifically for this benevolent purpose. The word was formed from subtalaris, and yet exists in the Scottish sowter. It must be observed that there is no charge for leather, because their own tanneries supplied it.

‡ An abbey orologe was proverbial in the time of Chaucer; but we have here also an instance of the antiquity of chimes.

§ A scholar was constantly maintained at the expence of the house in one of the universities, whose annual exhibition we see was £.5; twenty-shillings ad acc. grad. bacc. can only have been in part; the real charge, I believe, appears in the next column, viz. £.9. 6*s.* 8*d.* Bishop Fleetwood was not accurate in saying that degrees might be taken 260 years ago at five times less charge than in his own time. Chron. Pret. p. 10.

|| These appear to have been colours used in staining glass: if so, this operation was carried on within the abbey: but qu.?

¶ In abbot Holden's time here was an organ and regular organist, of the latter of which we find no mention in the latter Computus. The organ-pipes seem to have been of tin.

Pro focal. empt.	- - - -	IIIs.	Rad. Wolton pro custod. Westwode et	
Pro eod. ad R. Sherburne	- - - -	XVs.	Wheteley - - -	VIIs. VIIId.
Pro Terricid. *	- - - -	XIs. VIIId.	Tertio monach. apud Stanlaw ††	- 1l.
Pro Cepo et flot *	- - - -	XIIId.	Carbonibus marinis Sportis, &c.	- IXs.
Pro Materia encausti	- - - -	XIIId.	Repar. Pontis apud Stanlaw	- - VIIs.
Pro Politridiis †	- - - -	IXd.	Apro - - - -	VIIs. VIIId.
Pro butyro et cas.	- XXIVl. XIIIIs. VIIId. ob.		Empt. vas. conventui	- - XIXs.
Pro Messione	- - - -	XIs.	Organis et Repar.	- - VIId. XIIIIs. IVd.
Pro Introduc. garb. dec ^m .	- - - -	XLIIIIs.	Bremis vivis pro paludibus ‡	- - Xs.
Pro caric. focal. et oner.	- XXXXVs. IVd.		Scholari pro gradu bac.	- IXl. VIIs. VIIId.
Pro car. pis. ac vol. ad Stagna †	- XXXVs.		Cortinis tapetibus, &c.	- - XVIIs.
Pro rob. S'vient.	- - - -	XVl.	Repar. apud Wolden	- - - 1l. Xs.
Famul. abbatis	- - - -	XL. XIIs. IVd.	Pro II nowchis et vitro pro altare §	
In Decas Wapontag.	- - - -	XIs.	Hen. Cockshott, pro factione Domus	
Pro concord. fact. cum J. Haydock	- XVIs.		ap. Radyam, (qu. Radholme)	- IIl. IIIs.
Pro Cilicio ad vestim.	- - - -	XVIs.	Pro coloribus pictori ¶	- - - XIIIIs.
Capello. Castri	- - - -	IVl.	Pro vitratione	- - - Xs.
Ballivo de Byllington	- - - -	XXd.	Pro monacho Furnes' **	- IVl. XIIIIs. IVd.
Jac. Garsyde pro coll. de Rach.	- XIIIIs. IVd.			
Alex. Holt pro cust. Silvæ ibm.	- - - -	XXd.		
Cust. orolog.	- - - -	IIIs. IVd.		
Mag. oper.	- - - -	IIIs. IVd.		
Monach. cellar. pro cand.	- - - -	IIIs.		
Pro bob. empt. ad Grang.	- - - -	VIIl. IIIs.		
.				
Pro duobus pannis de Draper	- XIIIIs. IVd.			
.				
.				
.				
Pro tert. monach. ap. Stanlaw ††	- XVIs. IVd.			
S. - - - -	CCLXVIII.		S. - - - -	CCCXLIl. VIIIs. IIIId.

* Terricidium is turf, and flot the superficial flah. Cepum, I believe to be chips. No mention of pit-coal, which appears in the latter account, though without a charge. Vide Padeham.

† Politridiis, probably something used in polishing, as emery, &c.

‡ Piscium ac volatiliū ad stagnum. Bremys ad paludes. These were store-fish and water-fowl for the ponds, of which there are considerable remains about the abbey.

§ Nowches, I believe, are Cruets; but qu.?

|| Hair cloth, to be worn next to the skin, for mortification.

N. B. No charge for this article in the latter account. Sixteen shillings were equivalent at least to £.8 at present.

¶ These were colours for the limner or illuminator of missals; an art in which, so far as related to colouring, the monks had certainly attained to great excellence. But the drawing, indeed all the drawing of the times, was hard and unnatural.

** What was the occasion of so large a payment to a monk of Furness, I do not understand.

†† A monk still continued to reside at Stanlaw; but why he is called the third monk, I am yet to learn.

IN DIVER. CAR.				
Pro vino	-	-	-	vl.
Pro car. sal.	-	-	-	xxvis. iid.
Pro car. frut. extr. patr.	-	-	-	xviii. 0s. iid.
Pro car. bras. ord. ext. pat.	-	-	-	xiii. xixs. iid.
Pro car. de Craven	-	-	-	xis. xid.
Item de Fylde	-	-	-	iiis. ivd.
Item	-	-	-	viiiis. ivd.
Pro car. providen. domus	-	-	-	vl. xiiis. ix d.

S. - - - xlii. xviii. ix d. ob.

IN EMPT. GRANI.				
Pro frum. empt. extr. patriam,				
<i>viz.</i> CLXXXIV ^a . I ^b . II ^b .	LXXXVI. viiis. xd.			
Pro bras. ord. empt. extr. patriam,				
<i>viz.</i> CLXXXIV ^a . III ^b .	- LIXI. xvis.			
Pro ord. empt. de B. R. et H.	iii. ivs. iiii.			
It.	- xxxviii. viiid.			
Pro avenis empt. de B. R. et H.	- vii. iis.			
It. præd.	- iii. iis. ix d.			
Pisc. empt.	- xiiis.			
Famulis grang.	- xivl. 0s. xx d.			
Pro frum. empt. infra Craven,				
xviii ^a d. I ^b .	- vii. xviii. iv d. ob.			

S. - - - CLXXXVIII. viiis. id. ob.

IN DIVER. CAR.				
Pro frum. extra patriam	-	-	-	xvi.
Pro ordeo bras. extra patr.	-	-	-	viii. vis. viiid.
Pro providentia domus	-	-	-	ivl. 0s. viiid.
Pro vino	-	-	-	vl. xs.
Pro sale, viz. xxvi Karrok *	-	-	-	ii. is. vid.

S. - - - xxxiv. xviii. xd.

IN EMPT. GRANI.				
Pro frum. extra patriam, <i>viz.</i>				
xxviii ^a . xiv ^b . iv ^b .	- LXXVIII. xvs. viiid.			
Pro frum. intra patriam, <i>viz.</i>				
xiii ^a . vi ^b .	- viii. vis. viiid.			
Pro ordeo braseato extra patriam,				
<i>viz.</i> xxv ^a . vii ^b . dim.	- LIV. xviii. xd.			
Pro ordeo braseato infra patriam,				
<i>viz.</i> xxix ^a . dim. iii ^b .	- xxiv. xiiis. iv d.			
Pro avenis bras. infra patriam,				
<i>viz.</i> iv ^a . iv ^b .	- i. iis. iv d.			
Pisc. cum car.	- xviii.			
Granatori sup.	- ivs.			
Famulis grang.	- xivl. is. viiid.			
In cervisiis pro abb.	- vl.			
Pro pane emp. ap. Wakefield cum carne	viii.			
Pro sect. in cur. Christian ^s	- iis. iv d.			
Ord. infra patriam vii ^a . dim. vi ^b .	- ivl. ivs. iiii.			

S. - - - cxcl. xiiis. viiid.

Under this head, in which, by the bye, are several articles strangely misplaced, it may be observed, that the quantity and the price of wheat consumed was very nearly the same in both years; *viz.* 184 quarters in the first, and 187 in the second; the price per quarter nine shillings, more or less. — This statement contradicts Stow's account, who asserts, that, in this very year 1521, the price of wheat was 20s. per quarter, and it was always dearer in Lancashire than in the London market.

In the article of malt a considerable reduction appears to have been made, as in 1478 the consumption was 174 quarters, and in 1521 only 147; but in the latter is an *item* of five

* Karrok, a cart or wain.—*Vide* Spelmanni Gloss. in voc. Carrociū.

pounds, “pro cervisia abbati.”—But a great advance had been made in the price, the former averaging somewhat more than six shillings per quarter, the latter nearly ten.—It was probably this dearth which put them upon the awkward expedient of malting oats.

It is remarkable, that the wages paid to the servants of the grange, at an interval of 42 years, are the same to a farthing.

IN COQUINA. ABB.

In carne bov. et vac.	-	-	1 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
In car. ovum	-	-	9 <i>s.</i> 1 <i>s.</i>
In car. vit.	-	-	6 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>
In car. porc.	-	-	4 <i>l.</i> 8 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
In car. porcel.	-	-	2 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i>
In car.edul. agr. et vol.*	-	-	3 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
In pisc. rec.†	-	-	2 <i>l.</i> 1 <i>l.</i> 8 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i>
Wil ^{mo} Andrew et Jake†	-	-	2 <i>s.</i> 1 <i>l.</i> 8 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>

S. - - - LXXXV*l.* 8*s.* 1*s.* 6*d.*

IN COQUINA. ABB.

In carne bovum et vaccarum	LXX <i>l.</i> 9 <i>s.</i>
Ovum - - -	6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>s.</i>
Vitulorum - -	8 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
Porcorum - -	1 <i>l.</i> 9 <i>s.</i>
Porcellorum -	6 <i>s.</i>
Agnorum - -	8 <i>s.</i>
In carne edulium et volatil.	1 <i>l.</i> 9 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
In pisc. recent.†	2 <i>s.</i> 1 <i>l.</i> 8 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i>
Piscatoribus pro mercede†	- - - 3 <i>l.</i>

S. - - - CXL*l.* 8*s.* 3*d.*

These accounts, and especially the latter, imply an enormous establishment; for, in the year 1533, we are told by Stow, the faithful chronologist of English economy, that a fat ox sold for 2*s.* 8*s.*, a fat wether for 3*s.* 4*d.*, a fat calf for the same, and a fat lamb for 3*d.* But if we multiply the sum total of the latter Compotus by 10, which is less than Stow's account would allow, here is an annual sum equivalent to 1,400*l.* of modern money expended upon animal food alone, in the Abbot's private household. Now, in a well-ordered family, when shambles meat sells for 4*d.* in the pound, 20*s.* per week will supply ten persons. But, in the 16th century, animal food formed a much larger proportion of the necessities of life than at present. We will therefore suppose six persons to have been sustained upon this proportion of meat; but 1400, divided by 52, leaves 27 and a fraction: 27 times 6, or 162 persons, therefore, must have been constantly fed at the abbot's table.

Every conclusion that can be drawn from these comparative statements is unfavourable to the character of Paslew. He was an economist, indeed, but not at the expence of his own

* That is, game and water-fowl.

† The corresponding article, in the latter Compotus, proves these to have been the fishermen of the abbey. Modern Catholics acknowledge that the long season of Lent requires all attainable varieties of this innutritious and quickly disgusting species of food: and the monks were fully aware of this inconvenience, and amply provided to alleviate it; for they had (*vide infra*) stock-fish, herrings red and white, salmon, and salted eels in store. The sea afforded various species of fresh fish in vast quantities; their ponds supplied them with bream; the Ribble with excellent salmon and trout; and the Hodder with its own delicious umber.—What baskets of the three last must Will. Andrew and Jake have brought in!—Will. Andrew is, I believe, the Christian and surname of the same person; for I find, that in the beginning of Abbot Paslew's time, there was a dispute between him and John Talbot, of Salesbury, for the latter assaulting Will. Andrew and Rob. Dobson on High Pikestone-Edge, in the way from Whalley Abbey to Preston, and taking from them a parcel of fish. This was principally intended to decide the right of a road over that ground, which was determined by award in favour of the Abbey.—Townl. MSS.

comforts; for, though the income of his house was much improved, the expences of the church-service were abridged, the stated allowances of charity were not increased, the general consumption of the house retrenched, the instruments of luxury more amply rewarded, and the cost of his own private establishment greatly augmented. See also the title *De Itiner.*

IN PROVIDEN. DMS.				IN PROVIDEN. DMS.			
In alec. rub. mel. sectæ *	}	-	ivl. xviii. ivd.	In alec. rub. melioris sectæ *	}	-	vl. xvs.
In alec. rub. vil. sectæ				It. vilioris sectæ			
In alec. alb.	-	-	xviii. viiid.	In alec. alb.	-	-	vl. iis.
Pro pisc. dur.	-	-	vl.	In piscibus duris	-	-	iii. xiiis.
Pro pisc. salsis	-	-	vil. iis. ix.	In pisc. sals.	-	-	xil. xs.
Pro anguillis sals. viz. barelt.	-	-	xivs.	In Salm. sals.	-	-	il. xviiis.
Pro ol. oliv.	-	-	viii. vid.	In anguil. sals.	-	-	xis. ivd.
Pro Rac. de Coran.	-	-	ixs.	In Sale, viz. xxvi karroks	-	-	vl. iiis. viiid.
Pro Amygdal.	-	-	viii.	In Ficubus et racemis	-	-	viiiis.
Pro Ficubus et racemis	-	-	viii.	In Amygdalis	-	-	vis. viiid.
Pro Pipere †	-	-	xvs. viiid.	In racemis de Coran	-	-	vs. ivd.
Pro Croco	-	-	vis. vid.	In Pipere	-	-	ivl. iis.
Pro Zinziber	-	-	vis. viiid.	In Croco	-	-	il. xviiis.
Pro Zinziber vir.	-	-	iis. viiid.	In Zinzibere	-	-	iis. vid.
Pro Sawnders ‡	-	-	xviii.	In Avellanis	-	-	is.
Pro avellan. et licor.	-	-	xivd.	In libis et theriaca	-	-	vis. viiid.
Pro libis et rice	-	-	xxiiid.	In Nutmuks	-	-	is.
Pro Turnsole alkanet et pynde	-	-	viiid.	In diversis spebus	-	-	vid.
Pro Sucaro inolat. et al. spebus §	-	-	xivd.	In succarcande	-	-	is.
Pro Sale, viz. xxi karroks et dim.	-	-	xlivs. ix.	In succar.	-	-	ixs.
				Turnsol. alkanet. tinsol. et al.	-	-	is.
				In Gariofoliis et maces	-	-	il.
				In Licores et Sinnamomo	-	-	ivs.
				In Rices	-	-	is.

* In the year 1495, white herrings were sold for 3s. 4d. per barrel.—Fleetw. Chron. Pret. But if we average the red and white at five shillings per barrel, here was, in the former year, a consumption of 23 barrels, and in the latter of 45. The use of stock-fish appears to have diminished greatly at the latter period, and to have been replaced partly by salt-fish not dried, and partly by herrings. Eels, salted and barrelled, must have been a rancid and abominable food. Surely the stomachs of many monks must have been affected by the very smell of fish, like that of Erasmus.

† This increase in the consumption of pepper proves that the use of pastry and other seasoned cookery, prevailed much more, in 1521, than forty years before.

‡ Sawnders, or sanders, is the Indian spice-wood: it has a bitter taste and aromatic smell, and was probably used in cookery.

§ This is a curious fact, as it proves that sugar was in use amongst us before the discovery of America; but the history of this great ingredient in modern luxury is far from being well ascertained. The sugar-cane, however, appears, from "Pancirollus de Rebus inventis," tit. 5, to have been grown in Sicily, and to have been manufactured at Venice, though probably in small quantities, some centuries before his time. But it was rather considered as a balsamic or pectoral medicine than an article of food.—Not. ib.

	In ol. oliv.	-	-	-	XVIII ^s . v ^d .
	In Zinzibere viride	-	-	-	IV ^s .
	In Sawnders	-	-	-	V ^s .
	In Dactilis	-	-	-	IS.
	In Granis Paradisi	-	-	-	XS.
<hr/>					
S.	-	-	-	-	XXIII ^l . IIS. III ^d .
<hr/>					
In Fabrica eccl.	-	-	-	-	XS. XIV ^d .
S. tot. exp.	-	-	-	-	DCLXXXVI ^l . IV ^s . VI ^d . ob.
Superexer. exp.	-	-	-	-	XLVIII ^l . XIII ^s . v ^d . ob.
Sum. rest. de anno p̃terit.	-	-	-	-	CCCCLXVIII ^l . XVII ^s . II ^d .

	In ol. oliv.	-	-	-	XVIII ^s . v ^d .
	In Zinzibere viride	-	-	-	IV ^s .
	In Sawnders	-	-	-	V ^s .
	In Dactilis	-	-	-	IS.
	In Granis Paradisi	-	-	-	XS.
<hr/>					
S.	-	-	-	-	XLVI ^l . IV ^s . IX ^d .
<hr/>					
In Sturgeon	-	-	-	-	XS. VIII ^d .
In Merc. Curiaē	-	-	-	-	VIII ^l . VII ^s . IV ^d .
In Fabrica ecclesiaē	-	-	-	-	XXIII ^l .
<hr/>					
S. tot. exp.	-	-	-	-	DCCCXXXIX ^l . XI ^s . v ^d . ob.
Summa recept. super exp.	-	-	-	-	LXVIII ^l . XI ^s . III ^d . ob.

We have now traced, from authentic documents, the internal arrangements and economy of this establishment, which appears to have consisted of the lord abbot, the prior, about 20 monks, divided into the *professi* and *nuper professi*, besides an uncertain number of novices, 20 servants belonging to the Abbot, and 70* in the general service of the house: in all, probably, 120 persons. But besides these, the demesnes and revenues of the abbey had to sustain a daily, though uncertain and irresistible influx of guests in every rank, from the sovereign to the beggar, whose stay, if it exceeded not three days, was never considered as oppressive. This boundless hospitality, however, though eminently useful in some respects, was equally pernicious in others. If, for instance, in an age of poverty, and when no legal provision for the poor existed, these foundations liberally supplied the wants of age and sickness, they dealt out, with undistinguishing hands, an equal measure of bounty to “valiant and idle beggars, drove beasts, “and michers †.” If, again, they afforded a gratuitous and comfortable resting-place to the traveller of every description, the power of exercising this liberality was extorted from the laborious parish-priest, who had an antecedent right to those tithes, which the monks, with unfeeling rapacity, appropriated to themselves. The same cause, together with the magnificence of their buildings, rendered them importunate and never satisfied beggars, who found an easy access to the beds of the great, at seasons when guilt and fear precluded a refusal; and the necessary magnitude of their general expences made them jealous of the most trivial rights, querulous, irritable, and contentious ‡.

But, to return from this digression:—The average consumption of the house may be stated, in round numbers, on the authority of the two preceding accounts, at

Wheat	-	-	200 quarters.
Malt	-	-	150 ditto.
Wine	-	-	8 pipes.

* To persons unacquainted with the economy of these houses, the number of servants which I have assigned, must appear very great; but this is far beneath the establishment of many of the greater houses. The abbey of Tewkesbury, at the Dissolution, had 144 servants.—Burnet's Hist. Reform. vol. I. App.

† General injunctions to the monasteries.—Ib.

‡ See the “*Annales de Dunstable*,” published by Hearne; which is little better than an history of petty squabbles.

Oxen and Cows	-	75	} For the abbot's table.
Sheep	-	80	
Calves	-	40	
Lambs	-	20	
Porkers	-	4	

And for the refectory and inferior tables within the house,

Oxen and Cows	-	57
Sheep *	-	40
Calves	-	20
Lambs	-	10

From this statement may be inferred a great disproportion in the quantity of animal food, when compared with the other necessities of life, to modern habits; for, in this table of expences, it may be made clearly to appear, that the value of shambles-meat consumed was, to that of wheat and of malt, in a much higher ratio than at present. The latter circumstance leaves a very favourable impression with respect to the sobriety of a religious house. The quantity of wine accounted for would indeed have allowed a bottle of wine per day to every monk; but it is to be suspected that great part of this luxury was intercepted by the abbot and his guests, before it reached the refectory; and who can forbear lamenting that these poor men had scarcely a vegetable to eat, or a garden to cultivate!

On the whole, to men who fed so grossly, and had so little exercise or labour to correct the effects of repletion, how wise and salutary, even in a medical view, was the institution of fasting! Yet, after all the benefits resulting from temporary inanition, how peculiar must then have been the state of the human body, and consequently the practice of medicine, in monasteries. When men, born in times, and bred in habits, which almost exempted them from the evil, shall I say, or the privilege, of weak constitutions, were often swept away in the midst of their days by inflammatory disorders; or, if they survived to a later period, were knocked down at a stroke by apoplexies; the superadded laziness and plenty of a convent, without such systematic checks, must have been doubly pernicious.

But another circumstance in the habits of monks must have exposed them to putrid and cutaneous disorders†; I mean a total inattention to cleanliness, which is to be imputed to the absurdity of their rule: for they had no sheets to their beds, or shirts to their backs: they slept in their ordinary dresses of woollen, and never availed themselves of a practice, from which they do not appear to have been prohibited, and which alone rendered the same habits tolerable in the ancients, namely, a constant use of warm baths, which would have removed all impurities from the skin. In us it would produce a strange mixture of feelings, to be repelled from the person of a man of learning or elegant manners by stench and vermin.

Such, then, was the monastery of Whalley, with its several advantages and defects; and

* This computation supposes that the first article, *provisori conventus*, was a charge for shambles-meat, on the general account of the house, which is no where else provided for; and the two sums, charged under this head, are nearly one half of that which is placed to the account of the abbot's table.

† The jaw-bone of one of the abbots, turned up in digging within the choir, had been honeycombed by a scrofulous complaint.

in this state it subsisted till the attainder of abbot Paslew*. After that melancholy event, nothing more is recorded of it during a period of two years; after which, on April 12th, 1539, the bailiwick of the demesnes was committed, by letters patent of Henry VIII. to John Braddyll, gent. of the neighbouring house of Braddyll and Brockhole, the said demesnes being then seized into the king's hands "*ratione attincturæ Johannis nuper abb. iſm.*" In the beginning of July, this year†, died Christopher Smith, who had been 30 years prior, before the forfeiture of the house. He was interred near the font of the parish-church, where the initials X S, and the paten and chalice, expressive of his order, still remain upon a large gravestone, adorned with a cross fleury.

In this state every thing remained during an interval of somewhat more than 14 years, in which time Braddyll had so profited of the rich deposit committed to his hands, as to be able to convert a trust into property: and accordingly, at a most dangerous period for such an adventure, that is, exactly twenty days before the death of Edward VI. he, in conjunction with Richard Assheton, a younger son of the house of Lever, purchased from the Crown, for the sum of £.2132. 3s. 9d. the whole manor of Whalley and site of the dissolved or attainted monastery thereof, which are particularized in terms extremely interesting, as they perpetuate several names allusive to its former state, which they who love the place and the subject would not wish to be forgotten. By this charter, therefore, were conveyed to the said parties, "*Totum illum dominium et manerium de Whalley, et terras vocatas Whalley parke, ac totam capitalem domum ac scitum dicti nuper monasterii de Whalley, et inter cætera Le Guest House, Le Common Stable, Le Fermery Garths, Le Kitchin Garthes, Le Prioris Orchard, Le Abbots Orchard, Le Proctors Orchard, Abbot Kitchin Garthe, Le Proctors Stable, &c. in occupationibus Christ. Thornber, Thomæ Chatburn, Roberti Sudell, Jac. Lawe,*

* It was committed to Braddyll from the day of the Dissolution. I have since met with his first half-year's account, ending at Michaelmas 1537.

I find that Pedley was Vicar of Whalley at this time; so that he could not have been presented by Archbishop Cranmer. It does not appear that he was a monk: it is therefore not improbable that he was presented by the Crown immediately after the Dissolution. There is no account of the precise time when Vicar Seller died.

It appears, from the account above mentioned, that, immediately upon the forfeiture of the house, Richard Pollard, esq. one of the King's Surveyors General, came down and let the demesnes from that time to Michaelmas. Hence it appears, that all the live-stock must have been disposed of immediately. Under this letting, the land, upon an average, produced about 2s. per acre, and cottage-houses from 1s. to 6d. and even 4d. The tenants at will, who appear to have been all the inhabitants of the town of Whalley, occupying, for the most part, five, six, or eight acres each,

paid, in all - - - - -	£.18 2 9
Works Silver - - - - -	0 12 11
Demesne Lands - - - - -	62 11 2

Of these, one close, called Portfield, containing 18 acres, was let for 34s. The herbage of the park and wood, two miles in circuit, was demised to Sir Alexander Osbaldeston for 12l.; and the folds, containing 60 acres, and Standen Hey, containing 120 acres, to —, for 19l.—

The Court Grange is mentioned, as is Le Castell.

The Dove-house was let for - - - - -	0 1 8
The Tan-house to Simon Haydock and John Woodroof, (both I suppose, of Burnley), for - - -	4 0 0

An enormous rent, when the skins of the cattle slaughtered at the Abbey were gone.

Abbey Mill - - - - -	1 0 0
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† "1539, July 5th, Seps. Dns. Christopherus Smyth, quondam prior de Whalley."—Reg. Ecc. Par.

"&c.

“ &c.—[These were poor monks who had clung to the old house, like a few surviving bees about a suffocated hive.]—Edward Pedley vicar. et al. hab. & ten. in tam amplâ formâ ac modo ut aliquis abbas de Whalley et conventus tenuerint ratione dissolutionis dicti nuper monasterii aut ratione attincturæ et forisfacturæ ultimi abbatis.”

Within four days after this transaction followed a partition of the premises betwixt the two grantees, in which Assheton obtained exclusive possession of the house; but Braddyll retained so much larger a portion of the demesnes, that he paid a compensation to his partner of £. 467. 16s. 8d.

Henceforward the site and demesnes of Whalley are to be considered merely as a lay-fee, and will be noticed once more, in their proper place, under the families of Assheton and Braddyll.

Before we proceed to a survey of the existing remains of Whalley, it may not be improper to premise a few observations on the peculiar construction of monasteries in general, and of the Cistercian houses in particular. These may be considered as a short rationale of Monastic Architecture; and besides their general use, may assist the reader in understanding the grounds upon which the different apartments in the annexed ichnography have been assigned to their respective uses.

1st. Then, the quadrangular mode of building, with apartments opening inward, was, of all others, best adapted both to security and to sequestration; and, for one or other of these reasons, it was common to the villas of the Greeks and Romans*; perhaps to temples, with their appendages†, to the oriental kanes‡, to the castles and greater manor-houses of our English ancestors, to colleges§, hospitals, and monasteries.

But, as monastic institutions had their origin in the East, it may be presumed that the first hint, not indeed of the general form, but of that peculiar disposition of apartments which prevails so generally in this species of building among ourselves, was ultimately brought from thence, yet varied in such particulars as difference of climate, and the consequent necessity of a change of habits, seemed to indicate.

* These were certainly quadrangular; and, besides an impluvium, or, as it is called by Suetonius, Aug. c. 92, a compluvium, in the centre, had frequently noble colonnades, resembling cloisters, which surrounded them within.—Such appears to have been the house of Byrrhena, described in Apuleius Metamorp. l. 2, c. 22. “Atria longè pulcherrima columnis quadrifariam per singulos angulos stantibus.”—See also Vitruvius, l. 6. c. 4.

† A temple discovered at Pompeii, with its dependent offices and apartments, is said to bear a striking resemblance to an ancient convent.

‡ The kanes are built in fashion of a cloister, encompassing a court of 30 or 40 yards square, more or less, according to the measure of the founder's ability or charity.—Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 4.

§ It may be amusing to trace the features which colleges and monasteries had in common, and those which each possessed apart.—Both, then, were quadrangular; both had cloisters, refectories, common rooms, libraries, and a distinct lodging for the head of the house: both, too, had magnificent gateways; but the gateway of a monastery entered a close, and that of a college the quadrangle. The college had no common dormitory, no chapter-house, and no church but a chapel: this is remarkably true, even in the most splendid collegiate foundations; for that of King's College itself, though equalling many cathedrals in extent, and perhaps surpassing them all in magnificence, in order to preserve the collegiate character as distinct from the monastic, was constructed without tower, columns, side ailes, or transept. We are to remember, that Jesus College, in the same university, which has a regular church, is an entire nunnery.—It may perhaps be said that Merton College, Oxford, which never was a monastery, is an exception to this rule; and Magdalen College, with respect to its tower; but I recollect no other.

2d. But, besides, this disposition of apartments, in religious houses, arose partly from the nature of monastic rules, and partly from attention to general convenience.

For the very nature of their rule required, in monks, seclusion from the world; yet a necessary regard to health and cheerfulness, even in those who professed to pay little attention to the one, and affected to mortify the other, imperiously demanded that the votaries of religion should sometimes behold a more expanded horizon, and sometimes breathe a freer air, than that of the cloister.

The first feature, therefore, of a religious house was the *clausum*, or close, consisting often of 50, or even 90* acres, surrounded by an high, and sometimes embattled† wall, and entered by one or two magnificent gateways.

Beyond this enclosure the religious were not regularly permitted to walk or ride, but on the necessary business of the house.

Within the close were included all the appendages of a large domain, occupied by the owners; as, a grange‡ or farm-house, barns, stables, mill, &c. The reason of this arrangement, at least in the Northern parts of England, was obvious, as the live-stock and out-buildings of the monastery were thus completely protected, not only against ordinary depredations, but against the more formidable and periodical plunder and conflagrations of the Scots.

Next was the house itself, situated in the lowest and warmest part of the enclosure; consisting usually of one large quadrangular court, into which the various offices and apartments opened; and to all these a warm and sheltered access, in every season, was provided, by means of a penthouse cloister, surrounding the whole.

The Northern side of this quadrangle was formed by the nave of the conventual church, so placed with great judgment, on account of its height and bulk, as in that position it afforded the best shelter against Northern blasts, and in any other would have excluded more or less of sun-shine from the cloister, where the aged monks, who could no longer wander far beyond their cells, would naturally wish, with the Poet,

“*Nostra bibat verum contracta cuticula solem.*”—Juv.

Attached to the end of the South transept, and with it constituting, in part, the east side of the quadrangle, was the vestry, and next the chapter-house, of which the doors and windows are generally observed to be adorned with peculiar care. This situation of the last-mentioned apartment may be considered as universal, except in those magnificent churches where it was placed North of the choir, in which case it was generally circular or octagonal.—In either situation, however, the chapter-house appears to have been a favourite §.

The chapter-house was always considered as a part of the church, received the same peculiar consecration, and was honoured with the interment of patrons and other great persons. Here, too, all elections were made; hence, all processions commenced after elections; and here,

* 50 acres is about the average, but that of Fountains exceeded 90.

† We have already seen a licence granted by Edward III. to kernel and embattle the close wall of Whalley.

‡ The grange of Whalley seems to have been originally without the close, which now makes a very awkward angle, on purpose to comprehend it.

§ Even under the Saxon and Norman architecture, these apartments were very highly adorned; witness the chapter-houses of Bristol, and of Christ church, Oxford. They were, however, generally small in those early times, and sometimes underwent a subsequent enlargement, as at Kirkstall.

lastly, all acts of discipline* were performed.—All these, but the last, were reasons for its contiguity to the former edifice.

On the same side, and still to the South, is generally found one long ground † room, or sometimes two or three smaller ones, of which, it is rather extraordinary, that the uses have not been clearly ascertained.

Above, was generally the library, scriptorium, and perhaps the infirmary; all of which were pulled down to the level of the upper floor at Whalley, when the church, &c. were destroyed by Sir Ralph Assheton.

Again, opposite to the church, and forming the South side of the quadrangle, were almost universally the refectory, locutorium ‡ or parlour, kitchen, butteries, sculleries, &c.; a suite of apartments necessarily connected with each other; and in the Cistercian houses, which, as will be proved below, usually stood on the Northern bank of a considerable river, so placed that all the offal and filth from the offices passed immediately into the current, without annoying any other part of the house.

The Western side alone remains to be accounted for; and of this, the higher story was generally the dormitory, often supported by a line of columns § beneath, which, branching out into groined arches, formed a magnificently gloomy walk ||.

This apartment was immediately connected with the South West corner of the church, in order that the religious might pass to their late or early devotions, with the least possible exposure to external air.

In all this arrangement there appears a great deal of good sense and rational contrivance.

A very dignified part of the monastery is yet unnoticed, namely, the abbot's lodging, which was usually attached to or a little removed from the south-end corner of the quadrangle, and so placed as to afford an easy communication with the cloister, chapter-house, and church.

This was a distinct residence, pretty much in the style of a large manor-house, and calculated for a splendid establishment, having an hall, kitchen, and sometimes a chapel within itself.

The remains of this building are very conspicuous at Kirkstall, though in ruins: at Whalley it was, till within the last thirty years, entire.

In those cathedrals, particularly Durham, which have preserved their monastic form, the

* For they ben many fel freers my ferys to age,
Both prior and subprior and our pater abbas,
Ane if I tel any tales they taken hem togethers,
And do me fast fridays to bred and to water,
I am chalenged and chiden in chapter house, as I a chylde were,
And belaced on the bare —, and no breech between.

Such is the complaint of the merry and mischievous Friar Wrath, in "Piers Plowman," fol. xxiii.

† Vide E. F. on the ground plan.

‡ The Locutorium at Whalley was evidently that pleasant apartment, with a fire-place, projecting at the South-east corner of the cloister, towards the river.

§ The workmen are now (May 1800) digging up the remains of these columns from beneath the dormitory of Kirkstall.

|| This still remains entire at Fountains, a ruin from which more of the economy of monastic architecture may be learned, than from any other in the kingdom.

protestant deans having occupied the apartments of their excluded predecessors the priors, the deanery is yet found precisely in this relative situation *.

For this position also of the abbot's or prior's apartments, a good reason may be assigned; for, in the quadrangle there was evidently no room for them; placed to the North of the church they would have been cold and dark; to the West, too remote from the choir and chapter-house; and to the South, immediately in the way of kitchens and offices. No situation remained, therefore, but to the South-east, or immediately opposite to the choir, where they united the advantages of shelter, sun-shine, and contiguity to those parts of the house where the abbot's presence was most frequently required.

With respect to that peculiar instinct, if it may be so called, which seems to have dictated to the Cisterians, in the choice of situations, at least for their northern houses, it may be observed, that though they affected to plant themselves in the solitude of woods, which were to be gradually essarted by the labour of their own hands, and though they obtained an exemption from the payment of tithes on that specific plea, yet they were excellent judges of the quality of land, however concealed, and never set about their laborious task without the assurance of an ample recompence.

But, if any conclusion can be formed from the scenery which they affected, they must have been men of taste as well as judgment, who had better eyes for landscape than their abstracted patron, St. Bernard †.

A copious stream to the South, a moderate expanse of rich meadow and pasture around, and an amphitheatre of sheltering hills, clad in the verdant covering of their native woods beyond; these were features in the face of Nature which the earlier Cisterians courted with instinctive fondness; where these combined it does not appear that they ever abandoned a

* To illustrate these remarks, compare the annexed ground-plan with those of Kirkstall and Fountains, in Burton's *Mon. Ebor.* and with Browne Willis's *Ichnography of the cathedral of Durham*, vol. I. p. 223.

On the progress of Norman and Gothic architecture, as displayed in these buildings, I forbear to make any remarks, for the subject has often been treated, of late, and is now pretty generally understood. But if the reader wishes to see it discussed in a masterly manner, he is referred to Mr. Benthani's *Remarks, History of Ely*, Sect. 5 and 6, where he will find the genuine science of James Essex, united with the fine taste and critical discernment of Mr. Gray; or to *Observations on the Faery Queene*, vol. II. from p. 184 to 198, by Mr. Thomas Warton, who has treated Norman and Gothic architecture, not, indeed, with professional exactness, but with that felicity of real genius which illustrates and adorns every subject that it touches. To all these may now be added, the more elaborate and critical elucidations of Dr. Milner.

† St. Bernard, in a fit of devout abstraction, is said to have walked a whole day along the Lake of Lausanne without perceiving it, (*Vita Bernardi*, l. 3, c. 1, p. 2014, edit. Par. 1632.) For this absence of mind or want of taste, he is sneered at by Mr. Gibbon, (*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, c. 59,) who certainly beheld the same scene from the windows of his library at Lausanne, with no mixture of those affections which engaged the abbot of Clareval.

I cannot often accord either in my feelings or conclusions with this great, but disingenuous historian, yet, in the present instance, I can no more conceive than himself, how piety is promoted by insensibility, or how the sanctity of Bernard would have been endangered by a moderate use of his eyes in contemplating some of the most beautiful works of the Creator.

I have what was meant for a portrait of Bernard, in painted glass, preserved out of the wreck of the long gallery at Whalley, but it is only appropriated by the crozier, the glory, and the white Cisterian gown; for the man who sat for this picture must have been a plump and jovial monk of later days, not the pale and meagre *saint*, much attenuated by the discipline, and more by the disease of fasting: for Bernard was long afflicted by a constriction of the œsophagus. How happy for himself that he thought abstinence a duty.

situation which they had once chosen ; and where these were wanting, it is certain that they never long or willingly remained.

Thus Tulket, which was abandoned for Furness, Stanlaw for Whalley, and Barnoldswick for Kirkstall, though not deficient in general fertility, wanted all these peculiarities of situation and beauties of landscape.

We now proceed to a particular survey of the remains of Whalley Abbey as they exist at present. First, then, the whole area of the close, containing 36 acres, 3 roods, 14 poles, is still defined by the remains of a broad and deep trench which surrounded it ; over this were two approaches to the house through two strong and stately gateways yet remaining. They are constructed in that plain and substantial style which characterized the Cistercian houses, a style which approximates to that of fortification, and shews that the monks did not obtain a licence to kernel and embattel, without an end in view. Within this area, and on the verge of Calder, which formed the South-west boundary of the close, was the house itself, consisting of three quadrangles, besides stables and offices. Of these, the first and most westerly was the cloister court, of which the nave of the conventual church formed the North side ; the chapter-house and vestry yet remaining, the East ; the dormitory, also remaining, the West ; and the refectory and kitchens the South. The cloister was of wood, supported, as usual, upon corbels still remaining ; the area within was the monks cemetery, and some ancient gravestones are still remembered within it. Against the wall, on the South side of this quadrangle, is a wide surbased arch, apparently of Henry the VIIth's time, which has evidently contained the lavatory. The groove of the lead pipe which conveyed the water, is still conspicuous, as is also another for the reception of a wooden rail, on which the towels hung. Beyond this court, to the East, is another quadrangular area, formed by the choir of the church on one side, the opposite side of the chapter-house, &c. on another, a line of ruinous buildings on the third, and a large distinct building, itself surrounding a small quadrangle, on the fourth. This appears evidently to have been the abbot's lodgings ; for which reason, as being best adapted to the habits of an ordinary family, it immediately became the residence of the Asshetons ; and after many alterations, and a demolition of its best apartments, particularly a gallery nearly 150 feet in length, has still several good and habitable rooms, and is now preserved with due care by its owner. The ancient kitchen, the *Coquina Abb^s*. of the *Compotus*, whence such hecatombs were served up, remains, though roof-less, with two huge fire-places. On the southern side of this building is a small but very picturesque and beautiful ruin mantled with ivy, which appears to have been a chapel, and was probably the abbot's private oratory. But the conventual church itself, which exceeded many cathedrals in extent, has been levelled nearly to the foundation. This work of havock was probably an effect of that general panic which seized the lay-owners of abbeys, on the attempt made by Queen Mary to restore the monks to their cloisters. "For now," says Fuller, "the edifices of abbeys, which were still entire, looked lovingly again on their ancient owners, in prevention whereof, such as possessed them for the present, plucked out their eyes by levelling them to the ground, and shaving from them, as much as they could, all abbey characters *."

However, in the month of August, 1798, permission having been obtained from the

* From the following particulars, which I have since met with in the Account Books of Sir Ralph Assheton, it appears that a considerable part of the church, together with much of the cloister court, remained above 120 years after the dissolution, when they were demolished at a considerable expence, and for no assignable cause : —

guardian of the present owner, to investigate the foundation by digging, a very successful attempt was made to retrieve the whole ichnography of the church, of which there were no remains above the surface to assist conjecture, or to guide research, but one jamb of the West window against the wall of the dormitory, a small portion of the South wall of the nave, a fragment of the South transept, and another jamb of one of the side chapels eastward from the last. An inequality in the ground, eastward from the transept in an adjoining orchard, shewed the half-pace into the choir, of which the outline to the North and East was also defined in the same manner. Upon these slender data we proceeded first to investigate the foundations of the columns towards the West end, and having ascertained the distance of one from the South wall, the width of the South aisle, and consequently of the North, followed of course; another digging immediately to the North, ascertained the width of the middle aisle, and a third from East to West, gave one intercolumniation; the length of the nave being already given by the remains of the transept, the number of columns was now proved. A right line drawn along the remnant of the South wall, and continued to the intersection of the nave and transept, proved the length of the latter on the South side, and consequently also on the North. The choir evidently appeared to have consisted of a presbytery, with two side aisles and four other chapels; two to the North, and as many to the South.

The site of the choir being determined, it remained to investigate its contents beneath the surface; accordingly, under the high altar nothing appeared but a bed of undisturbed and native sand; but beneath the second half-pace, immediately leading up to it, were turned up many broken remains of a painted pavement, consisting of small glazed floor tiles, adorned with

“ 1661, Pd. for pulling down the old walls over the inner close, 1*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

“ 1662, Pulling downe the old abbey walls this winter :

“ Pd Henry Clayton and Jas Rushton in p^t for pulling down the old part of the steeple and those side walls adjoining to it, at 3*d.* per yard, 26*s.* 8*d.* More to them, being the whole, for pulling down 223 yds, as per note “ 29*s.* 2½*d.*

“ More to Do. for pulling down the end of the close wall next to Gilly's house, and a peice adjoining to the barn “ side, at 6*d.* per yard, 25*s.* 6*d.*

“ More to them for pulling down 136¾ yds of the old steeple, at 4*d.* per yard, 2*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.*

“ Pd in part for pulling down 14 yds of the highe cloister walls next the dove coat, at 6*d.* 7*s.* More, in full, for “ the same side, 9*d.*

“ In part for the other, &c. &c. In all, for this work, 1*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.*

“ Pd John Gilbert for taking down the great window or door at the head of stairs in the cloisters.”

To compensate, however, for this havoc, Sir Ralph Assheton, in the year 1667, fitted up the Long Gallery, which, in little more than a century, followed the fate of its predecessors, and is itself become a ruin, without the charm of antiquity.

This work of destruction left a very curious remain for future speculation. In the South wall of the building which I have called the dormitory is a hollow space, almost from top to bottom, which has apparently had no opening but by a breach in the wall. It contains a narrow staircase, at the bottom of which is a small arched space on the level ground, just capable of containing a narrow bed, and at the top is a narrow opening through one of the external buttresses of the building for air and light. It could not, therefore, be intended for the tremendous *Vade in Pacem*, but it was, probably, the “*teter et fortis career*” for refractory monks, into which the *Liber Loci Benedicti* informs us that one of the fraternity was thrust for attempting to stab the Abbot of Kirkstall in the chapter-house. The breach through the wall by which this singular excavation is entered, is now wide enough to admit a man's body with some difficulty; but, as there is no appearance of a door-way, the probability is, that the prisoner was walled up, and that a small aperture only was left to admit his provisions. Had he been left to expire in his dungeon, it is evident that no aperture would have been left for light or air.

various devices, and of different forms and dimensions. At the foot of the stalls a narrow rectilinear filleting, of the same material, had bounded the whole. On some was inscribed the word *MARIE* in Longobardic characters.

This pavement had been deeply bedded in mortar, but was altogether displaced, and turned down from one to three feet beneath the surface, where several skeletons were found very entire, and in their original position, but without any remains of coffins, vestments, or other ornaments, as appeared upon a most minute investigation. These, however, were, beyond a doubt, the abbots of Whalley. From the confused state of the original pavement, the whole floor of the presbytery, from the foot of the stalls, appeared to have been successively covered with gravestones, all of which, however, had been removed, excepting fragments of two; one of these had a groove, once inlaid with a filleting of brass, and the other, beneath which lay the skeleton of a tall and robust man, had deeply cut upon it the stump of a tree raguled. This, I conjecture, to have been a thorn, intended as a rebus upon the name of Christopher Thornber, the fifteenth abbot, who died in 1486. In this search we narrowly missed the fragments of the gravestone of Abbot Lindley, which were casually turned up on this very spot A. D. 1813. On one, in the Longobardic character of Edward the Third's time, were the letters *IOP*, and on the other—*AJ pVIV*.

From these data, slender as they may seem, I arrive at my conclusion, thus: 1st, None but Abbots were interred in the high choir; 2d, The characters cannot be later than the latter end of Edward the Third, when the old English black letter was substituted in its place. From the foundation to this time, three Johns had been Abbots of Whalley, Belfield, Topcliffe, and Lindley. The termination of the surname must have immediately preceded the word *hujus*, but the letters *AJ* can only have formed the termination of *Lindelai*, the old orthography of the word.

The remains of the Lacies, wherever deposited after their removal from Stanlaw, had undoubtedly been preserved with religious reverence, and inclosed in magnificent tombs. But in these researches there were no appearances which justified even a conjecture that we had discovered them.

Where they were placed after their translation, is perhaps of little importance; but the following indulgence, granted with a view to facilitate that work, will gratify the curious reader.

“ Univ^s, &c. Nos *Ænianus* mis^a div. *Bangorensis* eccl' episcopus notum fieri volumus per præsentēs, quod, de Dei Omnipotentis misericordiâ et gloriose Virginis Marie omniumq' Sanctorum meritis confisi, omnibus nobis jure diocesano subjectis et aliis quorum diocesani hanc nostram indulgentiam ratam habuerint, vel penitentibus qui ad mon^m *Loci Benedicti* de Stanlaw, ord. Cist. Covent. et Litcf. dioc. accesserint et ibñ pro animabus constabular' Cestr. et comitum *Lincoln* fundatorum d^{ce} domus, et quorum corpora ib'm sepulture traduntur, devotas preces fuderint Altissimo, vel qui ad emendationem periculosi accessus ad dictum mon^m de bonis sibi à Deo collatis aliquam eleemosynam fecerint, vel si contingat propter periculum maris fugiendum dictum mon^m ab eo loco amoveri, et fratres in loco tutiori sibi habitaculum quærere, et ossa patronorum suorum p̃dictorum et aliorum nobilium ibm humatorum inde ad locum quieti religiosorum competentiore transferre—qui ad ista procuranda d'ctis Fr^s condigna caritatis subsidia

subsidia fecerint, xxx dies de injungendâ eis secundum antiquos canones pœnitentiâ relaxamus. Dat. apud Aberconwey in Snawdon', incipiente an. Dⁿⁱ MCCLXXXIII. et a. r. reg. Edw. fil. reg. Hen. xi." *

The conquest of Wales was now completed; and, accordingly, bishop Cœnian speaks of the Conqueror as his sovereign. No reasonable account can be given of this indulgence from so remote a prelate, but that Henry de Lacy was attending upon Edward the First, at Conway Castle, then either building or recently built, where he met the bishop of Bangor coming to pay his court also.

The mention of Aberconway, in Snowdona, is, perhaps, an older authority than Mr. Penant was acquainted with, for styling the environs of that mountain Snowdonia.

Since the first edition of this work was printed off, several original documents relating to Whalley Abbey have come to light. The first of these is a thick octavo volume, entitled, "*Liber Loci Benedicti de Whalley*;" the contents of which are very miscellaneous. It seems to have been a kind of original register, or day-book, beginning with the translation of the convent from Stanlaw, and ending about the year 1346. The whole is extremely abbreviated, and difficult to be read. The contents are, minutes of leases and other contracts, letters, tables of weights and measures, sermons, and poetry. Of these, the most curious specimens are given below. The two first are letters from Gregory de Norbury, the first abbot, to Elias de Workesley, afterwards his successor, and to William de Brooke, who was probably professor of divinity at Oxford, when the former took his doctor's degree in that faculty. The academical reader will observe that the language of the schools was the same five centuries ago as at present. To respond and to incept, at least, have the same meaning now.

"Monacho cum responderit. Salutem in Christo. Scripsit nobis Nonnus † W. de B. quod in scholis nostris nuper publicè et honorificè respondisti, de quo novit Deus gavisum sumus admodum, utpote profectum tuum totis visceribus affectantes. Quod autem mutuatio pecunie te gravavit ex nobis ipsis conjicimus, quia similia passi sumus, nec tamen defectum tuum ad plenum relevare possumus. Istâ vice facimus quod possumus, mittentes per latorem præsentium xs. sterling, et alios xs. pollard ‡: et per vicarium de Whalley xxs. pollard ‡: alii qui permiserint non erant; de iis in posterum sis securus, nec te moveat quod plures sterlingos non mittimus ut rogasti, quod revera à tempore recessus tui non increverint thesauriam nostram de nostris receptis vs. sterl. Mittimus per eundem latorem ad opus nonni † W. de B. xxs. quorum medietas est de sterl. et 2^{da} de pollard. Ceterum si possitis agere cum mag^{ro} H. prece vel precio quod ipse impertierit nobis licentiam remanendi à capitulo per literam dⁿⁱ Cisterciensis quod graviter infirmati sumus anno isto necdum plene convaluimus, multum ei tenebimur, et tue utilitati possemus commodius providere. Vale semp. in X^{ro} frater et fili karissime, qui te custodiat, et spiritu proficere faciat in sanctitate et virtute."

* From the original at Whalley Abbey.

† Nonnus was a title of reverence, whose origin and etymology are very uncertain. Juniores, priores Nonnos vocant. Reg. Sc'i Benedicti, cap. 62, ap. Du Cange, in voce. From the feminine Nonna, which is used by St. Jerom in Ep. ad Eustochium, is undoubtedly derived the word Nun.

‡ Pollards and Crokards were a base coinage, cried down in 1299, about the date of this letter. See Mat. Westminster in that year, and Spelman's Gloss. voce Pollard.

“Scolari * ad congratulandum cum inceperit. Kariss^o suo si placet mag^{ro} et amico nonno W. de B. Fr. Gregorius vocatus abbas de Whalley. Ad congratulandum vobis et sancte societati scholarium in inceptionis vestre solempnitate affectuosissimè vellemus † si corporis imbecillitas permiserit, sed absque corpore, spiritu vobiscum erimus, orantes Deum, ut hic possitis cum honore et in gloria consummare. Cæterum pro beneficiis quæ dilecto filio et commonacho nostro Fr. Helie facitis et fecistis, vestre dilectioni ad quantas et quales possumus gratiarum assurgimus actiones, salutantes vos per eundem, sicut ad præsens potuimus respicientes, non tamen sicut voluimus, D^{ns} novit, si facultas voluntati copiositate respondisset. Valete semper in D^{no} IHU X^{ro}, salutantes ex parte nostrâ si placet magistrum cum scholaribus et omnes alios quos vestra dilectio decreverit salutandos.”

The next epistle relates to the oppression which the abbot and his house experienced from bishop Langton, who, in addition to his jurisdiction over them as their diocesan, was now treasurer of England.

“Archidiacono Cestrensi frater Gregorius vocatus abbas de Whalley. Quod verum sit illud verbum in Evangelio in mundo pressuram habebitis cotidie nostris angustiis experimur. In hujus enim mundi mare magno flebiliter fluctuantes dum ad portum pervenire, negato respirationis solatio, proh dolor, ab hiis qui passis compati de jure debuerant repellimur in profundum. Ecce enim episcopus Covent. et Lich. quem secundo ab urbe redeuntem duplicem nobis gratiam et benevolentiam speravimus reportâsse, vice versâ duplici nos afflictione fatigat, quia solutis jam eidem per nos c. marcis de illis mille in quibus ei tenebamur, quas per ministros regios immisericorditer de bonis nostris temporalibus fecit fieri concussas cum precaremur ipsum de residuo mitius acturum, alteram aciem bis acutam ad ecclesiastica jam convertens omnia bona nostra ecclesiastica venditioni exposuit præconizari faciens in ecclesiis comitatus et mercatibus ut ad certos diem et locum convenirent empturi de bonis nostris quanti sibi viderentur plus valere. Ob hoc, venerande d^{ne} et amice, rescribere dignemini quod vobis videbitur.”

The same circumstances drew from the abbot this eloquent and affecting complaint, addressed to Thomas of Lancaster:

“Une Playnte, A treshonorable home et sun tres cher seigneur en deu sire Thomas de Lancaster. Frere Gregor abbe de Whalley Saluz. Pur ceo qe tout nostre esperance de socour en terre principalement pent en vous sire apres nostre avowe et seigneur le counte de Nichole a vo^s come a sovëyn ayde terrien mustrouns no^s grevaunces. Sachez honure sir q' nostre evesq. de Cestr' par sun poer et mal volente q'il ad eu ja lungement devers nos a tort en taunt ad nos grevaunces et ennuys compasse countre la priere du rey, de nostre seigneur le counte, de vos sire, voz mercy et de autres plusours noz amys e outre mesure tendue et fet nos ad escuineger

* William de Brooke, a Benedictine, had taken his doctor's degree, with great magnificence, in 1298, a little before this time. Wood, Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxf. l. I. p. 24. With whatever credit to himself Worsley had performed his exercises, the abbot's slender remittances would be very inadequate to the expensive feastings formerly used on those occasions. For which see Wood, *ibid*.

† *Adesse* seems to be wanting.

depecea et les pluïs avaunt de nostre mesun, q^e la deneyent guyer et apres la sentence la captioun sur nos p^hchase, par rint nous ne osouns en les ammones nostre avowe demorer, ne ne pouns order en religioun garder, ne service Deu en nostre Dette a noz beinfetours mortz ou vifs render, ne autre estat de religioun meyntenir, mes forbaniz de countee en countee fuyr. Dount nos vo^s requerouns cher seigneur pur Deu et pur voz graunz bounteez q^e pite vo^s emprenges de nos et voillez sire q[']nt verrez cure convenable prier nostre seigneur le rey pur nos, q^e il, si li plect, pur lamour le counte et vostre priere sire, comaunde estat de religioun a nos estre grauntée et alegge noz ennuys avaunt nomeez jusq['] le venue nostre avowe en terre: kar mout harrians voidre ses ammones pur rien, q^e puist avenir sans sun comaundment, q^e si fraunchement les ad graunte a nos. E sachez sire q^e ne mye par nostre defawte nos fet nostre evesque en tortz et duresces, cointre le graunt de la court de Rome et cointre les apeaus q^e fet avouns a mesme la court, mes pur sa dur volunte demaunde a queus nos ne pouns atteyndre. Dount, cher sire, pite vo^s emprenges. Salutz en I^HU. Xt, q^e vo^s garde cors et alme et la dame vostre compaynge et bone engendrure vos doynt.”

The subject of the next letter is of little importance; but I have preserved it as the only address which the “*Liber Loci Benedicti*” affords to the founder.

“A noble vier et lur cher seigneur sire Henri de Lacye counte de Nichole. Abbe e le covent de Whalley saluz, reverence et honour. Cher sire nos vos po^ms especialment q^e Ric. de R. nostre clerk portour de ceste lettre voillez si vo^s plect ayder et counsailler entour noz besoignes purchaser en la court de Rome q^e nos ne avons pas le leisur ore aparmes mes de purveer autre clerk. E sire les coustages et les mises q^e vo^s frees en leide e le counsail entour no^s besoignes a vos volouns pleinment restorer, sicome est contenu en une lettre obligatoire la quele nos vos aveoms; e sachez sire q^e nos avouns donc poer a mesmes cele Ric. a obliger notre mesoun a certeine soune de aver per vostre counsail. E donez f^ey, sire, si vo^s plect, a ceo, q^e le vaunt dist Ric. vo^s dirra de Bouche de part nos —”

“A Deu, sire, q^e vo^s garde a touz jours.”

After this letter of credit follows another to the bearer, to borrow sixty marks, *a quocunque potuerit Christiano*. Principle and prudence alike forbad the monks to be indebted to Jews.

Next follows an apology from abbot Gregory, on the plea of bad health, for not obeying a summons to parliament; and an appointment of a proxy.

“Quia adversâ corporis valetudine ad præsens præpediti, cum prælatis, magnatibus et patribus regni coram d^{no} rege in parl^o suo London, secundâ die Dominicâ quadragesime proxime future ad colloquendum et tractandum super negotiis dictum d^m regem contingentibus personaliter interesse nequimus. Dilectum commonachum nostrum Fr E. de R. procuratorem, seu excusatorem nostrum, ordinamus, facimus et constituimus per præsentem — ratum habentes et gratum quicquid per eundem nomine nostro et communi cleri ac ordinis nostri ibidem coram d^{no} rege fuerit ordinatum.”

The next is a commendatory epistle to the abbot of Kirkstall, sent with a delinquent monk. It is accompanied with a kind of pass.

Venerabili

“ Venerabili in X^{to} Patri d^{no} ab. de K(irkstall). Quia ex decreto visitorum nostrorum lator præsentium Fr. * — Monachus noster et sacerdos penæ conspiracy est addictus, et eandem penitentiam humiliter et devotè per annum et amplius peregerit, quem salvâ pace fratrum et ordinis disciplinâ ad præsens in domo nostrâ retinere non possumus, dilectam paternitatem vestram attentius exoramus, ut eundem cum debitâ vestium quantitate ad vos missum inter vestros ad tempus retinere velitis, quousque licentiam habuero revocandi eundem in capitulo generali. Ita quod sit ultimus sacerdotum in ecclesia, nec celebret; omni sexta feria in adventu et quadragesima in pane et aquâ pœnitens in capitulo accipiat disciplinam, nisi grandis solempnitas vel eventus aliquis solempnis exegerit dispensationem. Valeat v^{ra} paternitas.”

These are very curious particulars in the monastic discipline.

“ Universis, &c. abbas Loci Benedicti de Whalley et ejusdem loci conventus, sal^m in D^{no}. Latorem præsentium Fr. - - - - Monachum nostrum, quem ad abbatiam de K(irkstall) transmittimus, universitati vestre recommendamus, attentius supplicantes quatenus eidem per vos transeunti, nullam molestiam, dampnum, seu gravamen inferri permittatis, sed in vie et vite necessariis quibus indignerit misericorditer assistatis, eterna pro temporalibus recepturi.

“ Veruntamen pedes est.”

Several inferences may be drawn from the singular document before us. First, Kirkstall, which, being of the same order and of the foundation of the same family, is undoubtedly expressed by the initial K, was little more than forty miles from Whalley. Yet a poor monk could not travel on foot from one to the other, without some risk of being robbed, or otherwise injured. Secondly, there were no inns by the way. Thirdly, his pass, though addressed to all men, was in Latin; consequently, all but the Clergy, and some perhaps of them, must have taken the bearer's word for the meaning of it. I strongly suspect, therefore, that the English language, at this time, was scarcely written at all. French was the Court language, and in French the monks wrote to their patrons. There is not a vestige of their native tongue in this volume, though filled with minutes of the most familiar transactions.

“ Abb^{ti} de B^x. Frater Gregorius dictus abbas de Whalley. Fratrem I. monachum vestrum Dominicâ Septima cum plenitudine vestium recepimus, minori tamen quam eidem in hâc regione quæ frigidissima est, precipue hiemis tempore, perspeximus oportere. Unde pro certo noveritis quod ipsius indigentiam libentissimè suppleremus, sed tantis debitis sumus ad præsens onerati quod nostris propriis prout decet vel oportet indumenta non possumus providere; quapropter paternitatem vestram rogamus quod eidem subvenire dignemini. Ceterum, cum calamus quasatus non sit omnino contundendus, preces affectuosas pro ipso et cum ipso porrigimus quatenus ab hâc ignominiosissimâ pœnâ in hoc instanti Cap^o Genⁱ vestrâ ope absolvitur, et ad proprie matris gremium misericorditer revocetur—scientes certissimè, si id fecistis, quod de ejus anima quam regendam suscepistis securè respondebimus.”

This epistle is probably addressed to the abbot of Byland. It affords another proof that the climate of the hilly part of Lancashire was much colder formerly than at present. No one would now feel it necessary to make a change in his clothing, after he had removed from any of the adjoining counties to Whalley.

* A word is wanting.

Hitherto we have seen the monastic discipline, as exercised upon humbled and penitent offenders: the next Memorandum lays open a scene of desperate and incorrigible depravity.

“Pateat per præsentēs quod nos W. dictus abbas de C(umbermere) concomitantibus ven^s abbate de V. R. (Valle Regali) et d^{no} R. coabbati nostro de D(eulacres) ad filialem domum de Whalley accessimus ad literæ dⁿⁱ abbatis Cistertii nobis directæ executionem faciendam — super inq^e emissionis Fr. R. de A. monachi de Whalley, qui dicto d^{no} abb. Cistertii retulit se per ven. abb^s de Fontibus et de Kirkstall minus justè a domo propriâ fuisse eliminatum — quibus data fuit plenaria commissio per præd. abb^m domum de Whalley visitandi.

“Invenimus dictæ domus venerabilem abb. ab omnibus criminibus per prædictum Fr. R. de A. et complices suos maliciôsè impositis legitimâ purgatione totius conventûs injuriôsè et dictum Fr. R. ritè et justè emissum — Insuper non solum diligenti inquisitione mediante, verum etiam publicâ famâ omnium conventualium conclamante, indisciplinatum nimis et exordinatum — necnon, et quod dolentes referimus, à longo retroacto tempore gravibus viciis et sordibus diffamatum, utpote conspiracy, furti, ac incontinentie criminibus miserabiliter inquinatum, et quod magis dolendum in venerab. abb. de Kirkstall coram nobis in pleno capitulo cum cultello acuminato exerto manus iniecit violentas. Pro quibus excessibus intolerandis ipsum carceri perpetuo decrevimus mancipandum.”

I have ventured to fill up the initials of these abbots Valeroyal, Deulacres, and Cumbermere: the last of whom was Richard de Rodierd, formerly a monk of Whalley, where he was interred, A.D. 1316. The criminal appears to have been fr' Ric. de Aston.

“Rev^o patr. in X^{to} abb. de Seigny, fr. Greg. abbas de Whalley. Licet tanquam filius non degener vobis esse debemus, honoris causâ, non oneris, multum tamen donec Fortuna blandior ariserit onus nostrum supplices vobis imponimus, honorem cum D^{ns} voluerit libentius impensuri. Cum igitur jamdiu gravi infirmitate detenti anno isto ad capitulum generale propter imbecillitatem corporis accedere non possumus, et ob hoc literatorie nostram illic absentiam excusemus, vobis, sancte pater, ea quæ ibidem *haberemus facere* suggerimus, ut vestro si placet consilio et auxilio fulciantur. Imprimis pecuniam — et rogamus, ut si contributio Angligenis per capitulum imposita, quam propter inhibitionem regiam sub pœnâ gravi in Angliâ solvere vel trans mare mittere non audemus, solvi debeat omni modo; vos si placet pro ratâ nostrâ cavere velitis vel à mercatoribus mutuando vel alias prout potueritis faciendo, et nos mandato vestro super hiis indilatè respondebimus. Est autem portio nos contingens xxxii*l.* et di. marc. sterl. Item ut emissi nostri pro conspiracy jam per triennium possint licitè, si se humiliaverint et conventus consenserit revocari, vel saltem ubi moram traxerint de licentiâ capituli celebrare, et monachi novicii aput nos recipi non vetentur. Item quod vicinus abbas noster de dom. Sallay, quæ per v leucas à nobis distat, et sita est in provincia separata, in quâ nec passum pedis habemus de terrâ, nec domus nostra in aliquo communicat, sepius comminatus est de nimîâ propinquitate nostra se in capitulo conquesturum, si de hoc fieri mentionem audieritis, pro nobis interponere dignemini preces vestras. Audacius scripsimus vobis, non quod in aliquo horum minimo metuerimus exaudiri, sed inde trahentes fiduciam quod in omnibus agendis vestram solitam bonitatem nobis sensimus. Valeat vestra rev. paternitas in D^{no} J. X^o. Nec valeat in eternum qui nos nuper turbavit in Angliâ, nisi resipuerit et dignè correxerit culpam suam.”

Abbot

Abbot Norbury is always pleading indisposition. The tremendous curse, in the end of this letter, must have been meant either for Edward the First, or bishop Langton his treasurer—the sovereign or the diocesan of the writer! As Norbury died in 1309, all the foregoing papers are to be dated between the year 1296 and that time.

During the reign of Edward the Second, I meet with few memorials in the “*Liber Loci Benedicti*.” The latter part of the Volume affords two curious poetical compositions of the earlier part of Edward the Third’s time. The first is a sarcastic effusion of triumphant loyalty after the battle of Nevile’s Cross, in the form of an epistle from David Bruce to his friend Philip de Valoys, whom the writer was too good a courtier to style respectively kings of France or Scotland.

Ore escoutez de Davyd le Bruys
Come a Philip de Valoys
Maund Saluz.
Per ceo q^e avouns entenduz
Q’ moute de gens avouns perduz.
Vos fate a savoir q^e bien tard
Si avouns fate n’re parte
Tant avouns tenuz
Vos maundements q^e nos somes perduz
E nos gents
La t’re de Scoce . . . refuse.
Et en Engleterre sude . . .
Tent soul saunz nul amy
E’ en garde d’autruy
Jeo me confesse a toute gente
Q^e trop avouns fate malement
Q^{nt} nos cirq^{ams} en Engleterre
En absence le rey de lever guerre
Gare nos non avoions rein a faire
Mes meschaunce per nos gagner.
Nos entendisines bein passer
Per my la terre saunz distourbar
Meis* l’ercevesq’ ove poeir graunt
Nos vynt toust encountraunt
Le Percy et le Moubray se . . .
Bien al journey
Nos n’avoyons grace ne poeir
Encontre lour bataille oster
A la nouvelle † Croyce de Dur’em,
La p’dymes nostre realme,
La fumes pris en fuaunt;
Phelip gardez vos de taunt,
Q^e fumes pris en nostre trespas,

Dount sumes venuz de haut en bas,
Come la Fortune est ordyne,
P’mes mountains de gre en gre
Q^{nt} estoy ven^s al pluys haut
Vos me mandastes p^a vite
Q’en Engleterre ne . . . trove
Fors chappellayns dames et moignes
Et autres femes et berchers
Meys trovames illocques grand gent
E ceo nos vynt confusement
Dount nos avouns bien aparceu
Q^e le Rey de ceil est toust somelu
En q’il sott ove son poeir
Le Rei du ceil luy voet aider
P^a ceo sumes de sa p’tie—
Es coutez Philip q^e jeo en die
Tout soto^e il nostre frere en ley
Moult avons trespasse vers luy
E tu Philip en grant outrage
Retinez son heritage;
Estoit a grant sir avaunt
Heritage est discendaunt.
Q^e nul hom’ redue pote juger
Q^e heritage doit remounter
Mes descendre de gre en gre,
Cest est Ley p^r veritie.
Mon pere Rob^t qn’t il visgist
Roy de Scoce, a tort lui fist
Et nos regnames apres sa mort
Si avouns trove nostre tort,
Q^e un fausine se regna
Le Teirce gre ne avra ja
Nos avons regne a teaunt en cea

* Archbishop Zouch.

† So in the MS. but probably by mistake of the writer for “Neville.”

Regne ore q^e qⁱ pa'ra :
 Meis ore Philip avisez vos
 Si priez ensaumple de nos,
 Sicome avoins fait et les noz
 Si ferraiez vos e les voz.
 Vos me mandastes v're messenger
 Q^e a Loundres dussons encountrer

Voz gentes renuz davannt
 Phelip ore vos ajourne taunt
 V're senechal fait purveyance
 Meis vos demorez trop en France
 Per c'eo Phelip bastez
 A nos q^e la sumes trovez
 Trestoices —————

The whimsical copy of macaronic verses which follows, a mixture of loyalty and discontent, proves the English character to have been much the same in the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries. An allusion to the youth of Edward the Third shews that they ought to have preceded the former. The stanza is a quintain, consisting of four motley lines, French and Latin, closed by a Leonine hexameter, or pentameter, in the latter language.

I.

Dei^u roy de Mageste per personas trinas
 Notre roy et sa meisne ne perire sinas,
 Grantz maux li sist avoir et maximas ruinas
 Celui qui lui fist passer in partes transmarinas :
 Rex ut salvetur Francis maledictio detur.

II.

Rex ne dett afrer de guerre extra regnum ire
 Si noun la comune de sa terre velit consentire
 Per treson veu't home sovent quam plures perire
 De qui dener assurement nemo potest scire
 Non est ex regno rex sine concilio —

III.

Ore court en Engletre de anno in annum
 Le xv dener p^r malfaire est ecce dampnum
 Et fait a vendre a comune gent, vaccas, vas et pannum
 Il fait avaler q^e solebant sedere super scamnum
 Non placet ad supremum quadrantem se dare manum.

IV.

Uncore pluis grieve as simples collectio lanarum
 Q^e les fait vendre communement dominicas earum
 Ne poet estre q^e tiel consail assit dando carum
 Ensi destruire le pov'ail est opus animarum
 Non leges sanas teneo regi dare lanas.

V.

Uncore est pluis encountre la pees ut testantur gentes
 Dun sak deux pieres ou treys nimium habentes
 Questio q^e avera cele layne quidam respondentes
 Ceo ne avera Roi ne Royne sed tantum colligentes
 Pondus lanarum tam falsum constat amarum.

VI.

Mes home ne dett al Roi retter talem p'nitatem
 Mes tout al faux consailers per ferocitatem
 Re Roi est joesne Bacheler, non habet ætatem
 Nul malice compasser set omnem pietatem
 Consilium tale dampnum confert generale.

VII.

Jeo vei al seicle q' ore court gentes superbire
 D' altruy beins tener grant court, q' cito vult transire
 Quant vend' al haut judgment magna dies iræ
 S'il non facent amendement tunc debent perire
 Rex dicet reprobis ite, venite probis.

VIII.

Dieux q' fustes coroune cum acuta spina
 De v're poeple eiez pite gratia divina
 Q^e le seicle sott allege de tali ruina
 A dire un grosse verite est quasi ruina
 Res inopum capta non gratis fit quasi rapta.

IX.

Teil tribut a nul Poer diu negat durare
 De voide bourse q^e poet deners manibus contrectare?
 Le' gens sount a tiel mischief q^d nequeant plus dare
 Je me doute sil aussent chief quod vellet levare
 Sæpe facit stultas gentes vacuata facultas.

X.

Il y' ad grant escarste monete inter gentes
 Q^e home poet venir en marchee, quum pauci sint ementes
 Tout eyt home bestes; moebles, equos vel bidentes
 De peyne prend nul dener tam multi sunt egentes
 Gens non est læta cum sit tam parca moneta.

XI.

Si le Roi fiet mon counsail tunc vellem laudare
 D'argent prendre le vessel, monetam præparare
 Kare meilz vaudrett de fust mang' pro victu tunnos dare
 Ke d'argent le corps su'ir et lignum paiare
 Est vicii signum pro victu solvere lignum.

XII.

Dieux per son sayntisme Noun confundat errores
 Et touz qⁱ pensent faire treson ac pacis turbatores
 Ke voides soient per temps tales vexatores
 Et confirme si lui plest inter reges amores
 Perdat solamen qui pacem destruit. Amen.

Internal evidence fixes this odd composition to the year 1337, when Edward the Third obtained 20,000 sacks of wool from Parliament, in order to bribe the Flemings, before his first expedition to France. With respect to the advice offered in the eleventh stanza, it may be supposed that the author did not mean the plate of his own house. Edward, however, seems to have taken the hint, for he plundered the Lombard merchants, on this occasion, of all their gold, silver, and jewels. Considering the age in which they were uttered, the sentiments contained in these verses are unusually bold; but the monks were great complainers; and the reputed sanctity of their character, their seclusion, and mutual confidence, enabled them to speak, and even to write, with impunity, what would have been highly penal to other men.

The “*Liber Loci Benedicti*” contains many sermons, which appear to have been preached in the Abbey Church. I have selected the following, not because it is either better or worse than its companions, but as being less abbreviated, and therefore more legible. It is marked by the initials I. de Gl. which must refer to Fr. John de Glover, who died in 1328.

“*Fac tibi duas tubas argenteas, quibus convenire possis multitudinem.*”

“Fratres mei dilecti, cum imperatores, reges, et alii plerique inferiores prandere volunt, tubis convocant comessuros. Congregati igitur et discumbentes, quidam cum architriclino, quidam cum mediocribus de populo, quidam verò cum garcionibus in aule medio, vel exterius in atrio, priusquam comedant orationem faciunt, sicq^{ue} cum gratiarum actione læti suscipiunt degustanda. Nos verò, karissimi, ad prandium Dei et ad audiendum verbum Dei tubâ et campanâ hanc convocationem habemus inter nos plerosque cum architriclino, *i. e.* cum Deo discumbentes, hoc est, subtilia et sublimia sentientes; quosdam autem cum mediocribus populi sedentes, id est, ipsâ veritatis planicie contentos, non sensum profundiorum vel exponere obscuriorum expetentes; alios verò cum garcionibus, id est, simplicioribus residentes, narrationes et siquæ sunt quæ risum excitant auscultantes.

“Igitur antiquum propositum aggrediamur: oret unusquisq^{ue} quatenus Deus aperiat nobis hostium sermonis, ut digna ad ipsius honorem et istorum omniumq^{ue} sanctorum promere valeamus, et in confusionem sint Sathane et omnium satellitum ejus, et ad nostrarum proficiant salutem animarum.

“Fac, &c. Num. x. Quadripertitum officium habebant tubæ in veteri lege: sic dicitur in Hist. Numb. ii.; videlicet, in multitudine convocandâ, ad castra movenda, ad bella committenda, et ad festa celebranda—et hæc tanguntur in textu in capite supradicto. Sic et X^{pus} in hunc mundum veniens ad expugnandam hostium fiduciam, ad convertendum proprios ad cultum Dei, ad movenda castra per viam caritatis, ad prædicandum festa perpetue jocunditatis.

“Merito voluit uti tubis—1^{um} Ipsi Apostolis inter alios præcipuis, de quibus ait Pater Filio incarnato, ‘Fac tibi duas tubas,’ &c. in quibus verbis tam veritas potuit annotari, vid^{et} vasorum perpetuorum evidens expressio, ‘fac tibi n^{on} Tub.’—metalli perlucidi excellens conditio—‘argenteas

‘teas ductiles,’ et multitudinis divise conjungens convocatio — ‘quibus vocare possis multitudinem.’ Sed hæc potius de proprietate dictionum quam de edificatione morum dicta sunt, utpote in verbis præmissis de istis sanctis mysteriis intellectis, III veritates inveniuntur.

“Primum commendat patris præceptum in eo quod officium prædicationis temere non usurpant, et quod proprium erat sacerdotum tubis clangere, nam x filii Aaron sacris clangebant tubis. Secundum commendat eloquentia, quod argentum inter omnia metalla est clarissimum, et sonum habet dulcissimum. Tertium commendat utilitas propter meritum et præmium et consequentem effectum vitæ. Act. iv. ‘Multitudini credentium erat cor unum et anima una.’—Circa primum notandum quod apte per tubas apostoli designantur. Tuba enim per flatum oris sonat—magnum sonum reddit—congregat, excitat, terret. Primo, inquam, tuba per flatum oris sonat, ut apostoli non solum per epistolas suas sed et ore sonando et vivâ voce prædicando Christum prædicant. Et hi faciunt cum labore—flatu continuantes aliquo diem cum nocte. Sic legitur Act. ‘Produxit sermonem usque ad mediam noctem.’ Produxit—ecce flatus laboriosus: sermonem—ecce sonus oris: usque ad mediam noctem—ecce labor continuabatur. Faciebant igitur quod præcipitur in Ps. ‘Buccinate in neomeniâ tubâ.’ Buccinate—hoc est, annunciate: tuba, i. e. predicatione aperta: in neomeniâ, i. e. in novilunio: hoc est, in tempore graciæ sive gloriæ. Scilicet quod dicitur ‘buccinate,’ quia præceptum in Israel est et judicium Deo Jacob. Præceptum igitur Dei est quod habetur in Joh. ‘Habete præceptum meum ut diligatis unice.’ Judicium vero Dei est quod ultionis extreme diei servatur. Qui itaq’ renuit audire et facere præceptum timeat quia ipsum percipiet judicium. De hâc tubâ triplice lege Jos. v. ubi dicitur quod Josue præcepit sacerdotibus ut tollerent tubas et incederent cum arca Dñi, et populus armatus præcederet, et vulgus reliquum sequeretur, sacerdotibus tubis concrepantibus, vulgo tacente. Sicq’ facerent circûeuntes Jericho VII diebus. Die attem VII. circûirent septies, et in VII circuitu, sacerdotibus tubis clagentibus, dixit Josue ad populum, vociferamini. Igitur clamante populo et tubis sonantibus, postquam in aures multitudinis vox sonitus increpuit, ilico Jherico corruit. Josue igitur, i. e. Christus, præcepit sacerdotibus, i. e. Apostolis, ut tollerent tubas, i. e. magnificam cœlestemq’ doctrinam, et præcedant arcam, i. e. ecclesiam. Quia autem populus armatus præcederet, et vulgus reliquum sequeretur, Judæorum et gentium tipum gerit. Quia vero septem diebus cecinerint, et in septimo septies, significatur quod usq. ad finem sæculi quod septem dierum vicissitudine volvatur non desineret prædicari. Sed muri Jherico tubis sacerdotalibus corruerunt: hoc est, quod cultus Ydolorum et fallacia divinationum monstrata arte dæmonum, commenta augurum et magia et dogmata philosophorum, sua superstitione elata, funditus sunt subacta. Et vos, fratres dilectissimi, tubâ estote buccinantes et concrepando narrantes invicem et absentibus verba Dei quæ ex ore prædicatoris audistis, ut tuba dici possitis, etsi non per omninodam similitudinem, saltem per aliqualem imitationem. Sed forte, dicet aliquis: Ergone magnum est homini esse tubæ? Nunquid aurum aut argentum nos esse velitis? Nunquid non melior est homo quam metallum? Cui ego respondeo: Dicit Augustinus super Johannem Omelia, Nolo vos esse tubas, vel aliquod metallum, sicut nec ipsi Apostoli fuerunt; per similitudinem verò volo vos esse tubas et hoc argenteam tubam, ut quæ bona esse discitis unice doceatis. Argentum autem, ut præciosa sunt et celestia, et non plumbea ut sunt vilia et terrena. Item magnum sonum reddit tuba, et sancti isti apostoli non abjecta, non parva, sed de magnis magna prædicarunt, et ideo per magnum sonum eorum revocati sunt homines à cultu Diaboli ad cultum unius veri Dei, eosq’ qui in tenebris ignorancie jacebant et peccatis

peccatis ac viciis et carnis voluptatibus serviebant, ad intuitum luminis evangelicæ veritatis excitabant, et ea quæ iis antea dulcia videbantur horrere fecerunt. Impleverunt igitur quod præcipit Ys, ‘Clama nec cesses sicut tuba.’ Hæc autem agentes multitudinem Dæmonum ab hoc mundo extruserunt, et populum Dei in fide Trinitatis informantes de eorum servicio et subjectione liberarunt. De hoc habete Judicium ubi dicitur quod Gideon et ccc viri ingressi partem castrorum media nocte cœperunt tubis canere, et tenuerunt sinistris manibus lampades et dextris tubas, et omnia castra turbata sunt et fugerunt vociferantes et ululantes. Sic ccc viri insistebant tubis nobis personantes. Gedeon ergo, i. e. X^{tus}, et ccc viri, i. e. Petrus et Paulus apostoli in fide Trinitatis armati, egressi partem castrorum, quia inceperunt ab Hierosolymâ prædicare, mediâ nocte, quia in apostolorum prædicatione mundus totus in tenebris ignorantie dormitavit, et verum lumen pietatis omnino nesciens viciis extitit deformiter obfuscatus, cœperunt tubis canere, i. e. magnâ et altâ voce XPM prædicare, et tenuerunt sinistris manibus lampades et dextris tubas, quia corpus temporale dispiciebant quod per sinistram accipitur, et prædicationi totâ devotione insistebant quod per dextram designatur, et sic castra mundi turbata sunt, i. e. templorum pontifices seipsos turbarunt et seditionem commoverunt, vociferantes contra apostolos pro eo quod contra ritum Ydolorum docuerint, et ululantes fugerunt et finem suum similem lupis fœtidis ostenderint.

“Item tuba aggregat, excitat, et terret. Esdr. e. ‘In quocunq’ loco audietis clangorem tubæ, illuc concurrite ad nos, &c.’ et Act. ‘Multitudo convenit, et infra stans Petrus levavit vocem suam;’ et infra, ‘Compuncti sunt corde;’ et 13, ‘Pœne universa civitas convenit audire verbum Domini.’ Ecce primum. Sed blasphemantes in *Deos tres* et gentes ad devotionem excitans subdit; vobis oportuit primum loqui verbum Dei, sed quia repellitis illud,’ &c. ecce secundum, convertimur ‘ad gentes;’ ecce tertium, ‘Audientes autem gentes gavise sunt et crediderunt,’ excitati videlicet benignitate Xⁱ et tantorum doctorum, de quibus, Mac. 3. Tubâ cecinerunt hii qui erant cum Judâ, et congregatæ sunt et contritæ sunt gentes. Hii, i. e. Apostoli Petrus et Paulus qui erant cum Judâ, i. e. cum Christo, tubâ cecinerunt ut populum excitarent, et congressi sunt ut plures congregarent, et contritæ sunt gentes cum ritus gentiles vel potius ipsos dæmones exterminarent. Et in hiis omnibus prædicationis auctoritas commendatur.”

If such were the taste and style of all discourses preached in the religious houses, those who occupied the place of the unlearned would have little reason to complain that they were written in an unknown tongue. But this was properly a *Concio ad clerum*. The duty and excellence of preaching, however, might have been enforced by arguments more cogent, and drawn from topics more evangelical, than these jejune and fanciful allegories. Their own Bernard would have afforded many better models.

The following important Documents, relating to the Appropriation of the Rectory and the Endowment of the Vicarage of Whalley, I have judged proper to be inserted in this place, from the “*Liber Loci Benedicti*,” into which they were transcribed at the time.

“Sanctissimo in Xto patri D^{no} Bonifacio providencia Divina sacrosancte Romane et universalis Ecclesie summo Pontifici, Edwardus Dei gracia Rex Anglie et D^{us} Hyb. et Dux Acquitain’, cum omni reverencia et devota pedum oscula for’*. Divine provisionis acies, que in sua dispositione non fallitur, ad hoc vos in terris summum vicarium ordinavit, ut supplicancium votis, quæ comitatur honestas, ac profectus sequitur animarum, et annuatis benignius, et de

* i. e. beatorum. The contraction occurs a second time.

specula preeminencie vestre gregem respicientes Dominicam, prout unicuique opus fuerit, rorem ei vestre paterne dulcedinis infundatis. Hæc profecto spem nobis uberrimam suggerunt, hæc firmam fiduciam subministrant, quod nostre supplicacionis devocionem, quæ de cordis intimo prodit affectu, ad exaudicionis benigne gratiam admittetis. Cum igitur, septennio jam elapso, ad nostram instanciam et vestram, sanctissime pater, si recolitis, pro nobis intercessionem, felicitis recordacionis D^{ns} Nicholaus, pp. III^{tus}, concesserit viris religiosis Abbati et Conventui Loci Benedicti de Stanlawe, Ord. Cisterc., Covent. et Lichf. Dioc. quòd dictam Abbatiam suam, quam progenitores dilecti et fidelis nostri Henrici Comitis Lyncoln. fundaverunt, et amplis, prout potuerint, dotaverunt possessionum largicionibus, et quæ nunc ad eum statum noscuntur devenisse, cùm fundata fuerit super quendam fluvium, per quem fluxus et refluxus maris habetur, quòd propter superexcrecentes inundaciones et impetus maris ejusdem, quod diebus et noctibus affluxum et refluxum non cessat, extra consuetos alveos debacchando terminosque suos transgrediendo antiquos, et locum suis alluvionibus † destruendo et adnichilando, predicti Abbas et Conv^s. Abbatie predictæ ibidem absque corporum et animarum rerumque suarum periculo et dampnis nequeant commorari, cum totalem destructionem et exterminium finale murorum et domorum Abbatie prefate marium impetus infra tempus modicum comminetur, ita quòd non *adiciet* ‡ ut resurgat, transferre possent ad Ecclesiam de Whalleye predict. Dioc., et in ejusdem Ecclesie solo, cedente vel decedente Rectore, officinas suas et mansiones necessarias construere, eandem ecclesiam in usus proprios eisdem Abbati et Conventui de munificencia sedis Apostolice concedendo, maxime cum dictus Comes, zelo charitatis et virtute compassionis inductus, Jus Patronatus quod in eadem habebat ecclesia, dictis Religiosis sub spe translacionis hiis optinende de consensu nostro speciali jamdiu concessisset, ac ibidem cultum Divini nominis augmentandum decrevisset, juxta augmentum facultatum Ecclesie supradictæ, prout de hiis omnibus per factum supradicti prædecessoris vestri, vestre sancte paternitati liquere poterit evidenter,—nuper circa festum Purificacionis MCC^o xc quarto, rectore supradictæ Ecclesie de Whalleye ab hac luce subtracto, iidem religiosi, necessitate quærende habitacionis compulsi, et auctoritate ut prædict. est sedis Apostolice communiti, de consensu eciam Diocesani et Archidiaconi dicti loci sue indempnitati sufficienter asserencium satisfactum, dictam ecclesiam sunt ingressi, ipsam cum juribus et pertinenciis suis sibi in usus proprios applicando, et habitacula que defuerant ad opus Conventus sui magis necessaria in solo ejusdem infatigabiliter construendo. Quia ergo necesse est vestre sanctitatis inchoata feliciter caritatis opera auctoritatis et confirmacionis vestre cumulo consummare, sancte paternitati vestre ex intimo cordis affectu et omni affectione qua possumus supplicamus, quatenus, caritatis intuitu, et nostre si placet supplicacionis interventu, statum dictorum religiosorum, qui ad appropriacionem prefate Ecclesie cum juribus et pertinenciis suis, et translacionem eorundem à loco periculoso in quo nunc sunt ad alium competenciosem in solo dicte Ecclesie faciendam, concessionisque felicissime recordacionis prefati prædecessoris vestri premissis § auctoritatis vestre munimine dignemini confirmare, seu vestre sancte paternitatis benevolentia præmissa de novo concedere. Attendimus enim et habemus pro constanti quòd anime vestre et animabus prædecessorum et successorum vestrorum non modicum proficiet factum istud, cum pro eisdem viginti monachi in collegio

† The sense of this word is inverted. *Alluvions*, in the language of the Civil Law, are increments made to estates by aggestions of soil from floods, or by the receding of rivers.

‡ Such appears to be the reading, from whatsoever word it is corrupted.

§ Something is wanting here.

novi monasterii assumendi ultra numerum in priori monasterio solitum observari, devotas orationes Altissimo effundere teneantur. Conservet D^{ns} vitam vestram feliciter incolumem Ecclesie sue Sancte per tempora longiora.—Dat. &c.”

“Item ejusdem Com. Lyncoln. de hoc ipso.

“Sanctissimo in Christo patri Bonifacio Divina providencia Romane et universalis Ecclesie summo Pontifici, suus filius devotus Henricus Comes Lyncoln. devota pedum oscula bor'. Considerantes quantà devocione et fidei puritate olim progenitores nostri præclarum Cist. ordinem confovere sollicitè studuerunt, quodque iidem, ordinem ipsum favore benevolo prosequentes, Monasterium Loci Benedicti de Stanlawe, Coventr. et Lychf. Dioc., quo adhuc ejusdem ordinis Monachi pro animarum eorundem progenitorum nostrorum et nostra salute virtutum Domino jugiter famulantur, fundaverunt, intuitu caritatis idem dotando monasterium, quibus potuerunt, possessionibus; ac optantes effici laudabilis imitator eorum, religiosi viri Abbati et Convent. dicti loci Jus Patronatus Ecclesie de Whalleye ejusdem Dioc. ad nos spectantis caritatis contemplacione duximus conferendam, piam paternitatem felicis recordacionis Dⁿⁱ Nicholai pp' III^{ti} prædecessoris vestri requirentes humiliter ac devote, ut cum prædicti situs monasterii maris turbini fuerit tam vicinus quòd adversus fluctuum ejus tempestuosos impetus ullo remedio muniri non possit, quum inundacionum intemperie terra circumquaque latencius consumatur, religiosi ipsis dignaretur misericorditer indulgere, quòd ad Ecclesiam de Whalleye supradictam, cujus jus, ut permetteretur, sibi concessimus, &c. &c. Post lapsum vero temporis Rectore præfatæ Ecclesie de Whalleye ab hac vita migrante statim dicti Religiosi juxta tenorem literarum papalium dictam Ecclesiam de Whalleye ingressi, subsecutis novis approbacionibus, tam Diocesani, quam Archidiaconi dicti loci, sicut per eorum instrumenta super hiis confecta plenius est videre, et mundi malicia vacantes Deo, ac simplices*, importunis et cauteiosis arguciis indies inquietat, volentesque, si Dominus permiserit, quòd dicti religiosi karissimi nostri, quos maris violencia à primis sedibus suis in proximo ejiciet et expellet, in loco quem eis providimus ubi et ad opus ipsorum ex magna parte habitacula sunt constructa, diebus nostris inconcusse et stabiliter radicentur, vestram sanctam paternitatem flexis cordis nostri genibus nostris humiliter exoramus, ut pro Dei misericordia, et precum nostrarum intuitu facto felicissime recordacionis dicti Dⁿⁱ, vestrum præbere velitis assensum, et illud auctoritatis vestre munimine confirmare, &c. &c. Valeat excellens et sancta paternitas vestra semper in D^{no} IHU. XPO.”

The Monk, who was deputed to negotiate this important transaction at the Court of Rome, appears to have been Richard de Rodierd, afterwards Abbot of Cumbermere. Of his appointment, the “*Liber Loci Benedicti*” supplies the following notices :

“A noble vier e leur cher Seigneur Sire Henry de Lasey, Counte de Nichole, Abbe e le Covent de Whalleye saluz, reverence, e honur. Cher Sire, nos vos pōmis especialment qẽ Richard de R——, nostre clerk, portour de ceste lettre, voillez si vos plest ayder e counsailler entour nos besoignes purchaser en la Court de Rome, qẽ nos ne avoins pas le leiser ore aparmes mes de purvier autre clerk. E, Sire, les coustages et les mises qẽ vos freez en leide e le counsaill entour nos besoignes a vous volouns plainment restorer, sicome est contenu en une lettre obligatoire la qẽle nos vos aveouns. E sachez, Sire, qẽ nos avoins done poer a mesmes celi Richard a obliger nostre mesoun a certeine soume de aver per vostre counsaill. E donez fey,

* Something, which I am unable to supply, has been omitted here by the Transcriber.

Sire, si vos plect, a ceo qẽ le vaunt dist Richard vos dirra de bouch de part nos. A Deu, Sire, qẽ vous garde à touz jours.”

“Pateat universis per præsentis, quòd nos Abbas et Convent. de Whalleye tenemur, et per hoc scriptum fatemur, nos obligari nobili viro Domino Hen. de Lascy Com. Lyncoln. in omnibus sumptibus et expensis, quos et quas, fecerit pro negociis nostris in Curia Romana expediendis, eidem vel suo dicto Attornato hanc literam deferenti, cum ad partes Anglicanas redierit, fideliter persolvend’.—Dat, &c. &c.”

“Universis, &c. pateat, quod nos Fr. Gregor^s Abbas Loci Ben. de Whalleye et ejusdem Domus Conventus constituimus, facimus, et ordinamus dilectum nobis in Xto Ricard. de R. clericum, procuratorem et attornatum nostrum, ad negocia nostra in Sancta Romana Curia expedienda, et ad mutuum nomine nostro contrahendum usque ad LX marc. sterlingorum, vel ad valorem eorundem, aut ultra aut citra, prout indiguerit, à quocunque poterit Christiano. Cum consilio tamen et assensu nobilis viri Dⁿⁱ Com. Lync.”

“Frater Gregorius, &c. Noverit universitas vestra quòd lator presentium Ricard. de R——, nomine clericus noster est, et a nobis usque Curiam Romanam pro negociis nostris ibidem expediendis dist^s. Pro quo universitatem vestram specialiter exoramus quatenus eidem per vos transeunti nullam molestiam inferatis, vel inferri, quantum in vobis est, permittatis; sed in hiis quibus indiguerit, caritatis intuitu et ordinis reverencia, misericorditer dignemini subvenire, ut omnium bonorum quæ fuerint in Ordine participes effici merito valeatis.”

The next is a Letter, apparently written by one of the Earl’s Officers, in order to remove some dissatisfaction which the Abbot and Convent had conceived against Rodierd, for delay.

“Coñmendacio exsecutoris negociorum istorum.

“Eximie religionis et venerande discrecionis viro D^{no}——Abbati de Whalleye, suus B. de R. affectum servicii et honoris. Si in agendis vos et ecclesiam vestram contingentibus, propter que Ricardum clericum vestrum ad Romanam Curiam misistis, non est ut expediret et credebatis processum, dicto Ricardo non imputetis, qui ipse, ut prudens et sollicitus procurator, in hiis fecit quod potuit, Dominum meum Comitem et alios sollicitandos vigilanter et diligenter excitando, ex quo est de diligencia merito commendandus.”

The effect of these petitions and exertions appears in the Papal Bull which follows:

“Bonifacius Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis Abbati et Conventui Loci Benedicti de Stanlaw, Cist^s Ord^s, Coventr. et Lichf. Dioc^s, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Sub sacre religionis habitu, mundi spretis illecebris, quæ cum blandiuntur illudunt, virtutum Domino militantes per laudabilium actuum studia noscimini, ut Apostolice sedis consueta benignitas, favorabiliter annuentes vestris illius vos et monasterium vestrum gracie munere prosequatur quæ vobis et ei fore dinoscitur opportuna. Exposito nobis siquid petitio vestra continebat, quod cum olim in monasterio quod tunc in loco qui Locus Benedictus de Stanlawe Cist. Ord. Cov. et Lychf. Dioc. vulgariter dicitur habebatis (habitabatis) propter inundaciones equoreas cum mare dicto monasterio sit vicinum, ac alias incommoditates multiplices, absque gravi manere periculo non possetis. Venerabilis frater noster Covent. et Lychf. Episcopus benigne intendens super hoc divine vobis pietatis intuitu salubriter providere, — transferendi monasterium ipsum ad locum illum, quem vobis dilectus filius nobilis vir Henricus de Lascy, Comes Lync. monasterii predicti patronus, duceret deputandum, vobis concessit auctoritate ordinaria

ordinaria facultatem. Ac idem Comes gerens in votis ad locum in quo Ecclesia de Whalleye ejusdem Dioc. sita est, in qua ipse nullusque alius jus patronatus habebat, monasterium transferre præfatum, tam patronatus, quam omne jus aliud, quod in eadem sibi competeat ecclesia, quo ductus effectus est vobis intencione concessit ut ad locum eundem dictum monasterium transferretur, et de proventibus ejusdem Ecclesie viginti monachi ultra monachorum numerum in prefato monasterio solitum observari in eorum assumendi collegio congrue sustentationis stipendia optinerent, qui pro Romanorum Pontificum dictique Comitum animarum salute devotas preces Altissimo fundere tenerentur: felicis quoque recordacionis Nicholaus pp. III^{us}, prædecessor noster, volens vos ubere favoris et gracie prosequi specialis, sæpefatam Ecclesiam cum omnibus capellis, juribus et pertinenciis suis, vobis vestrisque successoribus in usus proprios concessit et auctoritate Apostolica in perpetuum deputavit, eadem vobis auctoritate concedendo ut cedente aut decedente ipsius ecclesie Rectore, possetis illius possessionem auctoritate apprehendere propria, cujusvis assensu minime requisito, vobisque licentiam tribuit prædictum monasterium ad locum prefatum, ubi jam dicta consistit Ecclesia, sine juris alieni prejudicio transferendi. Reservatâ de proventibus ejusdem Ecclesie Vicario perpetuo inibi servituro, ad vestre presentacionis instanciam per Diocesanum instituendo prædictum, commoda porcione de quâ comode sustentari valeat, jura episcopalia solvere ac alia eidem ecclesie onera incumbencia supportare, prout in literis prædecessoris super hoc plenius confectis dicitur contineri. Sicque vacante postmodum Ecclesia supradicta per obitum quondam Petri de Cestria * rectoris ejusdem, vos possessionem ipsius Ecclesie fuistis pacifice assecuti, ac demum ad locum eundem prænominatum transferre, monasterium curavistis. Vero quod universas provisiones, reservaciones, concessionem quibuscunque personis à prædecessore factas eodem de quibusvis ecclesiis et ecclesiasticis beneficiis vacatis per constructionem à nobis vacationem illius ecclesie editam cassavimus, irritavimus, et vacuavimus, cassas, irritas, et vacuas, nunciavimus, vos metuentes vobis ex cassacione, irritacione, ac vacacione hujus pro eo quòd per constitutionem ipsam licet de ea re ad vestram perveniret noticiam ecclesie prædictæ fuistis possessionem adepti nobis humiliter supplicastis, ut providere super hoc paterne sollicitudinis studio dignaremur.

“ Nos itaque, volentes vos, divine pietatis intuitu, et consideratione dilecti filii nostri R. sancti Potentiane presbyteri Cardinalis nobis super hoc cum instanciam supplicantis, prosequi dono gracie specialis, translationem hujus monasterii supradicti ad locum eundem, et concessionem ipsius Ecclesie de Whalleye, sicut prænotatur, vobis factam, auctoritate Apostolica ex dicta scientia approbamus, vobis auctoritate prædicta indulgentes ut vos in præfato loco sub vestri ordinis observancia perpetuo remanentes omnibus privilegiis, indulgentiis, concessionibus, libertatibus et immunitatibus que ante translationem monasterii memorati noscebamini optinere, possetis uti libere sicut prius, et prædictam ecclesiam cum omnibus capellis, bonis, juribus, et pertinenciis suis, juxta tenorem concessionis prædecessoris ejusdem, in usus proprios sive obsistat hiis nostra cassacio seu constitutionis edicio sive non, perpetuo retinere. Confirmavimus insuper auctoritate prædicta, porciones terrarum, reddituum, et proventuum vicarie loci prædicti de Whalleye per nos, sicut asseritis, perpetuo Vicario ibidem sicut prædicitur Domino servituro ad sustentacionem ipsius, et jura episcopalia aliaque onera subportanda quæ præfate incumbunt ecclesie, secundum quod idem prædecessor voluit assignatas. Nulli

* Obiit A. D. MCCXCIII^o.

igitur omnino hominum hanc paginam nostre approbacionis, concessionis, confirmacionis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare præsumpserit, indignacionem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum se noverit incursum. Datum apud Urbem Veterem xii kal. Julii Pontificatus nostri anno tercio *."

"In Dei nomine Amen. Facta diligenti inquisitione super valorem fructuum et proventuum Ecclesie de Whalleye et capellarum eidem adjacencium, necnon de oneribus eisdem incumbentibus, eaque inquisicione in omni sui parte expressius per religiosos viros Abbatem et Conventum de Whalleye, et Dominum Johannem ad vicariam in eadem ecclesia ordinanda præsentatum acceptata et approbata, coram nobis Archidiacono Cestrensi et Officiali Domini Coventr. et Lychf. Episcopi ac Officiali dicti Archidiaconi, quorum tenores, videlicet tam commissionis quàm inquisitionis, sequuntur :

"Walterus permissione divina Coventr. et Lychf. Episcopus, dilectis in X^{ro} filiis Archidiacono Cestrie, Magistro Waltero de Thorp Officiali nostro, Canonicis in Ecclesia nostra Lych. ac eciam Officiali dicti Archidiaconi, salutem. Ad inquirendum super vero valore fructuum, proventuum, et obvencionum quorumcunque ad Ecclesiam de Whalleye, nostre Dioc. et ad capellas ejusdem qualitercunque pertinencium, prout et de oneribus eidem Ecclesie et capellis ejusdem ex quacunque causa incumbentibus, ac eciam ad ordinandam et faciendam ibidem vicariam competentem prout mandatum Apostolicum id requirit, et ad facienda omnia et singula in hac parte quæ nos facere debemus, si præsentem essemus, vobis vices nostras committimus cum canonice coercicionis potestate. Quod si non omnes hiis exequendis interfuerint, duo vestrum, presentia tercii minime expectata præmissa, nichilominus exequentur. Datum London iii Kal. Julii consecracionis nostre anno secundo.

"Inquisitio † facta de valore et proventibus Ecclesie Matricis de Whalleye et capellarum ejusdem, et de oneribus predictæ ecclesie incumbentibus, die Mercurii proxime post festum Assumptionis Beate Marie Virginis A. D. m^{cc} nonagessimo octavo.

"Decime Garbarum ville de Whalleye valent ivl. Decime Garbarum de Wisewalle valent vii.

* The former Bull of Nicholas IV. to the same effect, has been printed by Dugdale and Dodsworth. Mon. Ang. vol. I. This, and all the instruments contained in the present account, have not been published before.

† This differs very materially from the Inquisition already given, of which the total amount was no less than ccxii. viiis. The monks, in a short interval, had evidently contrived to procure a much lower valuation. It may be amusing to the Reader to compare the respective values of the great tithes in several of these townships at two very distant periods.

					1298	1810
					£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Read	-	-	-	-	4 0 0	38 0 0
Pendleton	-	-	-	-	6 0 0	49 14 0
Wiswall	-	-	-	-	6 0 0	62 11 0
Downham	-	-	-	-	5 0 0	50 0 0
Altham, deducting Alterage	-	-	-	-	7 0 0	65 0 0
Simonstone	-	-	-	-	2 0 0	20 0 0

On the whole, about a tenth of the present rate : yet, in 1289, the nearest point at which I can approach the year 1298, wheat sold for 6s. *per* quarter, and oats for 2s. Each of these sums might, in 1810, nearly be multiplied by 20. It follows that twice as much grain was grown in the parish of Whalley 600 years ago as at present. But at this time the rent of land was little more than 4d. *per* Lancashire acre. In 1812, upon an average, from 40s. to 50s. Such was the ancient advantage in favour of the tenant; and for the same reason little land in comparison was demised to tenants, and large demesnes were occupied by the owners.

et distat de Whalleye per dimidiam leucam. Decime Garbarum de Coldecotes valent *xxs.* et distat per *i* leucam. Decime Garbarum de Hennethorne et Mitton valent *lxviii. s.* et distat ab ecclesia matrici per *i* leucam. Decime Garbarum de Penilton valent *vii. l.* et distat per *ii* leucas. Decime Garbarum de Reved valent *iv. l.* et distat per *ii* leucas*. Decime Garbarum de Symondeston valent *xls.* et distat per *iii* leucas. Decime Garbarum de Padiam valent *viii* marc. et distat per *iii* leucas. Decime Garbarum de Hapton et Briddestwisell valent *viii* marc. et distat per *iv* leucas. Alteragium matricis ecclesie predictae valet *xl.* et terra de Dominicis valet *cs.* Decime Garbarum capelle de Cliderhow valent *xviii. l.* Alteragium ejusdem valet *iiii. l.* et distat per *iii* leucas. Decime Garbarum de Dounum valent *cs.* Alteragium ejusdem valet cum terra de Dominicis, valet *iiii* marc. et distat per *v* leucas. Et ecclesia de Blakeburn est dotata ab antiquo in octava parte prædictæ ecclesie de Whalley cum capellis prædictis. Decime Garbarum capelle de Caune valet *xiiii. l.* Alteragium valet *vii. l.* et distat per *viii* leucas de Whalleye. Decime Garbarum de Brunleye valent *xvi. l.* Alteragium cum terra de Dominicis valet *xl.* et distat per *viii* leucas. Decime Garbarum capelle de Alvetham cum alteragio valent *ix. l.* et distat per *ii* leucas. Decime Garbarum capelle de Chirche valent *x* marc. Alteragium cum terra de Dominicis valet *iv* marc. et distat per *iiii* leucas. Decime Garbarum capelle de Haselingdene valent *xls.* Alteragium valet *xls.* et distat per *viii* leucas†.

“Hæc sunt onera contingencia Abbatem et Conventum de Whalleye, nomine Ecclesie de Whalleye. In sustentacione *xx* Monachorum ultra solitum numerum. Item in *x* libris annuatim capitulis Ecclesiar. de Lych. et Cov. Item Ecclesie de Whalley in *xls.* pro procuracionibus. Item in *iiii. s.* pro synodal. In sustentacione *vii* capellanorum. Item in *xxs.* pro pane et vino.

“Nos Commissarii supradicti, considerata estimacione fructuum ecclesie et oneribus eidem incumbentibus, ac etiam ipsius ecclesie onera‡ (in parochia§) lata, diffusa, periculosa, de consilio Domini Decani et Cap. Lychf. ad ordinacionem vicarie in Ecclesia de Whalleye predicta processimus in hunc modum:

“In Dei nomine Amen. Ordinamus vicariam Ecclesie de Whalleye debere consistere in manso competenti et *xxx* acris terre et prati adjacentibus, una cum Housebote et Haybote in Bosco Abbatis et Convent. et communia sufficienti pro animalibus suis infra prædictam Parochiam et cum animalibus Abbatis et Convent. Item in alteragio matricis Ecclesie de Whalley et capellarum omnium eidem adjacentium, capella seu ecclesia de Alvetham duntaxat excepta, de qua ad præsens propter litem super ea motam nihil duximus ordinandum. Item in terris de Brunley, de Dounum et de Chirche. Item ordinamus dictos Abbatem et Convent. onus refectionis totius Cancelli et sustentacionis ejusdem, necnon duas partes omnium extraordinariorum onerum, Vicarium terciam partem et omnia onera ordinaria debere agnoscere. Hanc autem ordinacionem nostram perpetuo fore decrevimus valituram. Salvâ tamen patri predicto et successoribus suis potestate eam augendi, minuendi, et corrigendi, prout Deo acceptabile,

* These distances prove the leuca to have been the old computed mile.

† To this is subjoined in a later hand—“S'm estimaco'is veri valoris eccl'ie de Whalley c.xxxxviii.”

‡ Sic.

§ These words, or something to the same effect, must be wanting here. This Instrument has been copied with great negligence,—a fault not often to be imputed to the Monks, who transacted their business with remarkable precision and accuracy; besides that, several passages, by means of the contractions, are scarcely intelligible.

et si processu temporis videbitur oportunum. Act. et dat. Lychf. die Veneris proxime ante Nativitatem B. Marie Virg. Anno Domini supradicto."

"Anno Domini MCC nonagessimo sexto VI Indiction. IX anno bissext. Litera Dominica S. aureo numero . . . VII Id. April. anno Regni Regis Edwardi XXIV. ætatis vero Domini Hen. de Lascy XLVII. intravit Conventus de Stanlawe in Manerium de Whalleye, Domino Gregorio de Norbury tunc Abbate."

The following miscellaneous articles, from the same MS., may properly follow the foregoing documents on the general concerns of the house.

"Anno Domini MCCC sexto, quarto kal. Maii, feria quarta, consecratum fuit Altare in Capella quam Petrus de Cestria fecit in Manerio de Whalleye à Domino Thoma Candide Case Episcopo vices Diocesani gerente, in honorem Beati Gregorii ppe et aliorum Doctorum. Et kal. Maii, videlicet die Sanctorum Philippi et Jacobi, que dominica habebatur, celebravit idem Episcopus Missam in Conventu de Whalleye in Pontificalibus. Et v^o Non. Maii videlicet die Invencionis Sçe Crucis, que fuit feria III^a. celebravit in Pontificalibus in Ecclesia Parochiali. Et prædict. Non. Maii videlicet die Sçi Johannis ante Portam Latinam, que erat feria VI^a, dedicata fuit magna pars Abbatie cum toto præcintu ab eodem Episcopo, anno Consecrationis ejus XII^o, Pontificatus vero Domini Clementis VIⁱ Pape primo, et regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Henrici XXXIII. etatis vero Domini Henrici de Lascy Comitum Lincoln. et Patroni nostri . . . Domino W. de Lee* tunc Abbate de Cumbermar' et Domino Gregorio de Norbury Abbate de Whalleye, Priore Roberto de Werintone, Supprie Roberto de Topclive, Cellarario Roberto de Middleton, Edmundo Talbot Senescallo de Blackburnshire, Roberto fil. Ad. de Preston, Constabulario. Litera Dominicali B. Epact. XI. Indictionis IV. Ciclo decennovenali XV. Pascha erat III Non. Apr."

"Anno Domini MCCC IX ab incarnatione, die Sçi Vincentii Martyris obiit Dompnus Gregorius de Norbury, primus Abbas de Whalleye, Indictione octavâ, anno 2^{do} à Bissexto, litera dominical. d. Aureo Numero XIX. Anno regni Regis Edwardi filii regis Edwardi tercio."

The following is a grant of a Corrody to the De la Leghs of Hapton.

"Noverint universi per præsentis quod nos Fr. Gregorius Abbas Loci Benedicti de Stanlawe et ejusdem dom. Conv. tenemur, &c. ad inveniend. Gilberto de la Legh et Johanni filio et heredi suo, qualibet septimana octo panes conventuales, et totidem lagenas cervicie conventualis vel XII denar. et pro garc. suo XIII panes de Trit. per septim. vel duos denarios. Item ad festum Sçi Martini in hyeme duo corpora boum vel dim. marc. et duos porcas vel XI denar. et quatuor corpora arietum vel duos solidos et octo denar. Recipient autem annuatim dicti Gilbertus et Johannes, vel alter eor. superstes hæc omnia apud Whall. vel Black. si maluerint, à nobis vel successoribus nostris, vel a monachis nostris locum nostrum ibidem tenentibus, &c. In cujus rei testimonium præsent. literis sigil. nrum cõe est appensum. Hiis testibus; Symone Noel, Rogero fr̃e suo, Willielmo de Heskeyth, Olivero de Stansfeld, †Magistro Henrici de Clayton, Magistro Henrico de Dounom, Ricardo de Ruyshton, Roberto de eadem, Ad. de Aspeden, Johanne f. Symonis de Reved. Dat. apud Locum Benedictum de Stanlawe die Dominica proxime post festum Sçi Barnabe Apli, A. D. MCCC nonagessimo quinto.

* Who is ranked first, as Abbot of the parent house.

† What were these *Magistri*? Clearly not Knights, as they follow persons without title.

“Istum prænotatum scriptum Dominus Helias Abbas, successor dict. Domini Gregorii Abbatis, confirmavit.”

“Mem. quòd Gilbertus de Legh, senior, dixit Priori et Coll. de Whalleye et prælibatis môchis dñe domus, parum ante Natale Anno Domini mcccxxxvi, apud Whalleye, tunc existens in camera Domini Elie, quondam Abbatis dñe domus, quòd dimisit in festo Inventionis Sçe Crucis ultimo præterito Gilberto filio Johannis de Legh filio suo tot equas gravidas cum foetibus, ut duo pulli ad minus dari debent ad decimam; et tot vaccas cum vitulis, ut quinque vituli ad minus dari debent ad decimam. Dimisit et eidem oves matrices cum aliis bidentibus ccxl. Agnos lx. Inde decima sex. Quatuor sues porcantes. Ideo petantur de eodem Gilberto jun. pro decimâ duo pulli, quinque stirci, et vellera lane xxviii. et agni sex, et tres porci, et *decima albi pro vaccis et ovibus matribus.”

The following is a statement of a case for the consideration of lawyers. The intermixture of lands in the Forest of Bowland, between the parishes of Whalley and Slaydburne, is extremely difficult to be accounted for, and is scarcely understood to the present day.

“Capella Sancti Michaelis in Castro de Cliderhou, infra fines et limites parochie Ecclesie de Whalleye, Covent. et Lichf. Dioc. notorie scituata à centum annis elapsis et ampl. et ante omne tempus humane memorie vel prescriptionis dotata fuit per assignacionem d'norum de Blakeburnshire et Bouland de decimacionibus et aliis proventibus ecclesiasticis omnium d'nicarum terrarum suarum infra dicta loca de Blakeburnshire, qui est in dic. dioc. Covent. et Lichf. et Bouland, qui est in dioc. et provinc. Ebor. Juxta quam assignacionem clerici capellani eidem capelle per collacionem sive assignacionem dict'm duorum incumbentes decimaciones et proventus prædictos tam in Blakeburnshire quam in Bouland pacifice possidebant usque ad tempus cujusdam Rectoris de Slaydburn nunc incumbentis. Infra dictum autem Dominium de Bouland dicte Ebor. dioc. est qued. Eccl. parochialis voc. ecclesia de Slaydburne ejusdem Ebor. dioc. juxta et infra cujus fines sunt quædam terre Dominice dicti Domini de Bouland, de quar' decimacionibus et proventibus dotata fuit dicta capella et ejusdem capelle; ac matris Ecclesie de Whalleya Rectores easdem decimaciones virtute dotationis, assignacionis et possessionis ejusmodi pacifice per omnia possidebant usque ad tempus cujusdam Rectoris dicte Ecclesie de Slaydburn jam incumbentis, qui xx et v annis duntaxat nunc elapsis quasdam terras dominicales infra fines parochie sue predicte ad firmam cepit, et in persona propria occupavit, ut decimaciones dictar' terrar' Ecclesie sue predicte de Slayteburne arriperet, et à dictis capella de Cliderhou et Ecclesia de Whalleya et earundem rectoribus per cautelam hujusmodi detineret. Decimaciones tum quorundam aliorum d'nicalium infra fines et limites dicte p'ochie de Slayteburn consimiliter existentes dimittit idem Rector dicte Ecclesie de Whalleya et capelle de Cliderhou, prout antea fuerant, liberas ab omnimoda impetitione sui et suorum.

“Abbas igitur et Conv. de Whalleya dictam Ecclesiam parochialem de Whalleya cum præfata capella Bi. Michaelis in Castro de Cliderhou, et cum omnibus aliis juribus et pertinentiis eorundem in usus proprios optinentes decimaciones dictarum terrarum dominicalium in Bouland quas dict. Rector occupavit per antea, ut est dictum, tanquam jus dictarum suarum Ecclesie de Whalleya et capelle de Cliderhow dudum repetentes, tandem de expresso consensu dicti Rectoris fecit dictas decimas extra custodiam et possessionem utriusque partis penès Senescallum de Bouland reponi duobus annis jam elapsis, neutri parti deliberand. donec per viam et

* That is, the Easter dues: a proof of the antiquity of the Easter Roll.

processum juris vel amicabile compositionis fuerit definitum cui parti de co'i consensu debeant finaliter liberari. Et quum Dominus Aps Ebor. dictas partes Boulandie ut d'r in proximo visitabit, et estimata quod dictus Rector de Slayteburn coram Domino Aëpiscopo in suâ visitatione contra præfatos Abbatem et Conventum super jure suo de predictis decimacionibus infra limites sue parochie provenientius movebit litem, specialiter quod Aëpiscopus eidem rectori pro amplianda jurisdictione sua plus justo favebit : idcirco dicti Abbas et Conv. circa omnia per suum procuratorem provocationem quandam et appellationem ad Cur. Romanam directe et ad Cur. Cantor faciunt, ut moris est, interponi.

“ 1^m. Quærat^r igitur à jurisperitis cum dñe Ecclesia de Whalleya et Capella de Clyderhou notorie situatæ sint infra Dioc. Coventr. et Lichf. et sunt de jurisdictione ordinaria Archidiaconi Cestr. et Episcopi Coventr. et Lichf. teneatur Abbas de Whalleye, racione decimacionum quas percipit infra limites provincie Ebor. nomine dictarum suarum Ecclesie et Capelle, coram dicto Domino Archiepiscopo comparere exhibitum ut allegatur titulum perceptionis dictarum decimacionum, cum dictus Abbas jurisdictioni dicti Archiepiscopi aliunde nullatenus sit subjectus.

“ Q^o. 2da. Item quærat^r, quid et qualiter allegari debeat coram illo, cum dict. Abbas nihil habeat exhibend. nisi possessionem præscript. ab antiquo.

“ Q^o. 3. Item quærat^r, si dictus Archieps sequestum interponat in dictis decimacionibus, vel eas adjudicet ecclesie de Slaythorne, dicto Abbate non vocato vel non obtemperante suis mandatis, quid et qualiter sit agend.

“ Q^o. 4. Item quærat^r, an dicta causa per appellation' possit in eventu ad Curiam Cantuar' devolvi et ibidem amplius agitari.”

“ Mem. de Munimentis Abbatis et Conventus de Whalley, quæ Magister Rogerus de Motelowe habuit secum usque Curiam Romanam : videlicet quatuor Bullas, unam scilicet generalem Alexandri Papæ de omnibus rebus et tenementis pro tempore suo spectantibus ad Mon. de Whalley confirmatam. Item aliam Bullam Bonifacii octavi de appropriatione Ecclesiæ de Whalley, et de translatione Conventus. Item terciam Bullam de ordinatione vicariarum de Blakeburn, Rachedal, et Eccles. Item quartam bullam de confirmatione ordinationis vicariarum. Item ordinationem Domini Rogeri Covent. et Lichf. Episcopi, super Vicariam de Whalley. Item habuit copias relaxationum de pensionibus Capitulorum Coventr. et Lichf. et Archidiac. Cestr.”

This appears to have been when the Abbot and Convent were soliciting a confirmation of the second endowment of the vicarage at the Court of Rome.

Next in the MS. though out of chronological order, is the curious renunciation of the right of hunting within the forests, by Gregory the first Abbot.

“ Omnibus ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit, Frater Gregorius Abbas Loci Benedicti de Stanlawe et ejusdem loci Convent. sal̃. in Domino. Quum nobilis vir Dominus Henr. de Lacy Com. Linc. dederit et concesserit nobis et successoribus nostris Ecclesiam de Whalleye in proprios usus in perpetuum tenendam, licet quondam Rectores quidam ecclesie predictæ jus fugandi et feras capiendi infra forestas prædicti comitis se vendicaverint habere, ut de jure Ecclesie prædictæ de Whalleye : nos pro nobis et successoribus nostris remisimus et in perpetuum quietum clamavimus totum jus et clameum, quod habuimus, seu aliquo modo habere poterimus fugandi, seu feras capiendi, infra forestas prædicti Comitis, vel heredum suorum, seu infra aliquem locum

locum qui ad forestam vel ad chaceam pertineat; ita quod nec nos, nec successores nostri de cætero aliquod jus vel clameum fugandi, vel aliquod aliud capiendi infra aliquem locum ad forestas vel chaceas prædicti Comitum, vel heredum suorum, seu infra aliquem locum, qui ad forestas et chaceas pertineat ratione prædictæ ecclesiæ de Whalleye, exigere vel vindicare poterimus. In cujus rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum nostrum apposuimus. Hiis testibus: Domino Roberto filio Rogeri, Willielmo le Vavasour, Johanne de Hidel, Roberto de Harteford, Jac. de Nevile, Rob. de Schirburn, Johanne Spring, &c. Dat. ap. Stanlawe, Anno Domini MCCLXXXIII.

The following instrument is a deed of sale of a slave and his family.

“Omnibus, &c. Gregorius Abbas et Conv. de Whalley sal'm. Noveritis nos, pro nobis et singulis successoribus nostris, dedisse, concessisse, et tradidisse dilecto nobis in Christo I. G. et assignatis suis R. fil. I. fil. A. de W. nativum nostrum cum tota sequela sua, et omnibus rebus suis habitis et habendis, pro centum solidis sterlingorum nobis a prædicto Johanne traditis et solutis; ita quod prædictus R. cum tota sequela sua et omnibus rebus suis ut prædict. est, liberi sint, soluti et quieti ab omni calumpnia, &c. Ita quod, nec nos, nec successores nostri aliquid juris vel clamei in prædictis, ratione nativitatis de cætero quoquo modo poterimus vindicare. Salvo jure nostro et calumpnia nostra versus *quoscunque alios nativos* nostros. In cujus rei testimonium huic carte nostre, quam ad majorem securitatem fecimus indentari, tam nos quam prædictus I. sigilla nostra mutuo apposuimus.”

“Universis, &c. Fr. Abbas de S. salt^m in D^{no}. Licet nuper ad instanciam Dⁿⁱ Abbatis de C. in visitatione sua apud Whalleye ad quandam cedulam articulos quosdam contra Abbatem dicti Loci continent. sigillum nostrum apposuerimus, non tam eo animo hoc fecimus ut testemur ipsos articulos veros esse, aut per hoc factum nostrum d^{co} Abbati respondendi pro statu suo via præcluderetur, quod postea testificavimus per præsentem. Quòd cum sæpe dicto Abbati de Whalley a dicto patre Abbate*. . . si gratis cedet curialitas camere, et alia humanitatis solacia coram nobis liberaliter offerentur, et ipse de hiis non curaret, asseruit nobis plena voce libentissime se cessurum, nihil de hiis curialitatibus affectando, si amotis quatuor aut quinque accusatoribus suis, quorum quidam infames erant et notorie defamati, tota reliqua communitas conventus sui seu pars sanior coram D^{no} Abbate de H. qui tunc aderat et nobis singillatim seu in communi, privatim vel publice, modo debito requisita mallet vel dignum esse dicet ipsum cedere qui dicitur inter ipsos auctoritate regiminis præsidere, ad quod præfatus pater Abbas penitus non consensit.”

“Venerabili p^{ri} suo in X^{to}, et cum omni reverentia nominando D^{no} A. Abbati de C. † suor' minimus Fr. G. vocatus Abbas de Whalley cum debita subjectione salutem. Equum qualem petitis libentissime missetimus, si facultas respondisset voluntati. Super hoc sufficienter excusare nos poterit lator præsentium, si hiis quæ vidit velit veraciter testimonium perhibere. Ceterum mala nobis facta causa vestri non meminimus, aut debere fieri scient' meruimus. ‡ ad nos spectat. bonor' v^{rum} taxacio quæ D^{ns} multiplicet et augmentet, angustati tum

* Something is wanting here, which renders the sense of the whole passage defective.

† Cumbermere. It was very ungracious in the Abbot of this house, to beg an horse from his brother of Whalley, whom he appears to have been at that very time oppressing, by an unjust taxation.

‡ Here is another deficiency, owing to the carelessness of the transcriber.

fuimus graviter nos et omnes nostri pro ratâ contribucionis nobis impositâ anno præterito et gravius anno isto, quod, si isti benevoli estimatores bonorum nostrorum ecclesiasticorum debita quæ incurrimus et sumptus, quos fecimus pro eisdem appenderent æquâ lance, non preponderaret pars nostra tam largiter quam loquuntur. Quòd revera Ecclesia de Whalley quam forsitan exaggerant in immensum subductis expensis quas causâ ejusdem fecimus, et Vicarii porcione non multum de claro huc usque recepimus, nec forte recipiemus per quinquennium proxime secuturum. Si igitur justum sit coram Deo et ordine tam pro non habitis, quàm habitis, nos taxari, vos videritis. Valeat vestra sancta Paternitas semper in D^{no}."

"Venerabili patri et cum omni reverentia nominando D^{no} Abbati Savign'. sui semper humiles et devoti in X'to filii Fr. G. dictus Abbas de Whalley et ejusdem loci convent' cum debita subjectione salutem. Quum ratione appropriationis Ecclesie de Whalley nobis nuper facte videtur nonnullis onera circumstantia non pensare õibus * nostra possessio non minimum exercuisse in contributionibus ordinis summa nobis imposita ultra solitum augeri multum de jure debere. Ideo veru' valore' dce Eccleie prout ex singulis pculis quæ nos circumcingunt elici potuit bonâ fide et sana conscientia vobis in scriptis transmittimus notantes aliqua de oneribus è diverso, ut pensatis que rite pensanda sunt, quod de claro nobis accrescat ratione cujus rata nostra super antiquam consuetudinem debeat augmentari possit vestra discretio et secundum H. venerabili p̃ri ñro de C. mandare dignemini ut manum suam temperet in taxando. Valeat ṽra Rev. P'ternitas semp. in D^{no} IHU XRO.

D^{no} Venerabili Abbati de Savign' per suum de Whalley.

"Eidem Abbati de W. onera incumbentia.

Ad sustentacione' xx Monachor. LXVII. XIII. s. ivd. vz. clz. v. m. per an.

Capitul. Coventr. et Lichf. et Archidiac. xvl. annuatim.

Eccleie de Blak. XLVs. vd. annuatim.

Pro decimis congregandis, cariandis et domibus conducendis, xl. annuatim.

In extraordiniis, utpote regiis exactionibus, cardinalium, nunciorum, Dⁿⁱ Pape, procuracionibus

Denar' mercalibus vel libralibus et hiis secund. casum.

It^m edificatio sive constructio nove Abbie.

Indebitat. Domus ratione dicte Eccleie, utpote Episcopo jam defuncto in c libr. solut.

Simoni de Alvetham pro resignatione juris sui, si quod habuit, in capella de Alvetham, xxl. solut.

Pro expensis factis circa dict. Eccl^m in Curia Romanâ Regiâ, Cantuar' et Constar' Lichf. ccc. solutum.

Smã omn. onerum præter ea per casum, ^{xx}iiii. xiii. s. ix. d.

"Querimonia Abbatis de Whalley, qui queritur de Patre Abbate suo de Cumbarmere eo quod nimis taxavit eum de contributione patri Abbati de Savigne per se et per alium, ut inquirat super hoc diligenter veritatem, et inde faciat quod justitia suadebit. Et quod pluribus aliis negociis præpediti ad dictam terram non possumus accedere, dilecto et fideli co-abbati nostro de T. committimus vices nostras, quod super hoc secundum tenorem dicte definitionis veritatem inquirat, &c. Dat. anno Dⁿⁱ mccc vicesimo, Die Jovis post Resurrectionem.

* I am compelled to abandon this passage, like several of the foregoing.

“ Nos Abbas de T. prædictus, hujus commissionis auctoritate, associato nobis ven. Abbate de Furnes, unà cum discretis viris Gulielm. Bursar. et Ric. le Soterel, suppriori Savign. accedentes personaliter ad domum de Whalley prædictam, ubi comparentibus coram nobis partibus prædictis, ac earum rationibus et allegationibus, quas in scriptis dare, vel ore tenus dicere voluerint hinc inde auditis et intellectis, consideratisque taxationibus, tam super decimam ad verum valorem, quàm super contributionibus aliis factis, quas dicte partes ad eorum intentionem fundandam coram nobis exhibuerint et approbaverint, ac super hiis omnibus habitâ deliberatione matura, de assensu partis utriusque definimus, et definiendo sententiamus et pronunciamus, quòd cum dictus Abbas de Cumbermar. dicto filio suo de Whalley imposuerat centum et sex libras bonorum de ducentis et duodecim libris ejusdem monete sibi et generationi sue pro contribucione de anno Dⁿⁱ mccc octavo decimo, dicta summa centum et sex librarum restringatur ad quater viginti libras monete predictæ; residuum vero ejusdem contribucionis dñs Abbas de Cumbermar' sibi et ceteris filiis suis distribuat prout viderit faciendum: ita tamen quod ex hac nostra restitutione, moderacione, vel decisione nullum pro futuris temporibus præjudicium generetur. Expensas quoque quas dñs Abbas de Whalley se asseruit fecisse occasione querele memorate de utriusque partis assensu taxavimus ad centum solid. sterlingorum, quas dñm Abbatem de Cumbermar' dicto filio suo de Whalley hinc ad proxime sequens festum Natal. Dⁿⁱ solvere debere adjudicavimus in hiis scriptis. In quor' omnium præmissorum testimonium sigillum nostrum una cum sigil. dicti Dⁿⁱ de Furnes et partium prædictar' præsentibus est appensum. Dat. apud dictam Dom. de Whalley primo die mensis Junii, anno Dⁿⁱ mccc vicessimo.”

From these Instruments alone we learn that Whalley, and consequently Stanlaw, were filial houses, dependent upon Cumbermere, in Cheshire. The whole family of children was styled *Generatio*. In the taxation referred to in this transaction, the Abbot appears to have acted oppressively and injuriously to his daughter of Whalley. The other dependent houses were Deulacres and Hulton, both in Staffordshire. I meet with no other trace of dependence in the later transactions of Whalley; and perhaps this oppressive taxation may have induced the monks of our House to assert their own independence the sooner. The contest, however, was settled for the present, by the following Agreement:—

“ Venerabilibus in X^{to} Patribus D^{ns} de B(iland) et de C Abbatibus, Fratres Wilhelmus et Gregorius de Cumbermere et de Whalley dicti Abbates sal^m cum omni reverentia et honore. Quum super querelam dudum in capitulo generali propositam, ad quam terminandam iudices dati estis, ex mutua caritate patris ad filium, et filii ad patrem, concordavimus in hunc modum; videl^t quod nos Abbas de Cumbermar' et successores nostri, quoties collectiones sive contributiones de cetero fient in ordine, summam nobis et generationi nostræ impositam convocatis filiis Abbatibus nostris fideliter et expresse notificabimus, et in ipsius summe distributione seu divisione per omnia secundum formam dist' a cæ^o 1^o. Nos vero Abbas de Whalley et successores nostri sic et cæteri coabbates filii de Cumbermar', summam nobis taliter impositam acceptabimus indilate: vestram sanctam paternitatem devote et humiliter exoramus, quatenus formam istam si placet acceptantes, eam in scriptis demittatis, utque parti trahendis redigere dignemini, reservata vobis et successoribus vestris auctoritate compulsionis parti parere nolenti in posterum faciende. Dat. apud Whalley . . . die et apud Cumbermar' . . . die . . . ann”

“ Ven.

“ Ven. in X^{to} p̄ri et D^{no} D^{no} Rogero Dei gr̄a Coventr. et Lichf. Ēp̄o, suus si placet filius humilis et devotus Vicarius Ecclesie de Whalleye omnimodam reverentiam, &c. Mandatum v̄rum reverendum nuper recepi, scil’ eo qui sequitur tenore. Rogerus perm. div. Coventr’ et Lichf. Ēp̄us dilecto in X^{to} filio Vicario Ecclesie de Whalleye n̄re Dioc. grām, &c. Querelam religiosorum v̄ror. Abbatis et Cōvent. de Whalleye, ecclesiam ipsam de Whalleye cum suis capellis in usus proprios optinent’ noviter recepimus, continentem quod, licet cura poch’ totius pochie predictæ Ecclesie de Whalleye, omniumque et singulor’ pochianorum ejusdem, ad vos racione vicarie v̄re pertineat et pertinere debeat, ac Vicarius, qui pro tempore fuerit curam hujus per se et suos capellanos exercere teneatur, vos tamen curam poch’ Capelle infra Castru’ de Clyderhou scituate, prefate Ecclesie de Whalleye annexe, et dependentis ab eadem, subire et agnoscere sicut in ceteris capellis dependentibus, absque causa rationabili temere recusatis, in ipsorum religiosorum præjudicium non modicum et grave periculum animarum. Quocirca vobis quantum de jure possumus firmiter injungendo mandamus quatenus, si sit ita, curam parochialem capelle supradict’ prout justum fuerit, et ad vos pertinere dinoscitur, subire ac solerter et diligenter exercere nullatenus omittatis. Alioqui tenore præsentium peremptorie vos citamus quod tercio die juridico post dominicam quâ. . . . coram Commissario n̄ro in Ecclesia n̄ra. Cath. Lichf. comparere curetis canonicum si quod habeat . . . ad agnoscend’ et exercend’ curam parochiale capelle supradicte compelli debeatis in foro juris propositur’ et receptur’ ulterius in hac parte quod justicia suadebit. Quid autem in premissis feceritis et duxeritis faciend’ prefatum Commissar. dictis die et loco certificetis per literas vestras patentes. Dat. London. xvii Kal. Apr. Año Dⁿⁱ M CCC tricessimo quinto.

“ Scire velit vestra Dñacio Reverenda quod adversâ valetudine gravissimâ præpeditus non potui personaliter comparere, sed procuratorem meum in præmissis sufficienter instructum vobis destinavi: sic mandatum vestrum quatenus potui reverenter sum executus. Dat. apud Whalleye Id. April. M CCC tricessimo sexto.”

To the Sale of a Slave and his Family may be added the Hiring of a Servant for Life:—

“ Universis, &c.—Noveritis nos unanimi consensu et pari voluntate concessisse Galf. dicto K. pro servicio quod nobis hucusque servierit et serviet in futuro, victum et vestitum in Domo nostra de Whalley pro toto tempore vite sue, dum tamen fideliter se habuerit et honeste; ita quod, dum in stabulo ex more servierit, vel in alio servicio sibi per nos assignando, locum unius servientis competenter et sufficienter tenere potuerit, dabimus ei in victualibus et vestitu, sicut unus garcionum de stabulo Abbatis pro illo tempore recipere consuevit. Si autem infirmitate vel senio præpeditus ad talem locum tenendum sufficere non valuerit, inveniemus ad sustentationem suam inter familiares in infirmitorio secularium, sicut uni talium solitum est ministrari.”

Some conclusions, with respect to the general knowledge of the Monks of Whalley, may be formed from the following entries, in different parts of the “Liber Loci Benedicti.”

Memor. quòd in Anglia sunt Eccles. pochiales	—	L ^m VI.*
Ville — — — — —	—	LII ^m ^{xx} / _{iiii} .
Feoda Militum — — — — —	—	XL ^m CCXV.
De quibus Religiosi occupant	— — — — —	XXVI ^m XV.
Comitatus — — — — —	—	XXXVI di.

* More than five times the real number.

The following Table will shew that they had some principles of Husbandry :—

Terra	Alba	{	Argillosa — Frumentum, fab. aven.
		{	Marlosa — Frumentum.
	Nigra	{	Petrosa — Frumentum, fab. aven.
		{	Siliciosa — Uniuscujusque seminis grano apta, maxime vescis ; et ista terra nutrit cuniculos.
		{	Temperata — Apta uniuscujusque seminis grano.
		{	Sabulosa — Siligini.
	Rubea	{	Argillosa — Frumentum, fab. avene.
		{	Marlosa — Frumentum, avene.
		{	Sabulosa — Siligo, Ordeum.
		{	Temperata
		{	Mixta
		{	Petrosa
		{	Siliciosa
		} Apti uniuscujusque seminis grano.	

“ Ad restinguend. sanguinem de naribus vel vulneribus medicina probata.

“ Deus propicius esto huic famulo tuo N. ne de suo corpore amplius gutta sanguinis exeat. Sic placet filio Dei. Sic sue genetrici Marie. In nomine Patris cessa, sanguis. In nomine Filii cessa, sanguis. In nomine Spiritus Sancti cessa, sanguis. In nomine Sœ Trinitatis.

Pur estauncher Saunk.

“ Longevus miles lancea latus Salvatoris aperuit : continuo exeunt sanguis et aqua — sanguis Redemptoris et aqua Baptismatis. In noie p̃ris ✕ cesset sanguis. In noie filii ✕ restet sanguis ✕. In noie sp̃us s̃ci ✕ non exeat sanguis amplius de ore vel de vena vel de naso*.”

They had an opportunity of trying the efficacy of this charm, within a short time after it was written, upon one of their brethren, who was shot with an arrow. As he died of the wound, I am compelled to suppose that the charm was forgotten.

Nota	De Lino	{	quod 24 Cuscutæ lini faciunt quod Anglice dic̃ Cherf.
		{	quod 24 Garbe faciunt unum Thrave.
	De Corio	{	quod 10 Cor. faciunt unum Dik.
		{	quod 10 Dik. faciunt unum Last.
	De Ferro	{	quod 5 Petr. faciunt una' Duodena'.
		{	quod 13 Duodene faciunt unum Seem.
		{	quod 24 Petr. faciunt unu' Band.
	De Cera	{	quod Libra cere ponderat 24 Solid.
		{	quod 8 Lib. cere faciunt Petram.
	De Cepo et Canabo 16 Libr. faciunt Petram.		
	De Lana	{	quod 12 Libr. faciunt Petram.
		{	quod 30 Petr. faciunt unum Saccum.
	De Speciebus	{	quod Dragma ponderat 2 d. ob.
		{	quod Uncia ponderat 20 Dragma.
		{	quod Libra ponderat 20 Solid.

* This legend is attended to by Peirs Ploughman, who has converted the epithet *Longævus* into a proper name, *Longeus*.

Nota { quod 26 Pedes faciunt unam Rodam vel Perticatam ĩre.
 { 40 Rode in long^e et 4 in lat^e, vel 20 in long. et 8 in lat. faciunt unam Acram.

Distempera
 ad scribendum { Azoriu' cum albo vino et gummy, vel cu' glarea ovi.
 { Vermiculum cum glarea ovi et modico salis et aque.
 { Viride Græcum cum albo vino et croco et modico mellis.
 { Crocum cum glarea ovi.
 { Sinopide cum glarea ovi.
 { Brasill. id'm.

But the most singular circumstance in this volume is, that it contains the Runic Alphabet, together with some other contractions, of which it does not appear how they came to the knowledge of the Monks, or what use they made of them.

l	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ
a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	ou

The attestation of the following instrument is sufficiently curious to procure the insertion of the whole:

“Ita convenit inter Viros religiosos Abbatem et Conventum Loci Benedicti de Whalley et D^m A. de B. (Adam de Blackburn) Mil^m: vid^t quòd dicti Abbas et Conv^s unanimi consensu Capituli sui concesserunt dicto D^{no} A. ad totam vitam suam xls. sterlingorum percipiend. apud Whalley in festo S^{ci} Mich. major. annuatim. Dictus vero D^{ns} A. è contra versus dictos Religiosos, ea securitate quâ fidelem militem obligari convenit, se astrinxit quòd eisdem in omnibus negociis et necessitatibus suis fidele consilium et auxilium impendet toto tempore vite sue sine fraude, calumpnia, seu qualibet fictione. Et quod decimas garbarum de dominicis carucis suis in terra, quam tempore confectionis presentium coluerit per easdem annis singulis libenter recipiet ad voluntatem dictorum religiosorum pro pecunia memorata (numerata ?) Ita quod eisdem decimis perceptis literas acquietantie* dictis religiosis de xls. annuis antedictis. Ad majorem vero hujus rei securitatem huic scripto cyrographato utraque pars sigillum suum mutuo apposuit. Testibus Deo, Beatâ Maria, et Omnibus Sanctis patronis Ecclesie de Whalley.”

I shall next insert one of their Contracts for the Sale and Delivery of Wool.

“Universis, &c. R. de W. (Rob. de Warrington) Prior Domus de Whalley et Fr. R. de M. (Moston) dicte domus Cellarius. Noveritis nos, nomine procuratorio dictor. Ab. et Conv. teneri et obligari A. B. Burgensi et Mercatori de I. per bonum compotum inter nos nomine quo supra ex parte unâ et dict. A. ex altera factum, in viii saccis bone lane dicte domus et iv saccis medie lane et loccarum electar' domus ejusdem. Que quidem tota lana antedicta debet per procuratorem dicti A. parari, brusari, et in sarpellario ejusdem A. insaccari et per pondus d^{ce} Domus debitum et consuetum ponderari. Et illos xii saccos lane p̃dicte tenemur reddere et deliberare p̃dicto A. vel suo Attornato apud villam S^{ci} B(otulphi) sumptibus d^{ce} Domus die S^{ci} Petri ad Vincula in formâ subscript', scil. anno dim^o, &c. tres saccos bone lane et unum

* Dabit, or some other verb, is to be understood here.

saccum medie lane et loccar' electar' ; et anno dim. quinto, &c. duos saccos et dim^m bone lane et 1 sacc. medie lane et loccarum electarum ; et anno dim. vi^{to} duos saccos et dim. bone lane et unum saccum et dimid. medie lane et loccar' elect. sine ulteriori dilatione. Et pro quolibet sacco bone lane modo prædicto non solute tenemur reddere et paiare de^o A. vel suo Attornato x^l. vs. pro sacco medie lane et loccar' electar' x^{mes} infra octo dies per quodlibet term^m non observatum. Pro quibus omnibus fideliter adimplendis obligamus D^m Ab^m et Conv. et omn. bona de^e Domus mobil. et immobil. capiend. distringend. detinend. &c.

Prec. Sac. { bone lane x m^{rc}
medie lane vi m^{rc} } in vendicione."

" In Dei nomine Amen. Ego Frater Robertus de Topeliffe, Abbas de Whalley, protestor in hiis scriptis me fore paratum ad recipiendas constitutiones sanctissimi in Christo patris nostri Domini Benedicti Pape XII personis nostri ordinis, ut dicit, indictas et in ultimo nostro generali capitulo promulgatas, cum reverentia qua teneor et devocione ; necnon easdem velle observare, eisque quatenus de jure teneor libenter obedire, nedum secundum quod nuda verba modo videntur sonare, sed magis ad mentem condentis, seu secundum quod nostri dicti ordinis capitulum generale ipsas judicabit observandas juxta modificaciones, declaraciones, vel exposiciones earundem, si quæ super hiis in posterum fuerint subsecutæ."

To this Supplementary account I have nothing to add, before the attainder of the House; when I learn from Stow the following particulars, which have not been repeated so circumstantially by any subsequent compiler of English history. "The 10th of March (1537) John Paslew, B. D. being then the five-and-twentieth abbot of Whalley, in Lancashire, was executed at Lancaster; and the same day with him was hanged, drawn, and quartered, John Eastgate, a monk of the same house, whose quarters were set up at divers townes in that shire. And on the 13th of March William Haydocke, a monk of Whalley, was hanged at Whalley, in the field called Pediam Guies, and there hanged long time after." This story, though full of errors, partly of the author and partly of the printer, is by much the most circumstantial narrative which has been given of these melancholy events. But, first, it was Trafford, Abbot of Salley, who was executed at Lancaster on the 10th of March. Secondly, it appears, from the Abbey Register, that Paslew suffered on the 12th; and, by the constant tradition of the place, at Whalley, in the field called the Holehouses. So much, therefore, of Stow's account is inaccurate. But again this story agrees with that of Speed and others, that Paslew was not dismembered. Next, the cruel and ignominious execution of Eastgate rests on Stow's single authority; which, having nothing to contradict it, may be presumed to be true. Lastly, by Padiham Guies can only be meant Padiham Green, or Padiham Eases, either of which is five miles from Whalley. Thus corrected, the account is remarkably coherent; for, supposing all these ecclesiastics to have been tried together, Trafford, being executed on the spot, suffered first. One whole day more was required to convey the other convicts to Whalley, where Paslew and Eastgate suffered on the 12th. This scene might suffice for one day. And, lastly, Haydock was carried to Padiham, for what reason I do not know, and hanged there the day following*.

* I had been assured, that records of the indictment and conviction of these Ecclesiastics remained in the Rolls at Lancaster; but, on a very diligent search, they could not be found.

*Status Mon. bte Marie Vginis de } 1536.
Whalley*.*

INVENTAR' OMN' ET SINGLOR' BONOR. MOBIL.

Vasa sacrat. pr' vestiblo. de- putata.	{	In primis xvi Calices de arg. deaurat. et ponderat	—	CCCLXXIX unc.		
		It' duo paria <i>Thuribul'</i> de arg. deaurat. et ponderat	—	LXIV unc.		
		It. una navis de argento pro Chriſmat.' et pondat	—	IX unc.		
		It. unum par Phialar' de arg. deaur. et pond.	—	VIII unc.		
		It'. unum par Candelabr. de arg. et ponder.	— —	L unc.		
		It'. Baculus pastoralis de arg. capite deaur. et pond.	—	CVI unc.		
		It. caput alterius Bacli de arg. deaur. et pond.	—	XXXII unc.		
		It. una crux de auro et ponderat	— — —	XXX unc.		
		It. alia crux de arg. deaur. et ponderat	— —	LXII unc.		
		It. alia crux de arg. deaur. et ponderat	— —	VIII unc.		
		It. alia crux ex ligno cum argento cooptã.				
		It. una Pax de argento et ponderat	— — —	XII unc.		
It. una Mitra ornat. cum lapid' viz. Perls. super argent.						
Vasa argen. in Cellar. et in Camera Ab- batis.	{	In primis tres Salsar' de arg. deaurat. cum ii ^{bus} coop-	}	LVI unc.		
		tör et pond. — — — — —				
		It. i Bassyn et i Ewer de arg. et ponderant	—	LXIX unc.		
		It. iiii Bolls de arg. et pond.	— — — —	LVIII unc.		
		It. ii Bolls de arg. parcel gylde et pond.	— —	XXXVI unc.		
		It. iii Standyng Cups w th Covers deaur. et pond.	—	LXXXX unc.		
		It. i Standyng Cupp parcel gylde et pond	— —	XXIV unc.		
		Item a Nest of Gobletts w th a Cover et pond.	—	LX unc.		
		It. a Goblet with a Cover all gylde et pond.	—	XXVI unc.		
		It. i other Goblet w th a Cover parcel gylde et pond.	—	XXVI unc.		
		It. ii Wyne Potts de arg. et pond.	— — —	XLII unc.		
		It. iii Ale Cupps parcel gylde et pond.	— —	LI unc.		
		It. iii letyll Ale Cups w th ii covs. parcel gylde et pond.		XXXVIII unc.		
		It. i Doss. Spones all gylde et pond.	— —	XXIV unc.		
		It. ii Doss. Spones w th gylde heds et pond.	— —	XXXII unc.		
		It. i Doss. Spones et pond.	— — — —	XII unc.		
		† It. ii Nutts for Ale, harnyshed w th Sylver				
		‡ It ii Massers for the Convent halle harnyshed w th Sylver.				

From a paper in the Augmentation Office, I am now enabled to add several particulars to my account of this house after the attainder.

* I find, by a comparison of hands, that this was written by Rob. Paris, al. Parishe, one of the last monks.

† A very early instance of the use of Cocoa Nuts as Cups.

‡ Masters, i. e. mazer or maple bowls, called by Ralph de Diceto, ad ann. 1182, Cuppæ Mazerinæ.—Vide Junium in voce. Ex aceris nodis sive tuberculis crispo macularum discursu conspicuis fiunt scyphi insignes.—Ib.

The Abbey and demesnes were immediately committed to the custody of Braddyll. In the course of two or three weeks Richard Pollard, esq. one of the king's surveyors, came down, and let the demesnes, in parcels, for the first half year, or from Lady Day to Michaelmas. Hence it appears, that all the live-stock must have been already disposed of. But, besides the demesnes, the tenants at will, who were all the inhabitants of the town, occupying with their houses small tenements of five, six, or eight acres each, were compelled to enter into new contracts, probably at advanced rents. Yet the whole sum paid by them was only £.18. 2s. 9d. *per annum*: the price of houses from 1s. to 6d. and even 4d. each. The demesne lands averaged about 2s. per acre, Lancashire measure, and at this low rate produced 62l. 11s. 2d. The herbage of the park and wood (the Lord's park), two miles in circuit, was demised to Sir Alexander Osbaldeston, for 12l. This, I suppose, was pretty near the current price of land at the time. Every acre of land, then let for 2s. is now worth thirty times the sum; and yet the price of the necessities of life is not advanced, in the same interval, more than ten or twelve fold. The reason of this disproportion is, that in times when there is no trade, farmers must live wholly from the produce of their farms, and therefore require a much larger profit in them. This was also a reason why land-owners retained so large a portion of their estates in their own occupation*.

The following reflections may, not improperly, close this part of the subject :

Had the dissolution of monasteries been conducted on other principles than sacrilege and rapine, had the application of their revenues been directed by those high ideas of the inalienable nature of tithes and offerings which prevailed a century later, and, in consequence, their spiritualities completely restored to officiating incumbents, while the temporalities, instead of being squandered with thoughtless prodigality, had been disposed of at an extended value, the necessities, even of Henry VIII. might have been abundantly supplied, and a wealthy, yet not overgrown establishment, have been formed as the basis of reformation. But as it was, in fact, conducted, nothing but the overruling Providence of God could have procured even a decent reception for the reforming clergy. For, on the sites of these great foundations, and among people, above all others, bound to the old religion by interest, by imagination, by gratitude, and by regret, *they* were turned out, armed indeed with the word of God, but destitute of all external means to conciliate or to reward. On the very sites, where whole districts had so lately been feasted and pensioned, *they* had neither kitchens for hospitality, nor purses for alms. Dejected and dissatisfied, and many of them, it is probable, deeply tinctured with old prejudices, they performed their stated offices without spirit, and without effect, and they transmitted to their successors, a people only Christian inasmuch as they had received the rite of baptism, and only not catholics, because the mass had been abolished among them.

* At the death of Sir John Towneley, of Towneley, A.D. 1541, the whole estate was valued at £.100 *per annum*. The same, when stripped of all additions by purchase or enclosures, is now worth £.3000. Nor was the price of land in this district greatly advanced in the reign of James the First. In the year 1612 the demesnes of Towneley were surveyed, and valued at 2s. per acre. In the Parliamentary Survey, about forty years after, the same lands averaged between 4s. and 5s. Eight shillings per acre was about the average rent of farms here in the reign of Queen Anne. In half a century more it had increased in a ratio of two and a half to one. In the same interval, from that time to the present, it may generally be considered as trebled again.

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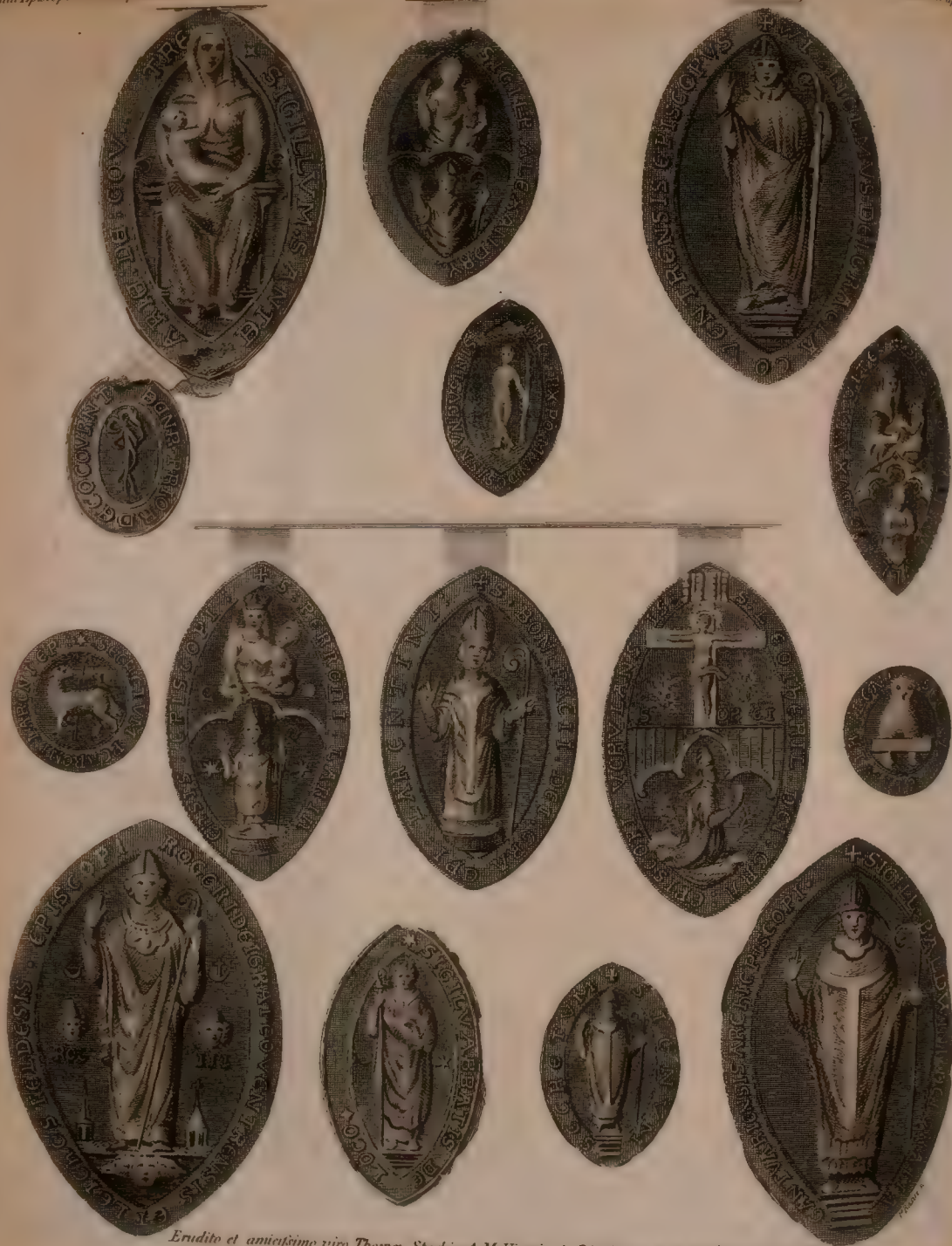
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Erudito et antiquissimo viro Thomae Starkie A.M. Vicario de Blackburn de se pariter et opere suo
multis hominibus optime merito hanc tabulam D.D.D. ED Whitaker.

CHAPTER III.

PARISH CHURCH AND VICARAGE OF WHALLEY.

HAVING now traced, to the several periods of their duration, the ancient deanery, the short-lived rectory which followed, and the magnificent abbey, which rose upon the ruins of both, we are next to consider the Vicarage, which has survived them all, and will probably continue as long as an ecclesiastical establishment remains in England.

The regular ordination of a vicarage in this church did not take place immediately upon the appropriation, nor even till five years after the death of Peter de Cestria, the last incumbent. In the mean time, it may be presumed, that the monks of Stanlaw, while they were preparing for their own translation, were careful to have the cure supplied by chaplains; and, for two years afterwards, by some of their own body. But, in the year 1298, Walter Langton, bishop of Litchfield, endowed the second vicarage of Whalley in a spirit more favourable to the wants and merits of a respectable incumbent, than to the rapacity of craving monks*. For he ordained the vicar's portion to consist in a manse and thirty acres† of meadow and (terra) corn land adjoining, with housebote and haybote in the abbey woods, and common of pasture for his

* Copies of most of these endowments, &c. remain in the Coucher Book, and among the Townley MSS. but they have been already given from an authentic and original source, the "*Liber Loci Benedicti*."

† The ancient glebe of the Rectory or Deanery, as we have already seen, was the entire demesne of the manor of Whalley; but it is remarkable, that all vestiges of the glebe, granted to the Vicar under the first endowment, have not yet disappeared, though it was so quickly merged in the Abbey demesne again. In the Inquisition of Survey, taken before Roger Nowell, Esq. &c. A.D. 1616, the glebe was described as lying in divers parcels about the Nether Town, together with two tenements near Clerk Hill, one occupied by Mr. Crombock, and the other by Henry Hammond, gent. (a near relative of the famous Dr. Henry Hammond). The cottages to the East, with their gardens (though the site of the ancient hermitage) are described as parcel of this glebe, and those on the North, *but without any gardens*.—The lands near Clerk Hill are still distinguished by the name of Glebe.

But, saith this Survey, "By the Terrier there should be 41 A. 2 R. 20 falls, of glebe; yet it appears, that by two recoveries, one bearing date 26 Edw. I. of 15 acres, and the other 12th Edw. III. of 60 acres, that in Whalley were 75 acres of glebe.—(I am unable to account for this last fact, as the second endowment, which stripped the Vicarage of the best part of the glebe, had taken place long before the 12th of Edw. III.)—Moreover, to this glebe belonged common on Whalley Moor, and also common of pasture in the Moors of Billington, and the Vill of Harwood, between Rotilegh Clough and the Divises of Billington, excepting 60 A. of moor and pasture within the same Divises, reserved when this common was granted, viz A. D. 1314."—So far the Inq. which records a very singular fact; namely, that right of common appertained to the glebe of Whalley in another parish.

This may partly be explained by the following Abstract of a Record in the "*Liber Loci Benedicti*:"

"De divisio factis inter Magn. Harwod et Mediet. ville de Bilyngton, Aº Reg. Regis Edw. XXXIII. De assensu nobilis viri Hen. de Lasey Com. Lincoln. inter Willm de Heskeyth et Joh. fil. ejusd. Rogm Noel, Adam fil. ejusd. &c. in Magn. Harewod et Dnum Ad. de Hudleston, &c. in Bilyngton, scil. incipiend. ad quendam sepem antiquam super ripam aquæ de Kaldir, subtus le Fallingte-ker descendendo per illam sepem usque ad quendam rivulum propinquiorem terre et sic ascendendo per dictum rivulum usque summitatem cujusdam montis qui dicitur Belesete-nabbe

"linealiter

cattle in the park *, along with those of the convent, in the altarage of the mother church and chapels, that of Alvetham excepted, which was then litigious. Likewise in the glebe lands of Brunley and the other chapels, &c. This was a fair and liberal distribution of the benefice, which, though it allowed to the monks the rich and spacious glebe, excepting thirty acres, and all the tithes of the parish, great and small, still left the incumbent in a respectable and independent situation.

These conditions were endured for a season, because they were the best that could be obtained from a prelate of good sense, spirit, and humanity; but, after the death of Langton, who survived this transaction twenty-four years, a bishop succeeded, of whom it is observed by Godwyn, that after having sat thirty-eight years, he had done nothing worthy of commendation, *nisi forte hoc ab illo recte factum dicamus, quod mortuus est*. This was Roger de Northborough, a man much more accommodating to the views of monks, and accordingly, by a second ordination, dated at Manchester, 12 Kal. Apr. in the year 1330, after reciting the immoderate endowment of the present vicarage, the barrenness of the place, the great resort of strangers, the increased number of monks, the expences incurred in building, &c. this bishop having examined the abbot and vicar in person, and the convent by their proctor, and exacted an oath from all parties to abide his ordination, decrees that the vicarage in future shall consist in a competent manse, with a yard within the abbey close, to be erected at the expence of the house, in hay sufficient for one horse, with four quarters of oats, and in sixty-six marks, payable in money; in consideration of which, the vicar should undergo all ordinary burdens of the said church, the chapel of Alvetham, concerning which, the suit was now determined, and all the other chapels; that he should also find a priest for each chapel, with bread and wine for the communion, &c.; and moreover, that he should distribute the sum of 13s. 4d. on the morrow of St. Michael, yearly, to the convent, as a pittance.

Henceforward the vicar became little better than a mere stipendiary, burdened, moreover, with the expences of the sacramental elements, and with the support of seven priests, to officiate in the dependent chapels.

These are the seven chapels of the old foundation, all of which not only existed, but were endowed with competent glebes before Henry de Lacy's grant of the advowson, A. D. 1284. And all these glebes, though merged from the time of this ordination in the glebe of the rectory, remained till the late sale of one moiety of the Rectory, distinct from all other property, and generally contiguous to the churches to which they originally belonged.

“ lincaliter usque ad quendam fossatum ibi de novo constructum. Et sic de illo fossato per foveas ibidem factas ad
 “ lapides ibi per locos positos de recte usque ad Horelowe et del Horelowe per foveas ibi de novo factas et lapides ibidem
 “ positos usque ad Snodworth, qui locus de Snodworth est in occidentem. Et sic erunt de cetero divise inter Magu.
 “ Harwedod et Bilyngton p'dictas in perpetuum.

“ Et hæc concordia facta fuit in presentia Dni Her'. de Lasey Com. Lincoln. Hiis test. D^{ns} Will. le Vavasour,
 “ W^m de Stopham, Ad. de Waleton, W^m de Banastre, militibus; Tho. de Fischeburn, Hen. L'Escrop, Edwardo Talebot,
 “ Thom. Le Sureys, Symone de Alvetham, Ric'o de Ruyshton, Rob. de Eadem, Ad. de Clogh, et aliis, die Ven. prox.
 “ ante fest. Sci. Joh. Bapt. a^o supradict.”†

* From this early mention of a park, it appears to have been inclosed before the foundation of the abbey, and probably under the deans. It was afterwards called the Lord's Park, and extended from the town to Parkhead in length, and from Calder to the turnpike-road in breadth, a fertile and beautiful piece of ground.

† From the attestations of so many inhabitants of Blackburnshire, it may fairly be inferred, that this transaction took place at Clitheroe Castle, when the Earl was there. Sir Wm. de Stopham was Lord of Weston, near Otley, where his tomb, or that of one of his progenitors, remains.

The

The following table will necessarily suggest two observations: 1st. that these glebes have uniformly been allotted with a reference to the ancient oxgang; and 2dly, how little that admeasurement varied from itself in seven distinct instances.

Comparative table of the Chapels of the old foundation in the parish of Whalley, with the measure of their respective glebes in oxgangs and acres.

Name.	Æra.	Oxgangs.	A.	R.	P.
CLIDERHOW, -	all mentioned in Delaval's charter, and therefore existing temp. Hen. 1mi. - - - - -	2 - - - - -	* 43	3	0
St. MAGDALEN, in villa Calne, -					
BRUNLEY, - -					
ELVETHAM, - -	founded by H. fil. Loswine, circ. R. Ric. 1mi. - - - - -	4	originally endowed as a parish church; but, upon being reduced to a state of dependence, the glebe appears to have been restored to the manor.		
DOWNUM, - -	uncertain, but all founded before the year 1284.	2	36	0	20
CHURCH, - -		2	32	0	10
HASLINGDEN, -		1	15	0	0

In the endowment of these ancient chapels, a very laudable attention, we see, was paid to the independence and comfort of the incumbent; and two oxgangs, or somewhat more than thirty Lancashire acres, appear in general to have been thought adequate to his support. Whether, before the first appropriation, these chaplains were entitled respectively to the whole of their own altarage, or to what part of it, or to none at all, does not appear.

But it is difficult to stop the progress of injuries when once begun; for, even in Langton's ordination, liberal as it was in some respects, the vicar was first robbed by the monks, and then sent to seek his remedy by seizing the glebes and manses of the dependent clergy. From this sentence, however, the terms of which were, perhaps, as easy as Langton could impose, no appeal lay but to the Court of Rome, where every ear was closed to a representation of the secular clergy against the monks; so that from this time forward the poor chaplains were compelled to hire a residence where it could be found, and to purchase the necessities of life where they could be obtained, when there was scarcely any exchange or commerce, and that out of a poor pittance of about five marks *per annum*.

But the influence of superstition gradually improved the condition of these incumbents again: chantries began to be founded and endowed with competent revenues; the lands were often within a convenient distance of the church, and furnished with decent houses; Burnley

* It now appears to me more probable that this was the half carucate belonging to the chapel of St. Michael in Castro. The measure is too large for two oxgangs of rich land, and not too small for half a carucate of the same quality. Still I hesitate. After all, is it probable that the Chapel of St. Magdalen would be unendowed with any glebe? And may not the basis of the estate of the Asshetons in Clitheroe, with the exception of the fourteen burgage houses, have been the half carucate in question?

† As per survey, anno Eliz. 36, though now increased by the enclosure of the commons of Ightenhill, temp. Jac. 1mi. to 48 A. 2 R. 4 P.

alone, though but a chapel, resembled a little college of priests, and had no less than four altars well endowed.

This order of things, like all the former, had its day. But another revolution was now at hand, which swept away, with undistinguishing rapacity, the rewards of piety and wages of superstition. At the dissolution of chantries, 1 Edward VI. no distinction whatever was made in these foundations between the incumbent and the chantry priest; and though the former was sometimes, not always, permitted to remain in possession of his own church*, he was turned out once more upon the world, without manse or glebe, and compelled to subsist upon a miserable and ill-paid stipend, allotted him by the Commissioners of pious uses; and in this abject and impoverished state did these foundations continue till the gradual operation of queen Anne's Bounty restored their ministers to much of the comforts of independence, though seldom to a convenient and appropriate residence.

Of all the measures by which unprincipled men disgraced the reformation, none contributed more, by the manner in which it was conducted, to injure that excellent cause, than the dissolution of chantries, a measure in which, after the rich harvest of Henry's plunder was exhausted, it seemed to be the sole object of a profligate court to gather the miserable gleanings of sacrilege without regard to the service of God or to the cause of religion, in which, by diminishing the numbers of the clergy, they destroyed much of that influence which near inspection and personal intercourse with the people always produces, and by impoverishing the foundations which remained, they effectually prevented the introduction of learned and able preachers. For the effect was what might be expected—the inferior clergy of that and the succeeding times have been too often contemptible for their poverty among the rich, their ignorance among the refined, and their bad morals among the devout; so that, from the want of a well-informed, respectable, and respected ministry, a country antecedently superstitious and stupid has never been thoroughly evangelized to the present day. Religion, indeed, in the reign of Edward VI. exhibits a spectacle at once pleasing and melancholy. The king, a boy, a scholar, and a saint; the bishops learned, sincere, and zealous; the courtiers selfish and corrupt; the inferior clergy, with a few shining exceptions, illiterate and useless; and the common people, after being deprived of their old forms, standing at gaze with an excellent liturgy in their hands, which, from the want of a preaching ministry in the country, they had neither been taught to esteem nor to understand.

After this account of the Chapels within the parish on the old foundation, it may not be improper to give a short view of those which have arisen since; both these, indeed, and the former, will be treated more distinctly in their several places; but it may assist the recollection to bring them under the eye at once.

In the general confirmation of archbishop Arundel, A. D. 1400, the Chapels of the old foundation are recognized, and no more; so that it is certain that no new religious erections had taken place during a period of 116 years.

* Some Chapels were demolished, as Chatburn; others dissolved and sold again to the inhabitants for divine service, as Littleborough and Milnrow, (Townley MSS.); others again left standing, but without endowment or minister, as Holme; even the great parochial cures of Burnley, Colne, &c. were stripped of everything, and their incumbents paid by trifling pensions.

After this, the next foundation was,

PADIHAM, for which the licence of Mortmain bears date 30th Henry VI. Then,

WHITEWELL, HOLME, MARSDEN,—all erected, as appears from their architecture and some other evidence, between the reign of Henry VI. and Henry VII. Then,

NEWCHURCH, in Rossendale, 3d Henry VIII. which, by an instance of good fortune peculiar to itself, was permitted, I suppose, in consideration of its poverty, to retain the original manse and glebe. Then,

GOODSHAW, 32d Henry VIII. Then

NEWCHURCH, in Pendle, 35th Henry VIII. These three last in consequence of the planting of the forests. Afterwards, at an uncertain period,

ACCRINGTON, taken out of Alvetham; concerning the foundation of which the episcopal registry at Chester affords no information; but it is mentioned in Harrison's Description of Britain, p. 66, as extant in 1577. And, lastly,

BACOP, in Rossendale, consecrated A. D. 1788.

But it is high time to resume the immediate subject of this chapter.

Three vicars of Whalley (John, who appears to have been the first; Rich. de Chadsden, who, in 1310, resigned, at the request of Thomas earl of Lancaster*; and Richard de Swinfleet,) enjoyed this benefice under the endowment of Walter Langton. The last was succeeded by one Wm. le Wolf de Kirklaughton, a native probably of Church Lawton, in Cheshire, who not only submitted to what he was unable to prevent, namely, the last wretched appropriation, but was reduced, by a most arbitrary practice, exercised in other instances upon the poor vicars, to bind himself by oath never to procure an augmentation. He was followed by John de Topcliffe, brother of the abbot †, whose name perpetually appears with that of Gristhwaite, vicar of Blackburn, in the charters of this period, as trustees, to take lands for the benefit of the house, and after his death, which happened about 30th Edward III. the abbot and convent presented no more secular priests, but retained the benefice in their own hands till the dissolution. No usurpation of the monks gave greater offence, or was more injurious to the interests of religion than this, when, not content with the original appropriations, they had begun in some instances to devour the endowed vicarages, by appointing only chaplains to serve them; and in others, as in that before us, to nominate one of their own body, who, instead of keeping hospitality upon his benefice, was merely a boarder in the convent. The real advantage which they derived from these scandalous presentations was, that a regular, being under the obligation of the vow of poverty, could not touch the fruits of his own benefice, which of course accrued to the common stock of the house. This practice, after many remonstrances and complaints of the commons in parliament, produced an excellent statute, 4 Henry IV. providing, *inter cætera*, “that from henceforth in every church appropriated a sæcular person be ordained vicar, and “that no religious be in any wise made vicar in any church so appropriated, or to be appropriated “in time to come.” But this was unfortunately a law without a sanction; no penalty having been annexed to the breach of it: the abuse, therefore, continued till the 10th of Henry VI. “when a bill was brought into parliament requiring that in every church appropriated, or to

* A copy of the earl's letter to this effect remains in the Coucher Book.

† There was a third brother resident in Billington, which I suppose to have been the native place of the family.

“ be

“ be appropriated, a secular person be ordained perpetual vicar, to do divine service and keep
 “ hospitality; and that if any religious, or men of holy church, which have or hold any
 “ churches in proper use, from henceforward suffer such vicarages to be inofficiate, without a
 “ vicar resident there for six months, that the same churches be disappropried and disamortized
 “ for ever, saving only to the said religious their patronage in the same.” This was vigorous
 and decisive; but the poor king was instructed to reply, “ *Le Roy s’avisera*,” and this in-
 vecterate evil continued in unabated malignity till the dissolution, to which it had its full share in
 contributing*.

The monks might have taken warning from the invective, shall I call it, or the prophecy of
 Peirs Plowman, who, long before these statutes, boldly taxed them with want of charity and
 hospitality upon their appropriated benefices, and warned them of the consequences in a strain
 exceeding, as we should suppose, the powers of natural sagacity and foresight.

Little had lordes to dow to geve lordes from her hepres
 To religious that have no ruthe if it raine on her autres
 In mange places ther the persons (appropriators) be hemself at ease
 Of pe pore have they no pitpe and that is ther charite.
 And ther shall come a king and confesse pou religious
 And amende monials, monkes and chanons,
 And then shall the abbot of Abbingdon and al his issue for ever
 Have a knoche of a knyge and incurable the wounde.

After the dissolution of the monastery, by deed of exchange between king Edward VI.
 and archbishop Cranmer, dated June 12th, anno regni primo, the appropriate rectories of
 Whalley, Blackburn, and Rochdale, with the advowson of their several vicarages, are granted
 to the see of Canterbury, under the following very inaccurate description: “ omnes illas rec-
 “ torias nostras et ecclesias de Whalley, Blackburn, et Rachdale, nuper monasterio sive ab-
 “ batix de Whalley nuper dissolutæ dudum spectantibus, ac etiam omnes illas capellas nostras
 “ de Padiham, Clyderhow, Coln, Brunley, Church, Altham, Haslingden, Bowland, Pen-
 “ hull, Trawden†, et Rossendale, et capellam nostram de Clyderhowe, necnon omnes illas
 “ capellas nostras de Leeke (mis-written for Law), Samlesbury, Saddleworth, Butterworth, &c.
 “ et advocacionem et jus patron. vicariarum eccl. p’dict. de Whalley, Blackburn, et Rachdale,
 “ dictæ nuper mon. dudum spect. ‡”

In consequence of this acquisition, archbishop Cranmer appears to have collated soon after,
 but certainly before the 7th of the same reign, Edward Pedley §, S.T. B. to the vicarage of
 Whalley. He was the first protestant vicar, and was interred Dec. 5, 1558, with this eulogy
 in the register, “ *egregius Concionator*,” a proof of care and fidelity on the part of this apos-

* See Bishop Kennet’s Case of Improvements *passim*.

† Qu. Was Trawden a mistake for Marsden?

‡ Lambeth MSS. Misc. vol. XIII. No. 21.

§ From the first half-year’s account made by Braddyll, at Michaelmas 1537, it appears that Pedley was then vicar.
 Qu. Whether he were a monk, or had been presented by Henry VIII. in the short interval between that time and the
 attainder of the House?

tolical bishop, in providing a faithful preacher for so large a parish, not always imitated by his successors *. He received £.46 from the great tithes.

After this, I find, by a receipt of archbishop Whitgift's, A. D. 1588, of which a copy is inserted in the old book marked A. C. that the vicar received out of the great tithes the sum of £.30 *per annum*.

During the usurpation, and for some time afterwards, the stipend was £.38, of which I am unable to say why it varied from the original endowment of 66 marks †.

But upon the accession of archbishop Juxon, this benefice, and the parochial chapelries dependent upon it, received a noble and most judicious augmentation by a grant of the whole Easter roll and surplice fees, which he reserved out of the rectory and tithery of Whalley upon the renewal of a lease, on condition that the several curates should receive the same within their respective cures, and should pay to the vicar for the time being, in different proportions, the sum of £.42, which, with £.38 heretofore paid, would augment the stated income of the vicarage to £.80.

By this benefaction, however, in consequence of the depreciation of money, and the great increase of population, the curates have greatly the advantage, as they now receive, in consideration of certain fixed annual payments, making up, in the whole, the above sum of £.42, besides their own surplice fees, formerly paid to the farmers of the rectory, all the customary payments due at Easter; that is to say, for communicants, for house debts, for kine, for calves, for hay, for plow, for lambs, for sheep sold, for swarms of bees, and for foals, throughout the whole rectory of Whalley, the tithery of Bowland excepted ‡.

* This is an early and happy exception to my former strictures; but it is not long before we meet with this expression in a letter to a succeeding archbishop, "Whalley hath as ill a vicar as the rest." Gilpin's Life of Gilpin.

† Immediately after the Restoration the ten Curates subscribed 40s. each, and deputed Mr. Moore to wait on Archbishop Juxon with a Petition for the Easter-roll, when a promise was obtained at the next renewal, which happened a little while before Juxon's death. Sir Ralph Assheton valued the Easter-roll at £.120, but it was found to fall considerably short of that sum. Afterwards, as the Trust was not very clearly expressed, Mr. Gey made an attempt to appropriate the whole to himself: this occasioned an Exchequer suit, which ended in a decree to this effect: "That a Trust did exist, and that the vicar should assign over to such persons as the major part of the curates should appoint."

‡ Trust Deed of 1688, pen. auct. — The most exact account of the Easter-roll is contained in an Inquisition of Survey for the Rectory of Whalley, taken by Roger Nowell, of Read, Esq. and others, A. D. 1616, in which it is thus stated: "Also for lambs and calves of all numbers under seven, for every lamb an halfpenny, and for every calf an halfpenny, at Easter. If there be odds of calves or lambs under or above seven, there must be paid one halfpenny for each below seven and ten, and so from ten to seventeen. And for swarms and foals, one of ten or seven, *ut supra*. Also, where any person sells any sheep after Candlemas, and before the same be clipped, then the seller is to pay for each, an halfpenny, at Easter. Also, for every cow a penny at Easter. For himself or herself, and every other communicant resident in his house, a penny at Easter. Also an ancient duty called house-duty and offering-days. If there be man and wife fourpence-halfpenny, except in some places of the chapelries of Burnley and Colne, where they pay threepence-halfpenny. And in both cases, where there be more married persons in the house than the housekeeper and his wife, for every such, over the said fourpence-halfpenny, threepence-halfpenny. Also for every foal a penny, every swarm a penny, under ten or seven *ut supra*; but where ten or seven they pay *ut supra*. For every plow or draft a penny, and every half plow or draft an halfpenny. For every garden within the chace of Trawden a penny." What follows, as it has become quite obsolete, is very curious: "Also the parishioners, except in the chace above-mentioned, are accustomed to pay an ancient duty called 'Holy loaf money.' Thus every year
" fifty-

On a subsequent renewal, archbishop Sancroft, also in the year 1685, gave a great fine, received by him from the lessees of Whalley, Blackburn, and Rachdale, in Lancashire, to purchase lands, and settle annual pensions, for the stipends of the curates of the chapels of ease before unprovided for*.

Lastly, the rectory of Whalley itself, after having been held under renewed leases from the time of Edward VI. by the Asshetons, and, after the marriage of the co-heiresses of the last Sir Ralph Assheton, by the families of Curzon and Lister, was, in the year 1799, alienated in perpetuity to the lessees under the sanction of an act of parliament by the present archbishop of Canterbury; and thus, after having hitherto preserved at least a shadow of its original destination to ecclesiastical uses, the whole is finally desecrated and become a lay-fee.

		Vicarii de Whalley.	Patroni.	Vacat.
Temp. in quibus occ.	1303	Johannes, vic. de Whalley	{ Abb. et conv. de Whalley }	Incert.
	1310	Ric. de Chadsden †	{ Ep. Langton, Juri devoluto }	Incert.
	1317	Ric. de Swinflet ‡	Iidem	Per resig. Chadsden.
	1336	Wm. le Wolf de Kirklahton	Iidem	Incert.
	1357	Johannes Topcliffé §	Iidem	Incert.
		Fr. Wil. Selby, postea abbas	Iidem	Incert.
		Fr. Rob. Normanville, prior	Iidem	Per resign.
		Fr. Johannes Tollerton ¶	Iidem	Incert.
	1400	Fr. Johannes Salley **, prior	Iidem	Incert.
		Fr. Rad. Cliderhow ††, postea abbas	{ Iidem }	Incert.
	1480	Fr. Wil. Dinkley ‡‡, S. T. B.	Iidem	Per res. ut videtur.
	1510	Fr. Johannes Seller §§	Iidem	Incert.
	1548	Edwardus Pedley , S. T. B.		Incert.
	Circ.			

“ fifty-two houses in every ancient chapelry in the said parish do pay a penny-halfpenny a piece; and next year fifty-two
“ other houses do the like: and the next year after, fifty-two other houses; and so from fifty-two to fifty-two, till all
“ the chapelry be gone over, then beginning again with the first, and so for ever.”

* Bishop Kennet's Case of Improvements, p. 308. Ex Reg. Lichf.

† Inst. Vic. Wh. ap. Lond. Non. Maii 1309. Ibid.

‡ Non. Jun. 1311. Licentia concessa R. de Swinflet adeundi Romam in negotio vicariæ de Whalley. Ibid.

§ Joh. de Topcliffé inst. Vic. Whall. Non. Oct. 1330. Ibid.

|| iiii Id. Julii 1379, Rob. de Normanton, Pr. et Mon. de Whalley, inst. ad Vic. de Whalley vac. per res. Ibid.

— This nearly fixes the period of Selby's election to the abbacy.

¶ Fr. Joh. de Tollyton inst. Vic. Whall. 7 Id. Jun. 1381. Ibid.

** Joh. Salley Mon. Whall. inst. Vic. Whall. Nov. 7, 1411, post res. Tollerton. Ibid.

†† Apud Haywood penult. Oct. 1426, Rad. de Cherehow (sic) inst. ad Vic. de Whalley. Ibid.

‡‡ Sept. 11th, 1453, Wm. Dinkley inst. p. res. R. de Clid.—This fixes the date of R. de Cliderhow's election. Ibid.

§§ Nov. 24, 1488, Joh. Seller Mon. inst. Vic. Whalley post mort. Wm. Dinkley. Ibid.

||| He was vicar within six months of the Dissolution. Qu. By whom presented? and whether a monk?

Circ.

	Vicarii de Whalley.	Patroni.	Vacat.
Circ.	1558 { Georgius Dobson, dec. rur. de Blackburn; sep. Maii 23, 1583. }	Arch. Cant.	Per mort.
	1583 Robertus Olbaldeston	Arch. Cant.	Per mort.
	{ Petrus Ormerod; sep. Feb. 11, 1631. }	Arch. Cant.	Incert.
	1635 Wil. Burn	Arch. Cant.	Incert.
	1651 Wil. Walker.		
	1656 Wil. Moore*.		
	1663 Steph. Gey; sep. Oct. 12, 1693.	Arch. Cant.	Per resign.
	1693 { Ric. White, A.M.; sep. Nov. 19, 1703. }	Arch. Cant.	Per mort.
	1703 { Jac. Matthews; sep. July 19, 1738. }	Arch. Cant.	Per mort.
	1738 Wil. Johnson, A.M.	Arch. Cant.	Per mort.
	1772 { Tho. Baldwin, LL.B. died at Leyland, Jan. 11, 1809. }	Arch. Cant.	Per resign.
	1809 T. D. Whitaker, LL.D.	Arch. Cant.	Per mort.

Of my Predecessors, from the Reformation to the present day, the following are the only notices which I have been able to collect.

Pedley received at his death an eulogium which has certainly not been applicable to some of his predecessors, *egregius Predicator*.

Dobson, whom Bishop Pilkington characterized as being an “ill Vicar,” appears to have been eminently illiterate.

Of Osbaldeston, I know not how nearly or how remotely he was allied to the ancient house of that name, nor what became of him. He was not interred at Whalley.

I strongly suspect Ormerod to have been a son of the parent house of Ormerod in Cliviger. He constantly resided, and appears to have done his own duty. Every entry in the Register from 1605 to 1631 is in his own hand; and it is remarkable that a baptism and burial are entered by him on the fifth day before his own interment.

Of his successor, Burn, nothing is known.

Walker was never properly vicar, having probably been intruded by the governing powers during the Usurpation.

Moore was a judicious and able divine, whose ministry must have been a blessing to the parish. By the kindness of the late Mr. Brand, Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, I am possessed of a very scarce little volume written by him, and dedicated to Sir Raphe Assheton, entitled “The grand Enquiry, who is the righteous man? or the Character of a true Believer in his Approaches towards Heaven, by William Moore, Rector at Whalley, in Lancashire.

* From the parish-accounts, it appears that he resigned his vicarage A. D. 1663. He removed to Rothwell, in Yorkshire, where he died A. D. 1664; and being styled, in his epitaph, Minister of that parish, I suspect that he only resigned Whalley for a better benefice, though I once supposed him to have gone out upon the Bartholomew Act.

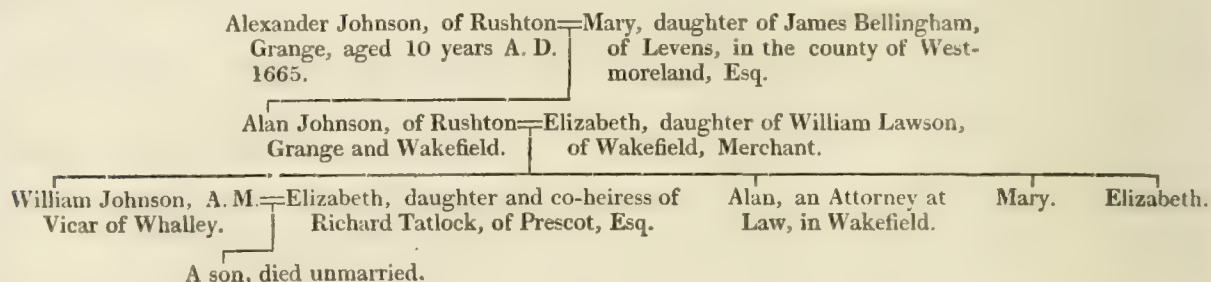
London, 1657." The orthodoxy, piety, and good sense of this little work, lead me to suspect that Whalley had the best minister under the worst government.

Stephen Gey was incumbent and resident upon this benefice thirty years: he appears to have been a discreet and prudent man.

Richard White, A. M. of Emanuel College, Cambridge, for now we arrive on the confines of recollection, was vicar ten years. I find in the parish accounts that on coming to take possession of the benefice he was met with great ceremony by the principal inhabitants, and that the penthouse window behind the pulpit was made for his accommodation.

He was succeeded by James Matthews, whom I may be allowed to call, as Bishop Godwin called his own predecessor Kitchin, the great dilapidator of the see of Landaff, *fundi nostri calamitatem*. He was a needy man, of whom I have but too convincing proofs that he took money for presentations to the curacies, and that he set the lowest offices, such as those of parish clerk and sexton, to sale. By his means too, and not without a valuable consideration, the patronage of six, if not seven, of the curacies was alienated from the vicarage under the 1st George I. His example, however, appears to have operated as a warning to the dignified patrons of the living of Whalley, never more to intrust so poor a benefice with so rich a patronage annexed to it, in the hands of any but a man of property.

On the decease of Matthews, Archbishop Potter presented William Johnson, A. M. of Magdalen College, Cambridge, a native of Wakefield, and related to himself. He was of the Johnsons of Rushton Grange, in Bowland.



On his accession to the benefice he found the ancient vicarage house, by the supineness of his predecessor, ready to fall to the ground; he therefore applied to his patron Archbishop Potter, who generously bestowed a quantity of excellent oak from the rectorial glebe sufficient to rebuild it. With this material help he began the work, and has left it on record that he expended three years income of his benefice on the structure, which is so durably and excellently finished, that more than thirty years of utter neglect, which would have reduced a flimsy fabric of the present day to rubbish, had little perceptible effect upon it. Mr. Johnson was a man of strong understanding, a keen and caustic wit, and an unconquerable spirit, which last quality he displayed in many disputes with his parishioners, who were always worsted, but above all in a contest with Archbishop Secker and his Diocesan Bishop Keene for the patronage of the valuable curacy of Newchurch in Rossendale.

On this occasion that great and excellent metropolitan was so ill advised as to lay claim to the presentation of all the unalienated curacies in the parish as appropriator. In order to establish his claim, a search was instituted at his request by Bishop Keene in the Registry at Chester.

Chester, which, instead of producing any precedents of nominations by the appropriator, led to the discovery of an unattested copy of a decree of the Commissioners of Pious Uses in the reign of Edward VI. vesting the patronage of the Chapel of Rossendale in the Bishop of the Diocese.

This brought forward a second competitor in the Diocesan himself; but, to the infinite advantage of his successors, Johnson maintained so firm and even menacing an attitude, that, after three years of legal skirmishing, during which the question was never brought to an issue, both the prelates fairly gave up the point, and Bishop Keene was contented to licence his antagonist's presentee.

This question should never have been moved at all, but this event has set it at rest for ever.

Mr. Johnson resigned the living of Whalley, May 1, 1776, and survived to the year 1792. He was interred in the church of Prescott, where he had spent the last years of his life. He left a multitude of papers relating to his transactions as Vicar of Whalley, which having been carefully arranged and bound up by the present Incumbent, form a folio volume. Among these are many original Letters from Archbishop Secker, Bishop Keene, &c. a few of which, relating to his spirited contest for the rights of patronage belonging to his church, are here subjoined.

“ To the Bishop of CHESTER.

“ MY LORD,

Oct. 20, 1762.

“ I was this morning surprized with an account of Mr. S. being refused a licence to the Curacy of Rossendale upon my nomination; for what reason I cannot conceive, since I apprehend there can be no doubt of my right. It is very extraordinary that there should be no claims of this kind before my time, and so many since. I cannot recollect that anything has been done since I became vicar to prejudice the rights and privileges of the Rectory * of Whalley, but much in support of them; so that, if ever the right of nomination to Rossendale Chapel belonged to the Vicars of Whalley, it still remains so, and whoever the person is that pretends to a right of nomination, may with equal justice dispute his Grace of Canterbury's right of presentation to the Vicarage of Whalley, and is as well entitled to the one as the other. Not to trouble your Lordship any longer on this subject, I should be glad your Lordship would do me the honour to enquire into the reasons why my clerk has been rejected, and why my antagonist is concealed from me, seeing I cannot well proceed before I know my adversary, and am desirous of putting an end to this dispute with all expedition, as it is a populous chapelry, and the parishioners may suffer inconveniences for want of a minister, &c.

W. J.”

“ SIR,

“ I have received your letter, expressing your surprize that your nomination to Rossendale Chapel is not accepted, because there can be no doubt of your right. In your mind there is none; but in others there is, or you would not have met with obstruction. You say the person who litigates this point with you might as well litigate the Archbishop's right to the Presentation of the Vicarage of Whalley; but that is not likely to be; for it is the Archbishop

* A slip of the pen for Vicarage.

himself, who, on having been applied to by various persons for the Curacy, has looked into his papers, and thinks he has a right, and means to prosecute it; and why they, who refused Mr. S. his licence, should have concealed it, I cannot tell, for it was not intended to be a secret by any one. I must acquaint you farther, that since the Archbishop has entered his caveat, I have reason to think that I have some right to this Chapel; and if the arguments should prove as solid as they appear specious, I shall prosecute my right against his Grace and you too.

“Notwithstanding what I have said, unless I am well satisfied in my own mind that my claim is well grounded, I will not create you vexation and expence; and I am sure I can venture to affirm the same of my friend the Archbishop, &c. E. C.”

“May it please your Grace.

“I am concerned to hear, by a letter from my good Lord of Chester, that your Grace is the person who has entered a caveat against my nomination to Rossendale Chapel—an adversary I did not suspect: and moreover, should I get clear of your Grace, his Lordship is so generous as to declare that I am in some danger from *him*. It would have pleased me better to have had less powerful opponents; but, since it happens so, neither your Grace nor his Lordship will, I hope, be offended at my doing my utmost in defence of what I think my right; and if your Grace would honour me with your reasons for opposing me, it would add to the favours received by W. J.”

SIR,

Lambeth, Nov. 11, 1762.

“My reason for desiring that the Bishop of Chester would not immediately licence any person to serve the Cure of Rossendale, was, that applications were made to me as Patron of it, the Impropiator being thought to be such of common right, and the nomination to the Chapels being expressly reserved to the Archbishop, in the lease of the Rectory.

“I have not, hitherto, been able to inform myself sufficiently concerning the strength of this argument: but I am very willing to hear any thing which you have to alledge on the other side, and hope a contest by law may thus be prevented: but, if it cannot, your endeavours to defend your claim will give no offence to, &c. T. CANT.”

“May it please your Grace.

“It appears that the Vicar of Whalley for the time being has always nominated to the chapels within the Rectory of Whalley; nor have any of your Grace’s predecessors, of whom I have seen several (and most of the Chapels have been vacant in my time), ever made any claim.

“The nomination to the Chapels being expressly reserved to the Archbishop, in the lease of the Rectory, can only be intended as a bar to the Lessee, who, without such an exception, might possibly be entitled to the patronage both of the Vicarage and Chapels; but, by such a reservation, the Archbishop’s right is secured, which right, by his Grace’s presentation, devolves upon the Vicar, he being instituted and inducted to all and singular the rights, privileges, &c. thereunto belonging. This I apprehend to be the situation of all livings impropriate. I know no instance of an incumbent not nominating to the Chapels under him, except where his right has been legally alienated. I would not presume to make the least encroachment on your Grace’s rights; and it gives me great uneasiness that there should be any doubt, at this day, to whom the nomination belongs, &c. W. J.”

“To

“ To the Bishop of CHESTER.

“ MY LORD,

“ As, probably, there may never again be a Vicar of Whalley in circumstances to assert his rights, I would willingly fix them on such a footing as to put them out of the power of dispute.

If your Lordship's pretensions have no other foundation than the Decree supposed to be passed in the Duchy Court, I am persuaded that the rights and privileges of the Rectory of Whalley are in no danger, as that decree contains nothing that can affect them; and for this plain reason, because neither Patron nor Incumbent are parties; and therefore nothing foisted into the Decree, by artifice or iniquity, can operate so as to vest a right in your Lordship against the Vicar.”

In these Letters there was more of law and reason than either the Patron or Diocesan knew how to answer; and, accordingly, the first was silent; and the second, after some skirmishing, fairly gave up the cause, in the following elegant Letter:—

“ REV. SIR,

“ The contest between you and me, concerning the patronage of the Church in Rossendale, took its rise accidentally, from some papers being found while my officers were searching into the claim of the Archbishop.

“ When the different foundations of my right were drawn together, they did appear to me, and others whom I consulted, to be of validity enough to form a pretension to the nomination of that Chapel, and I then acquainted you with such my intention.

“ After I despaired of finding the original Decree, I stated my case, and laid my materials before Mr. Wilbraham, with a resolution either of proceeding at Law, or desisting from my claim, as his opinion should direct me; and as it is his opinion that the materials I produced would not support a trial at Bar, I did immediately determine to give up my pretensions.

“ I should at that time have written to you, and declared my readiness to licence your Clerk, if I had not thought it incumbent upon me to enquire whether the Archbishop had still any objections to your nomination. His Grace did not, with his usual exactness, answer my letter. On my return to town, last week, I waited upon him; and he then apologized for not writing, from his having been making some farther researches into this affair, and desired I would give him a little more time.

“ On these facts, which I affirm to be true, I think I can vindicate myself from the charge of unnecessary delay.

“ Whatever others may think or say on this subject, I please myself with reflecting, that I neither wantonly formed my pretensions, nor prosecuted them peevishly. I can easily conceive that a clamour may have been made, not only among the Laity, but some of the Clergy too, against a Bishop endeavouring, as it may be called, to deprive one of his Clergy of his right; but, as I have suffered, in different parts of my life, from my conduct having been misrepresented or misapprehended, I have long learnt to be content with the approbation of my own mind, not indifferent, yet not over-solicitous, about the precarious judgment of other men.

ED. CHESTER.”

The

The next Incumbency affords no materials for narrative or remark.

May the present Incumbent be permitted, for the sake of truth and accuracy, on a subject however unimportant, to subjoin the following facts and dates.

Thomas Dunham Whitaker, the author of this work, was born June 8th, 1759, in the parsonage-house of Rainham, Norfolk, which is the subject of a singular story, recorded by Sir Henry Spelman. — In the reign of Charles I. Sir Roger Townshend, purposing to rebuild his house at Rainham, conveyed a large quantity of stones for the purpose, from the ruins of Coxford Abbey, in the neighbourhood. These stones, as often as any attempt was made to build them up in this unhallowed edifice, obstinately gave way. The owner next tried them in the construction of a bridge; the arch of which, in like manner, suddenly shrunk. He then piously determined to apply them to the rebuilding of the parsonage-house, where they quietly remained till about the year 1764, when they were once more removed by the late Viscount, afterwards Marquis Townshend, to another place, and the site of the original manse, of which the foundations are still visible North West from the church, was taken into the park. The strange wanderings of this *Casa Santa* are now, probably, at an end. The writer's father was, in 1759, curate of that parish; but his older brother dying unmarried, in the beginning of the following year, he came, Oct. 3, 1760, to reside at his paternal house at Holme, which had never been out of the occupation of the family, from the reign of Henry VI.

In November, 1766, the writer of this was placed under the care of the Rev. John Shaw, of Rochdale, an excellent grammarian and teacher. In 1771 he became sickly, and apparently declined, so as to be incapable of any attention to books till the year 1774, when he was placed in the family of the Rev. Wm. Sheepshanks, at Grassington, in Craven, an airy and healthful situation.

In November of that year he was admitted of St. John's College, Cambridge, where he went to reside Oct. 3, 1775. In November, 1780, he took the degree of LL.B. intending to pursue the profession of the Civil Law, which he studied, for two years, with great attention. But in June, 1782, his father having died, after a week's illness, he settled upon his paternal estate, which for thirty years he has continued to improve and adorn, by successive plantations.

In August, 1785, he was ordained Deacon at Rosecastle by Dr. John Law, Bishop of Clonfert; and in July, the following year, received the order of priesthood from the same prelate, both without title.

In 1788, having previously recovered, by a donation of £.400, the patronage of the Chapel of Holme, which had been founded by one of his ancestors, with the aid of some liberal subscriptions, but at an expence of £.470 to himself, he re-built it, the old edifice being mean and dilapidated.

In 1797, he was licensed to the perpetual curacy of Holme, on his own nomination.

In July, 1799, he qualified as a Magistrate for the county of Lancaster; and, in the next year but one, for the West Riding of the county of York.

At the Cambridge Commencement, 1801, he completed the degree of LL.D.

In the month of January, 1809, he was presented, by the present Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Vicarage of Whalley, the great object of his wishes.

For this favour, besides his Grace's own generous disposition to reward a stranger who had
written

written the History of the Parish, he was also indebted to the recommendation of that learned and excellent prelate, Dr. Cleaver, formerly his diocesan, and then Bishop of Bangor, whose many instances of friendly attention he remembers with gratitude, and whose recent death he deeply deplores.

I must now turn back to a temporary and curious state of ecclesiastical affairs, within this and the neighbouring parishes, which was happily terminated in the restoration of the old Episcopal Government, in the year 1660. Few ecclesiastical documents of this period remain.

In the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth is a MS. marked 912, which throws considerable light on the state of our church-establishment in this parish during the usurpation of the last century.—It is an inquisition taken at Blackburn, June 25th, 1650, before Richard Shuttleworth, esq. and others, by commission under the commonwealth seal for enquiring and certifying the number and value of all parochial vocations, &c. within the parishes of Whalley, Blackburn, and Rochdale.—After the restoration, this document was found among the records of the House of Commons; and, by an order of that House, delivered into the hands of Archbishop Juxon, the proper depositary.

By this inquisition, it is found, 1st, that the parish of Whalley consists of 35 townships; that Mr. Wm. Walker, an able and orthodox divine, is now minister, and receives from Mr. Thomas Assheton, farmer of the rectory, a stipend of £.38.

2d. That the chapelry of Padiham is parochial, consisting of the townships of Padiham, Hapton, Simonstone, and Higham Booth, containing 232 families and 1106 souls:—The minister, John Breares, A. M. who receives a stipend of £.6. 19s. 2d. from the receiver of the county, and £.33 from the county commissioners; and that the inhabitants desire to be made a parish.

2d. That the chapelry of Coln consists of that township, Foulrig, Marsden, and Trawden, containing, in the whole, 400 families:—That the minister, John Horrocks, A. M. an able divine, receives £.11. 10s. from the farmer of the rectory, by order of the county commissioners; and that the inhabitants desire to be made a parish.

3d. That the chapelry of Clitheroe consists of that township, Chatburn, Worston, Mereley, and Heyhouses; in all, about 400 families:—That the minister, Mr. Robert Marsden, an able divine, receives £.11 10s. out of the dutchy rents, and £.25 from the commissioners of the county; and that the inhabitants desire to be made a parish.

4th. That the chapelry of Downham, containing in that township 300 families, and in Twiston 40, is parochial:—That the minister, George Whitaker, A. M. receives £.10 from the farmer of the rectory, and £.30 from the county commissioners; and that the inhabitants desire to be a parish.

5th. That Accrington is not parochial; that it consists of the township of Accrington *vetus et nova*, &c. containing 200 families:—The minister, Mr. Roger Kenyon, an able and orthodox divine; and that the inhabitants desire to be made a parish.

6th. That Altham is parochial, consisting of Altham and part of Clayton, which contain 150 families:—Minister, Mr. Thomas Jolly, an able divine, who receives £.10 from the rectory, and £.30 from the commissioners: the inhabitants desire to be made a parish. That,

7th. Brerecleve and Extwistle, being distant from Whalley five miles, and from any other chapel almost six *, and consisting of 100 families, desire to erect a chapel for themselves.

8th. That the inhabitants of Newlaund, Reedley Hallows, Filly Close, and Ightenhill Park, distant one and a half mile from Burnley, desire to be united to that church, and to be made a parish.

9th. That the chapelry of Burnley consists of that township, Haberghameaves, and Worst-horn, and contains upwards of 300 families:—The minister, Mr. Henry Morris, an able and orthodox divine, receives from the dutchy £.11. 10s. from the inhabitants £.4. 8s. 2d. and from the commissioners £.24. 1s. 10d.

10th. That the chapel of Holme has no minister or maintenance, but that the inhabitants desire that it may be made a parish church, and that the parish consist of Cliviger, Worsthorn, and Hurstwood; in all, 100 families.

11th. That the chapelry of Church consists of Church, Oswaldtwisle, Huncote, and part of Clayton, containing 200 families; and that the minister, James Rigby, A.M. receives £.10 from the rectory, and £.30 from the county commissioners. The inhabitants desire to be made a parish.

12th. That Henthorn, Coldcoats, and Wiswall, desire to be continued to the parish church.

13th. That the chapelry of Haslingden consists of that township and part of Rossendale; viz. Newhallhey, part of Rawtonstall Booth, Oakenhead Booth, Constable Lee Booth, and part of Crawshaw Booth; in all, 300 families:—Minister, Mr. Robert Gilbert, suspended by the divines†. The inhabitants desire to be made a parish. Number of families, 300.

13th. That Newchurch, in Pendle, is parochial, the chapelry consisting of most part of Pendle Forest, and containing 150 families:—That the minister, Mr. Edward Lapage, an able divine, receives £.39 from the commissioners of the county:—That Weetlee and Roughlee desire to be annexed and made a parish.

14th. That Goodshaw, not parochial, has a chapelry consisting of 70 families; but no minister or maintenance, saving a messuage and backside, value 10s.; but that the inhabitants desire to be made a parish.

15th. That Whytewell, not parochial, has a chapelry of 116 families, but no minister or maintenance. The inhabitants desire to be made a parish.

16th. That Newchurch, in Rossendale, is parochial, and consists of Dedwen Clough, Tunsted, Wolfenden Booth, and part of Wolfenden and Bakcop; in all, 300 families:—Minister, Mr. Robert Dewhurst, an able divine, who receives no allowance but what the inhabitants give, who desire to be made a parish‡.

Thus we see, that out of one overgrown parish it was proposed, to the Commissioners, to carve no less than 17; a change of little importance in itself, and probably intended to answer

* These distances are not accurate, but the request was reasonable. Indeed, a place of worship is exceedingly wanted in this remote and uncivilized tract.

† That is, I suppose, by the Classis. We are not informed what was the offence.

‡ What was now become of the valuable estate belonging to this Church, which escaped the Commissioners of pious uses, under Edward VI. and still belongs to it?

no other purpose than that of placing the Clergy on a footing of entire equality, better suited to the genius of a republic than subordination. Let not these men, however, be defrauded of the praise which they really deserve; for, if they made their ministers equal, they paid them almost equally well; and, if none of their preferments were adequate to the rewards of superior merit, all afforded enough to raise them above sordid poverty, and to secure them from utter contempt.

And, for the incumbents themselves, though bigoted beyond measure to a government in which every one was flattered by bearing a part, though narrow in their tempers and detestable in their politics, yet, by zeal and diligence in their ministry, by sobriety, and even severity in their conversation, they had acquired an influence over the minds of their hearers, which too many, who followed them, under a better establishment, have forfeited and lost.—Hence the formidable separation which took place on the subsequent exclusion of these men from their pulpits; and hence, in part, the origin of modern sects, almost without number and without name, which threaten, but too obviously, the downfall of our civil and ecclesiastical establishments. Dislike, indeed, will always be conceived, with or without cause, against every thing which bears the stamp of legal authority; but this is a reason for more, and not less circumspection in the clergy:—"Offences will come; but woe unto that man," and above all, to that minister, "by whom the offence cometh."—Under the present state of ecclesiastical discipline, too little can be done by the most conscientious diocesan.—Of fornication, adultery, incest, though notorious enough to scandalize a whole neighbourhood, it is not easy to procure legal evidence. But a process like the *Fama clamosa* in the Church of Scotland, (which condemns, with great reason, him who, above all others, ought to abstain from the "appearance of evil," and will not,) would remove the bold offender, who now defies authority, and disgraces his functions with impunity.—Let not this short digression be thought unseasonable: it is, unhappily, very far from being unconnected with the present subject.

Yet, the ample testimonies here given to the *ability* of these men, are to be received with some degree of caution. Several of them, however, were graduates; and Jolly, who distinguished himself long afterwards, in a scene which will be noticed below, though credulous, and perhaps enthusiastic, was not devoid of literature. How they became possessed of their benefices, and with what circumstances of justice or cruelty their predecessors were excluded, we are no-where told*. The presbyterian discipline was set up in this county as early as 1645 or 1646, and is known to have continued till the year 1650, in which this inquisition was taken†. The whole county was divided into nine classes; but in which of these the parish of Whalley was included, I have not been able to learn, as none of their proceedings are extant but those of the second class, consisting of Bury, Bolton, Middleton, Rochdale, Radcliffe, and Dean; and these exhibit a medley of carelessness, injustice, and disorder, which prove that men not altogether unqualified to teach, may yet be very unfit to govern‡.

* "Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy," p. i. p. 40.—One of their proceedings was, to deny baptism to base children: another was, to thrust unordained persons (unordained even by their own forms) into churches and chapels, from whence, after proof of ignorance or misconduct, they removed them with equal facility, annulling all the baptisms they had administered.

† It seems then to have been superseded by the Independent or Congregational plan.

‡ Since this was printed off, I have been favoured, by the late L. P. Starkie, esq. of Huntroyd, with an original MS. formerly belonging to Mr. Alexander Norris, of Hall in the Wood, near Bolton, entitled "Ministers Orders." From this

At the close of the last century, Whalley became the scene of a long and desperate conflict, which was carried on by prayers, arguments, and mutual defiances, between nine Puritan

book it appears, that every Hundred in the county had its Classis, under the Presbyterian Government. It is dated 1649. I transcribe the following particulars relating to the Hundred of Blackburne :—

Mr. John Bell, Minister at Accrington Chappel.

By an Order of this Comm. 5th Dec. 1645, there is 40*l. p. an.* allowed to an able Divine at Accrington Chap.

Mr. Bell is approved by the Classis att Whalley, 9th Nov. 1647.

Mr. John Bryars, Min^r at Padiam.

By an Order of the Com. of this County, 13 Jul. 1648, there is 33*l. 10s. per an.* allowed to Mr. John Bryars, Min^r of Padiham, and 25*l. 2s. 6d.* due in arrears att Midsomer before.

Mr. Bryars is nominated in the Ordinance for the Classis.

Mr. Henry Morres, Min^r at Burneley.

By an Order from the Com. of this County, Jul. 13, 1648, there is 24*l. 6s. per an.* allowed to Mr. Hen. Morres, and 18*l. 4s.* due in arrears at Midsomer before.

Mr. Morres is nominated in the Ordinance for the Classis.

Mr. Rich. Redman, Min^r of Lowchurch, in Walton.

By Order of the Committee, there is 40*l. per an.* allowed to Mr. Redman, Min^r of Low Ch.

Mr. Redman is nominated in the printed Ordinance for the Classis. Hee is p^d till the 14 Aug. 1647.

Mr. Rob. Marsden, Min^r att Clytherow.

Itt appeares, by the certificate of John Howorthe, that ther is payd from Mr. Ashton, of Whaley, to the Min^r of Clitherow, 11*l. 10s.* and from the King 3*l. 10s.* And by Order of the Com. of this County, of the 20th Nov. 1645, there is allowed to Mr. Rob. Marsden 25*l.* augmentation, to make upp the rest 40*l. per an.*

Mr. Marsden is approved, by the Com. of Divines at Preston, Aug. 12, 1645.

Mr. James Shaw, Min^r at Balderston Chappel.

By Order of the Com. of this County, 25th Sept. 1646, ther is 40*l. per ann.* allowed for a Min^r at Balderston.

Hee was approved on, as Min^r at Balderston, by the Com. of Divines, att Bolton, July 7th, 1646. He is paid upp till the 8th of Oct. 1647, by Charles Gregory.

Mr. Jonas Browne, Min^r at New Church, in Pendle.

By Order of the Com. of Lanc. 2d Feb. 1647, ther is allowed him and his successors 40*l. per an.* and 20*l.* then in arreare.

Hee is approved on, by the Comm. of Ministers at Whalley, March 11th, 1646.

Mr. John Worthington, Min^r at Tockholes Chappel.

By an Order of this Comm. of the 25th Dec^r 1646, there is 40*l. per an.* allowed to an orthodox Divine, to officiate the Cure at Tockholes Chappel.

Mr. Worthington was ordained at Manchester, for Ouldham, 15th April 1647.

Mr. George Whittaker, Min^r att Downham.

By Order of the Com. of this County, 13 Jul. 1648, there is 30*l. per an.* allowed to Mr. Geo. Whittaker, Min^r of Downham, and 15*l.* then in arreare ordered to be payd him.

Mr. Whittaker is approved by the Com. of Min^r April 1st, 1645.

Mr. John Horrox, Min^r att Colne.

By an Order from the Dep. Lieutenants, of the 26th June, 1645, there is 13*l. 10s.* augmentation allowed to Mr. John Horrox, Min^r at Colne.

Mr. Horrox is approved, by the Comm. of Divines, the first of April 1645.

Mr. James Rigby, Min^r at Church Kirke.

By an Order from the Com. of this Countie, of the 3d Aug. 1648, there is 30*l. per an.* allowed to Mr. James Rigby, Min^r at Church Kirk, and his successors there

Mr. Rigby was ordained, by the Presbytery of Blackborne, at Church Kirke, 1st. of Aug. 1648.

Mr. Rich. Redman, Min^r at Law Church.

By an Order from the Com. for plund^d Min^{rs}, of April 21, 1647, there is 40*l. per an.* out of the Rectory of Exton, sequestered from James Anderton, Pap. allowed to a Min^r at Low Church.

Mr. Redman is nominated, in the Ordinance, for the Classis.

Mr.

ministers, at the head of whom was the above-mentioned Thomas Jolly, and a supposed demoniac of Surey (now Surey Barn) named Richard Dugdale.—After all, it is more than probable, that the man was either a lunatic or impostor: the latter, undoubtedly, if we are to believe the tradition of the place, which reports that he was effectually exorcised by a threatened commitment from a neighbouring magistrate.

Of this transaction, however, the triumphant party, for so they deemed themselves, thought fit to publish a most injudicious and ill-written narrative, which has been employed by an acute, though concealed enemy of Christianity, to discredit the miracles of the primitive Church; and through them, it is to be feared, those of the Gospel itself*. They thought themselves happy, no doubt, in their exemption from the restraint which a canon of the Church† imposes upon such adventures; but the event has abundantly proved the wisdom of a constitution, which vests in the ordinary a right to prohibit the intermeddling of hot-headed and credulous men in circumstances so delicate and suspicious. It is to be observed, that Mr. Gey, the Vicar of Whalley, though applied to, prudently forbore to interfere.

The remote situation of Whalley, and the adjoining benefices, was probably the occasion of

Mr. Alex. Gilbert, Min^r at Tockholes Chap.

By an Order of the Com. of this Countie, of the 25th of Dec^r 1646, there is 40*l. per an.* allowed to an orthodox Divine, to officiate at Tockholes Chap.

Mr. Gilbert was ordained Min^r here Apr. 10th, 1649.

Mr. Edward Lapage, Min^r at New Church, in Pendle Forrest.

By an Order, formerly entered for Mr. Browne, there is 40*l. per an.* allowed.

Mr. Lapage is approved by the Classis, at Whaley, 8th of May 1648.

Mr. Joshua Bernard, Min^r at Over Darwin Chap.

By an Order of the Com. at Manchester, of the of Jan. 1648, there is 40*l. per an.* allowed to Mr. Bernard, Min^r at Over Darwin, together with the arrears due unto him.

By a Certificate of the Inhabitants of the Chappelrie of Over Darwin, it appears that Mr. Bernard () in arreare for twoe yeares and a q^r, ending the 3d of Dec^r 1649.

Mr. Bernard was ordeined the 4th of Dec^r 1649, at the Chappel of Over Darwin, by the Classis of Blackborne Hundred.

Mr. Richard Smethurst, Min^r at Samsbury Chappel.

By an Order of 13 Dec. 1649, here is 40*l. per an.* allowed to Mr. Rich. Smethurst, Min^r at Samsbury Chappel, and the arreares due unto him.

Mr. Smethurst was ord^d by the Minst. of Blackborne Classis, and sent to Samlisbury Chappell by them the 4th of Dec. 1649.

By a Certificate the 10th Dec^r, under the handes of the Chappelrie, it appeares that he hath served here 20 weekes.

(On a loose piece of paper.)

By Order of the Comm. of this Countie, of 18th Oct. 1649, there is 40*l. per an.* allowed to Mr. James Critchly, Min^r at Langoe Chappel, and 20*l.* for his arrear.

Mr. Critchley was approved for that place by the Classis, at Whally, 10th Jul. 1649.

(Under LOYNSDALE Hundred.)

In another Hand: } Mr John King, Min^r at Chipping.
This should be in }
Blackborne Hund. }

By Order from the Committee of plundered Min^{rs}, 17th June 1647, allowed 27th Aug. following, there is 50*l. per an.* allowed out of the Tythes of Chipping, sequestered from Christopher Harris, delinquent, to John King, Min^r of the Par. Church of Chipping.

* See Dr. Middleton's Inquiries into the Miraculous Powers, p. 232.

† Vide 72d canon.

some neglect on the part of archbishop Parker, of which he was admonished by bishop Pilkington, a native of Lancashire. “Your cures all,” saith he, “except Rachdale, be as far out of order as the worst in all the country. The old vicar of Blackburn* resigned for a pension, and now liveth with Sir John Byron. Whalley hath as ill a vicar as the worst†.” This state of things produced the following spirited memorial, in which the unknown writer, with great appearance both of law and reason, strikes at the root of the grievance, and boldly maintains, that the benefices in question were actually disappropriated, and became presentative again. I have very lately met with this memoir among the Towneley manuscripts.

“Instruction for my L^d of Canterburie’s Benefices in Lancashire.

1st. It appereth by the original donations that there was a simple grant, or guift, of the advowsons and patronages onlie of the parishes and churches of Ratchdale, Blackburn, and Whalley, unto the Abbey of Whalley, as within is mentioned.

2d. The saide churches at the tyme of the saide sev’all donacions thearof were wholly ancyent, presentable benefices; and from tyme to tyme before had been occupied and possessed by ecclesiastical incumbents, and nev^r till afterwards weare thralld and subjected to the state of Romish impositions.

3d. Aft^r that the saide Abbye was possessed and invested in the patronage of the saide sev’all churches and parishes, the abbot and co’veut there did then make suite to the b^p of Roome for the perpetual appropriations of the saide churches and parishes to the saide Abbey; and that a vicar perpetual might be ordayned in every of the saide sev’all churches and parishes, to have cure of sowle, and to be endowed with a certain penc’on of monye, and glebe lands for their mayntenance; which was grawnted accordingly, as may and doth appear.

4th. It^m. By this kind of Romish dispensacyon and popish apostolical ordinac’on (as they tearme it) the saide churches of free presentable benefices were made poore appropriated vicarages; and soe ev’ since have contynued and remayned, as to my lord of Canterburie’s grace himselfe is not unknowen.

5th. It^m. The late king Hen. VIII. of famous memorie, depely considering the heavie yokes and intolerable bondage wherwith all his lovyng subjects were greavously oppressed, thro the tyrannie of the Bishop of Roome, in these and other his dispensations and Romish impositions, did therefore enact and ordayne, in his High Courte of Parlëment, y^t all faculties, dispensations, and appropriations whatsoever, heretofore procured from ye see of Roome, should bee utterly voyded and of none effect.

6th. It^m. Forasmuch as ye saide impropriations did procede, and take their authority, from that dispensing power and seat of iniquity, and therefore were most justlye abolished and annihilated in law, by this meanes it came to passe that all benefices by authoritie from the see of Rome, were disappropriated, and brought again to the ancient state of presentative benefices.

7. It^m. For the better explyning of ye desolution of the appropriations papistical above mencioned, for so much as ye same were not onlie derogatorie to ye true religion and service of Almightye God, but alsoe were verie prejudicial to the ancyent prerogative and royal

* Dobson.

† See Strype’s Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 182.

dignities of the Imperial Crowne of this realme, it was and is further enacted, in statute above mentioned, that whosoever shal plead in anie court any dispensacyon or appropriacion proceeding from ye Courte of Roome shal therby incur ye penalty of premunire made 16 Ri. IId.

8. It^m. Although the statute aforesaide touching the exonerating of ye people of this realme from popish oppression and foreign impositions, was repeled A. 1 Mar. ; yet ye same among others is effectuallye revived A 1 of oure sov'reign ladie Qu. Eliz. as to those who are learned in ye laws is well knowen.

9th. It^m. Forsomuch as after dissolution of ye saide impropriations, by force of ye statutes above mentioned, the s^d abbot and co'vent did nev^r seeke for nor obtayne at ye Kinges Maj^s hands, nor at ye ordinarie of ye diocese anie new impropriacion in law, but only continued the former usurpation and wrongful intrusion into ye state of ye saide churches, and soe contynued ye same until the dissolution of the then s^d abbey and monasterie. By this it is apparent that ye s^d abbot and convente, at ye verie instant tyme of ye dissolution of ther saide monasterie, had noe other state in ye churches and benefices of R. B. and W. but only *jus presentandi*.

10th. It^m. Wher by the Act of Dissolution of Monasteries ye Kinge's Majestie had noe other state geven to him than onely such interest and state as was invested and remayned in ye saide abbot and covente, which was onely *jus presentandi*, it behoved Mr. Cranemerr, then archbushop of Canterburie, to have sought a further right and interest in ye saide benefices then eyther remayned in ye s^d abbot and co'vente or in ye Kinge's Majestie at that tyme ; which because he did not, it doth consequentlie follow that ther was no state of impropriation in him at all.

11. It^m. If the King's Maj's letters patent be allowed as of force to make ye saide benefices impropriations, to this it may be answered, that ye law of ye land requires consente of ye bushop diocesan, together with ye incumbent, and a sufficient reservation and endowment of ye frutes, both for reliefe of ye poore and maintenance of ye vicars ; all which rights and circumstances ought to be expressed in a solemn authenthical instrument of real composition ; but in these p'tended impropriations of R. B. and W. there is not observed anie such course of law at all (other than from ye pope).

12. It^m. Forsomuch as no lawful state of impropriation in ye saide church remained or was invested in Mr. Cranemerr, then a'b'p, it must needes follow y^t ye said a'b'p had no right nor authoritie in law to dymise and sett to ferme ye saide benefices.

13. It^m. If either the Kinge's Maj's prerogative royal, or anie other objection, be laide forth to weaken ye truth of ye p'misses, yet ye strength of ye comune law of the lande, together wth ye statutes of H. IV. Ri. II. and H. VIII. doe apparently carrie such force in right, equitie, and conscience, agst these and such like impropriations, as before anie indifferent judge will make the truth hereof manifest.

14. It^m. The p'misses considered, it behoveth my L^d of Canterburie his Grace, not onlie to have a care of his owne due right in ye p'misses, but alsoe to provide better maintenance for the ministers serving in ye se'rall cures of these benefices ; which being grete p'shes, and contayning among them well nigh 4000* households in all, it is good reason that ye state of their

* Compare this with the present state of population in these parishes, at the end of this Volume.

churches, ye government of ye people, ye right of their tithes, &c. be gravely and depely considered.

And this the rather for that the inhabitants of these three parishes (under colour of pretended leases from Mr. Cranemerr) have bene oppressed wth exactions and fines to ye sum of 6000 marks and above. Yet ye poore people are forced, at their owne proper costs and charges, to allow and paye manie of their ministers wages serving at ye chapells in ye saide p'shes."

With respect to the operation of the Statute 1st George I. on the rights of Mother Churches over the augmented Chapels which are declared benefices, and those of which the patronage is alienated, the following clause will prove that they remain what they were:—
 "That no rector or vicar of the Mother Church, having cure of souls within the parish or place
 "where such augmented church or chapel shall be situate, shall thereby be divested or dis-
 "charged from the same: but the cure of souls, with all other parochial rights and duties,
 "shall hereafter remain in the same state, plight, and manner, as before the making of this act,
 "and as if this act had not been made."—1 Geo. I. c. x. § 4.

So groundless is the doubt of Dr. Burn, whether, in such augmented cures, the duty of canonical obedience, heretofore owing by the curate to the rector or vicar, does not cease.



BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND RAMIFICATIONS OF *PROPERTY.*

IN that obscure period which intervened between the final retreat of the Romans, and the origin of the Northumbrian kingdom, this wild and remote tract appears to have been once more reduced almost to a state of nature; for, though not absolutely depopulated, it must have been thinly sprinkled and feebly occupied by the poor depressed remnant of its aboriginal inhabitants. Accordingly, no vestiges of their language can be traced but in the names of great natural objects, which belong to a much earlier period, no remains of their works*, and no memorials of their habitations.

The Saxons, therefore, are to be considered with respect to this portion of Britain, almost in the light of prime occupants: they seem to have had nearly an universal blank before them, without fortresses to subdue, or towns to seize, or names of artificial objects to continue. Unlike the Norman Conquest, which, five centuries after, transmitted into the hands of new masters a country already built and planted, a system of society already formed, a local nomenclature already established, this revolution gave birth to a new æra of manners, language, and religion. Hence it appears, not only that our villare is almost entirely Saxon, but that our local names are generally formed from those of the first Saxon possessors, combined with some attribute of place, as the cot of *Hun*, the home of *Elvet*, the boundary of *Oswald*†.

Or, if intended to express some peculiar circumstance in the situation of a village, still the name is significant in the Saxon language, as *Clayton*, *Brunley*, *Merelay*, *Downum*, and many more‡.

But, after the Norman Conquest, this process was reversed: local denominations were now fixed; but something was wanted, to remove the confusion incident to single names of

* That is, of this later period.

† Huncot, Elvetham, Oswaldtwisle.

‡ The few exceptions to this rule have already been considered in Book I.

persons, especially in a language of so little copiousness as the Saxon; and hence owners of lands, laying aside the inconvenient mode of calling them by their own names, began to borrow distinctive personal appellations from *them*. Yet these appear to have been changeable at first, and to have been descriptive merely of present habitation; so that, if a son, for example, quitted the place of his paternal residence, he would assume a new denomination from the estate to which he had removed. Thus, even brethren of the same house frequently adopted different surnames, which were continued by their descendants.—This remark is grounded on the authority of our oldest charters, in which the first subscribing witnesses (men of landed property) are denoted by local surnames; while their inferiors, who follow, if not designed by their occupation*, have nothing more than the rude Saxon Christian name†, though sometimes distinguished by a patronymical addition‡.

But, to return from this digression.

The original distribution of property into manors or townships, within this parish, whenever it took place, appears to have been very regularly conducted; and the general principle upon which it proceeded was evidently this:—that under a system of military colonization every subordinate chief should receive a proportion of land adequate to the support of himself, his family, and immediate dependents. And this proportion, in the parish of Whalley, never exceeded two carucates of land, and never fell short of one.

Seated upon this domain, the Saxon leader, softened into a peaceful *lageman*, was occupied in husbandry and pasturage: here he erected his rude but independent mansion, surrounded by the huts of his shepherds and husbandmen, over whom he exercised the primitive rights of *sac*, *soc*, &c. &c.; and such appears to have been the origin of our manors, vills, or townships (for the terms were at first convertible), which, having commenced in the earliest period of the Northumbrian kingdom, still subsist, with little alteration, but in the orthography of the names, the increase of their population, and the extent of their cultivated lands.

In all the succeeding tract of time, few townships appear to have originated, and none have been depopulated and lost §.

The carucate, as a measure and principle of distribution to families, is mentioned as early as the laws of Ina||; and the twelve followers of Joseph of Arimathea are said each to have received his hyde or carucate of land ¶. In the days of Saxon freedom and independence amongst us, these lands were held in socage; that is, for a certain render or service, immediately, and *in capite*, of the crown.—“*Vulgaris opinio* (says the Author of the *Status de Bluckburnshire*), *tenet et asserit, quod, quot fuerunt villæ, vel mansæ seu maneria hominum,*

* As John Pincerna, Lucas Citharædus, &c.

† As Swaine, Hosebert, &c.

‡ As Hen. fil. Leofwine, &c.

§ The township of Mercesden, now Marsden, is the only one which can be proved to have originated since the Domesday Survey. I am not speaking at present of villages within the forests, for they are all of much later date. “*Ad forestas dixi villas non competere.*” Spelman.

|| Leges Inæ xxxii, &c. Hence it is, that by conversion the word *familiæ* is rendered, by the Royal Interpreter of Bede, *þýbelanþer*.

¶ I mention this fact merely to shew the antiquity of this principle of distribution; for, if we reject the whole story of St. Joseph and St. Patrick, these lands must, at latest, have been bestowed by Ina. A.D. 704. *Vid.* “*Mon. Angl.*” tom. I. pp. 10, 11.

tot fuerunt domini, nedum in Blackburnshire, verum etiam in Rachdale, Tottington, et Bowland, quorum nullus de alio tenebat, sed omnes in capite, de ipso domino rege."

This representation is confirmed by Domesday Book, which, though it passes over the Hundred of Blackburn with an indistinctness strongly implying the obscurity of the place, and perhaps the difficulty of access to it, has ascertained, with sufficient exactness, the number and independence of the manors contained within it, and the proportion of each to the original carucate.

We will once more therefore, lay before the Reader a copy of that Record, so far as it relates to the Hundred of Blackburn; and, after a few remarks, will compare it with known and positive facts, from later authorities, respecting the extent of freehold (that is, the only original) property within every manor.

" IN BLACKEBURNE HUNDRET.

" Rex Edwardus tenuit Blackeburne, ibi 2 hidæ et 2 carucatæ terræ: ecclesia habebat 2 bovatas hujus terræ et ecclesia Sctæ Mariæ habebat in Wallei 2 carucas terræ quietas ab omni consuetudine.

" In eodem manerio * silva 1 leuva longa et tantundem lata, et ibi erat aira accipitris.

" Ad hoc manerium vel hundredum adiacebant 28 liberi homines tenentes 5 hidas et dim. et 40 carucas terræ pro 28 maneriis: silva ibi 6 leuis longa et 4 leuis lata et erat in supradictis consuetudinibus.

* Familiar as the term manor is now become to us, I know not whether it has ever been defined with precision.—The word itself, though found (I believe for the first time) in the charters of Edward the Confessor, is unquestionably Norman: but the peculiar species of private and local jurisdiction, which we now express by the term, was unquestionably known to our Saxon ancestors; and the *lageman habens socam et sacam super homines suos*, was indisputably the same character which was afterwards termed lord of a manor. Coke Litt. c. 9, S. 73.

But the idea of jurisdiction is, in many of our manors, forgotten; and the popular sense, in which the word is now understood, implies little more than a peculiar right to kill game within certain limits, although such a privilege depends upon a distinct grant of free chase, which many manors never possessed at all, or upon prescription.

It may assist the Reader, however, in perusing the following parts of this Work, to be informed that the word *manerium*, as referring to the subject of this Work, in the ancient evidences from which it has been taken, bears four senses.

1st. The whole hundred (*manerium sive hundretum*), in which it is synonymous with honour. *Vide* Domesday, in the passage quoted above.

2d. A single vill, township, or sometimes hamlet, under the jurisdiction of a lord, holding, before the Conquest, of the Crown *in capite*, and afterwards of the chief lord of the fee. This is the sense of the word, where it *first* occurs, in the passage of Domesday before us, referring to the town of Whalley alone; and such are all our real mesne manors at present; commensurate, that is, with townships or hamlets.

3d. An arbitrary collection of mesne manors, never granted out by the chief lord of the fee, but in later times grouped together under the name of one manor, for the convenience of holding courts. For ordinarily the Court Baron as well as Customary, or Copy-hold Court, must be held within its own manor; but, if a lord be seized of two or three manors, then, by custom, courts may be held upon one for all. Coke, Litt. ubi supra. And thus Colne, Ightenhill, Accrington, and Tottington, have obtained the appellation of manors.

4th. In the last sense this word is used with great laxity in ancient inquisitions, &c. to denote little more, if any thing, than a capital messuage or mansion-house. In this sense, Hesandforth, Catlow, Blakay, Greenfield, and others, none of which were ever villis or hamlets, or ever enjoyed manerial jurisdiction, are sometimes styled manors.—*Vide* Townl. MSS. This last use of the word is also common in the monkish historians, *maneriorum edificator extitit*.—Matt. Paris, *sub an.* 1251. *Stannure abbas Joh. manerium construxit*.—Lib. St. Albani, as cited by Spelman *in voce*.

" In

“ In eodem hundreto habebat rex Edw. Hunnicot de 2 car. terræ, et Waletune de 2 car. terræ, et Peniltune de dim. hyda.

“ Totum manerium cum hundreto reddebat regi de firma xxxii*l.* et xi solidos.—Hanc terram totam dedit Rog. Pictaviensis Rog. de Busli et Alberto Greslet, et ibi sunt tot homines qui habent undecim carucatas et dim. quas ipsi concesserunt esse quietas usque ad tres annos, et ideo non appreciantur modo.”

This is sufficiently perplexed: a little attention, however, will enable us to remove every difficulty, and to extract from it a pretty accurate representation of the state of property at that early period.

1. It must be remembered that the Hundred of Blackburn consisted, at this time, of the parishes of Whalley and Blackburn alone: those of Ribchester and Chipping, now annexed to it, being surveyed in Amunderness.

2. Here were, in the time of Edward the Confessor, 40 carucates and $5\frac{1}{2}$ hides, held by 28 freemen for 28 manors, of which the whole rental was xxxii*l.* iis.

3. Deduct one third for the number of manors and carucates in the parish of Blackburn, which is nearly the proportion, and there will remain for the parish of Whalley, in integral numbers, about 19 manors, consisting of 30 hides or carucates, and paying a rent of xx*l.*

4. Our original manors, therefore, some consisting of one car. and others of two, may be estimated, one with another, at $1\frac{1}{2}$ carucate each.

5. Every hide or carucate paid about xiiis. Consisting, therefore, as they did, of 8 oxgangs each, and the oxgang, on an average, of 16 acres, the mean rent per acre would be one penny and a fraction. The carucate, by the same rule, would measure 128 acres; and the whole amount of ancient freehold lands, surveyed by Domesday, in the parish of Whalley, would not exceed 3840 acres, Lancashire measure*.

6. But farther, we have here the first hint of tenure in villenage, which appears to have commenced in this parish after the Norman Conquest, since no notice is taken of it as having

* It may assist the Reader, in understanding this survey, to be informed, that the bovat or oxgang, here averaged at 16 acres, fluctuated between the two extremes of 18 and 11 acres in different places, and sometimes even in the same township (*vide* Padiham), according to the quality of the land: but in the parish of Whalley, in general, lands were anciently divided, according to the mode in which they were estimated or measured, into the *terra bovata*, i. e. oxgang land; and the *terra rodata*, i. e. rode land. The first of these was ancient enclosure, which, having been time immemorial under the plough, was measured by the quantity which one ox (of which it appears from hence that there were eight in a caruca) could plough in one season. The second was land lately reclaimed and thrown into cultivation; and it may be proved, by the following authorities, to have been synonymous with *essart*:—“One *essart*, called Swainey rode—“Martin’s *essart*, or Martin rode—One *essart* called Malyn rode.” Burton’s Mon. Ebor. under *Kirkstall*. This word *rode*, which in the dialect of the parish of Halifax becomes *royde*, is plainly a participial substantive, formed from the provincial verb *rid*, to clear or grub up. Again, *ridding*, or *riding*, also, which yet remains in the names of many fields, may be proved to be synonymous with *essart*, and therefore confirms the former etymology. Thus: “One *essart* called Todhill riding—An *essart* called Tullin riding.” Burton’s Mon. Ebor. from Charters circ. 1258.—Lastly, the word *essart* itself is supposed by Spelman (*voce* *Foresta*) to be corrupted from *exserere*, and to be the opposite of *deserere*. But surely the meaning of the term might have led him to the *sarrio* of the *Rei Rusticæ scriptores*; which, in barbarous Latin, became *exsarrio*, and the participle passive *exsartus*, i. e. *essarted*.—I have been the more diffuse in explaining this word, because Thoresby, and after him Mr. Watson, without any account of its origin or etymology, have contented themselves with defining *royd* land, *terra debilis et inculta*.

existed in the Confessor's time; but it is merely affirmed by Domesday, that there *are* homines or homagers, besides the 28 free tenants, who hold xi et dim. carucates, and that they are free from the geld for three years, and therefore not rated now, evidently, I think, because these lands were but in the infancy of cultivation. After the confused and careless survey of the parish in Domesday is thus reduced to order, little would be wanting to put this account on a footing with the more accurate parts of Domesday, but the names of the several manors, vills, and hamlets, and the particular admeasurement of each.

And happily for our purpose, this defect will be supplied by that most exact record, the Inquisition * after the death of Henry de Lacy, the last earl of Lincoln, taken A.D. 1311, from which I have extracted the following table of manors and freehold lands. It must be premised that I have discarded all those which are held in thanage (a tenure, the nature of which will be ascertained hereafter), namely, Oswaldtwisle, Read, Henthorn, Twisleton, Simonstone, and Padiham, because there is the strongest reason to conclude that they were parts of the $11\frac{1}{2}$ carucates held in villenage† at the time of the Domesday survey, and have never been regularly granted as manors, but have acquired the right by gradual usurpation and connivance.‡

MANOR.						MEASURE.		ANCIENT TENURE.	
Whalley	-	-	-	-	-	2 carucates	-	-	Frank almoigne.
Huncot	-	-	-	-	-	2 carucates	-	-	Never granted out.
Peniltone and Cold-coats	}	-	-	-	-	1½ an hide	-	-	} Penelton in mil. serv. Cold-coats in frank Almoigne.
Little Mitton		-	-	-	-	1 carucate	-	-	
Wiswall	-	-	-	-	-	2 carucates	-	-	Mil. serv.
Clitheroe	-	-	-	-	-	1 carucate	-	-	In demesne.
Merlay mag.	-	-	-	-	-	2 carucates	-	-	Mil. serv.
Merlay parv.	-	-	-	-	-	1 carucate	-	-	Mil. serv.
Worston cum Chatburne	}	7 oxgangs or		7-8ths of a carucate		Never granted out.			
Downham,									
Alvetham, with Clayton,	}	-	-	-	-	1½ carucate 1½ oxg.	-	-	Mil. serv.
Accrington vetus		-	-	-	-	1 carucate	-	-	Mil. serv.
	}	originally an hamlet under Alvetham.		½ a carucate				Frank almoigne.	

* It may be proper to observe, once for all, that inquisitions *post mortem* are of little value but for the purpose of finding an heir. Their descriptions are almost always in round numbers, which must generally be false, *e. gr.* 100 *acras terræ*, 50 *prati*, 200 *jampnorum et bruera*; and it is not uncommon, in two successive generations, to find the same premises estimated at twice the quantity, or perhaps one half. But after the death of the last earl of Lincoln, leaving a single daughter, on whose decease, without male issue, the vast estates of the family were settled upon the Crown, it was thought necessary to make a strict and accurate survey, and for the jurors to find with equal exactness according to the result. To this circumstance we are indebted for one of the most valuable documents from which the History of Whalley has been compiled. There is extant, indeed, another general inquisition of the honour of Clitheroe, after the death of Henry Duke of Lancaster, but it is comparatively slight and inaccurate.

† The rest of these lands I suppose to have lain in the parish of Blackburn, as there is no room for them in that of Whalley.

‡ See Read and Oswaldtwisle, where the steps of this usurpation may be traced.

MANOR.	MEASURE.	ANCIENT TENURE.
Haslingden - - - - -	1 carucate	Never granted out.
Brunley, 1 car. cum Haberghameaves $\frac{1}{2}$ car. and Townley cum Brunshaw $\frac{1}{2}$ car.	} 2 carucates	— { The two first constituting one manor, never granted out. The latter in mil. serv.
Colne — — — — —	1 carucate	— Never granted out.
Folrig — — — — —	2 carucates	— Mil. serv.
Cliviger, 2 car. and also the grange of Kirk- stall Abbey, which appears originally to have belonged to the parish of Rochdale, 1 car. — — — — —	} 3 carucates	— { Two manors; one in mil. serv. the other consisting of Holme, Dineley, and Clivi- ger Dean, in frank almoigne.
Briercliffe, 1 car. with the hamlets of Worst- horn and Extwisle, $\frac{1}{2}$ a car. each —	} 2 carucates	— { Three manors:— the first never granted out; the 2d held in mil. serv.; the 3d in frank almoigne.
Hapton, 1 car. with Bridtwisle, $\frac{1}{2}$ a car.* —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ a carucate	— 2 manors in mil. serv.

Before I dismiss this subject, it may be proper to subjoin a few observations on the Manors held in Thanage, which have been excepted out of the former catalogue, and must now be assigned to a baser origin than their neighbours.

MANORS.	MEASURE.
These are, Read — — —	7 oxgangs.
Simonstone } † — — —	7 oxgangs.
Padiham } — — —	4 oxgangs.
Twisleton — — —	1 carucate.
Oswaldtwisle — — —	2 carucates.
Henthorn — — —	$\frac{1}{2}$ a carucate.

In all, 5 carucates, 3 oxgangs.

Now, whoever attends to the earlier passages of lands in Read and Oswaldtwisle, will find no vestige of a formal grant of those manors from the chief lord; but the mention of services, and the word manor, appears to have been introduced by stealth, and the right established by subsequent usurpation on one part, and inattention on the other.

The above-mentioned facts, together with the peculiarity of the tenure, first induced a suspicion, in which I am now confirmed, that these townships never formed any part of the ancient free lands of the parish in the Saxon times, but were in fact a portion of the $11\frac{1}{2}$ carucates, held at the time of the Domesday survey by homines or homagers, that is, in villenage.

This supposition is countenanced by the nature of the tenure in question.

* The accuracy of these measurements will be proved from the Inquisition of 1311, under the survey of the several townships.

† I conceive these to have been originally one township, forming a carucate. The latter was never granted out.

For Thanage was originally a service to a thane, or to the lord of a manor. These services were generally commuted for by rents; and theinage may be proved to have existed in Lancashire at an early period; for in the 11th year of Henry III. or 1227, when a tallage was made in this county, the tenants in theinage paid 10 marks to have respite that they might not be tallaged.—Mag. Rot. Pip. 11 Hen. III. 3 Rot. 1 Lanc.

Strictly speaking, the thanage rents paid in the Saxon times to the great thanes or earls of counties were free rents, *but they were also paid by copyholders to lords of manors* *.

On the whole, there appears a strong presumption that this was in fact the earliest species of tenure in villenage amongst us.

It will now be satisfactory to remark the coincidence between these two ancient records, though at the distance of more than two centuries from each other. For, if we dismiss the manors held in thanage on the presumption that they are parts of those lands which are mentioned in Domesday as held in villenage; and if we also consider the hamlets as separated, after the time of the Conqueror, from the vills to which each belonged, we have here again 19 manors, precisely the number collected from Domesday; but, instead of 30 carucates, the result of our former computation, we have, in the inquisition of 1311, only $27\frac{1}{2}$ carucates, and half an oxgang; which, however, at the same average rate per oxgang, will prove the former conjecture to have approached very nearly to the truth; as, instead of 3840, it will leave 3520 acres, for the real extent of our ancient freehold lands, within the parish, during the Saxon and early Norman times; a coincidence, notwithstanding the actual difference of numbers, scarcely to be expected, in two records so independent and so remote from each other.

What a picture does this statement hold up, of population and culture amongst us, in those ages; for if, excluding the forest of Bowland, we take the present parish of Whalley as a square of 161 miles, from this sum at least 70 miles, or 27,657 acres, must be deducted for the four forests or chaces of Blackburnshire, which belonged to no township or manor, but were at that time mere derelicts, and therefore claimed, as heretofore inappropriate, by the first Norman lords. There will therefore remain, for the different manors and townships, 36,000 acres, or thereabouts, of which 3,520, or not quite a tenth part, was in a state of cultivation; while the vast *residuum* stretched far and wide, like an ocean of waste interspersed with a few inhabited islands. But these latter wastes differed essentially from the forests, in having been defined and appropriated to their several townships from the very origin of property, by permanent natural boundaries†; such as the brook in the valley, the *sike*† or *clough*† on the mountain-side, or the †*deal* of *heaven water* upon the summit.—Such were our primitive vills and townships; that is, little more than points of property and culture, about which successive enclosures have been extended in concentric circles, till their circumferences nearly touch each other; and the country has so totally lost its ancient character and aspect, that it is not easy for a mind, familiarized to its present state, to conceive of the other, even in imagination.

But, could a curious observer of the present day carry himself nine or ten centuries back, and ranging the summit of Pendle, survey the forked vale of Calder on one side, and the bolder

* For this information I am indebted to Thomas Astle, Esq.

† These are the peculiar phrases of our ancient perambulations.

margins of Ribble and Hodder on the other, instead of populous towns and villages, the castle, the old tower-built house, the elegant modern mansion, the artificial plantation, the park and pleasure-ground, or instead of uninterrupted enclosures, which have driven sterility almost to the summit of the fells, how great must then have been the contrast, when, ranging either at a distance, or immediately beneath, his eye must have caught vast tracts of forest-ground, stagnating with bog, or darkened by native woods, where the wild ox, the roe, the stag, and the wolf, had scarcely learned the supremacy of man; when, directing his view to the intermediate spaces, to the windings of the valleys, or the expanse of plain beneath, he could only have distinguished a few insulated patches of culture, each encircling a village of wretched cabbins, among which would still be remarked one rude mansion of wood, scarcely equal in comfort to a modern cottage, yet then rising proudly eminent above the rest, where the Saxon lord, surrounded by his faithful cotarii, enjoyed a rude and solitary independence, owning no superior but his sovereign.

This was undoubtedly a state of great simplicity and freedom, such as the admirers of uncultivated nature may affect to applaud. But though revolutions in civil society seldom produce any thing better than a change of vices, yet surely no wise or good man can lament the subversion of Saxon polity, for that which followed. Their laws were contemptible for imbecility *, their habits odious for intemperance. And, if we can for a moment persuade ourselves that their language has any charms, it is less, perhaps, from any thing harmonious and expressive in itself, or any thing valuable in the information which it conveys, than that it is of rare and not very easy attainment †; that it forms the rugged basis of our own tongue; and, above all, that we hear it loudly echoed in the dialect of our own vulgar. Indeed, the manners as well as language of a Lancashire clown ‡ often suggest the idea of a Saxon peasant; and prove, with respect to remote tracts like these, little affected by foreign admixtures, how strong is the power of tradition, how faithfully character and propensities may be transmitted through more than twenty generations.

* The Saxon laws, by substituting pecuniary mulcts to corporal punishments, confounded two species of obligation. Hence, the very idea of guilt would gradually be lost, and the laws would be understood not so much to punish crimes, as to advertise licences for the perpetration of them upon certain terms. Strictly speaking, bodily sufferings, judicially inflicted, alone are punishments: of these, the exact proportion will be adjusted, by every legislator, according to his views of justice or mercy. But there is one offence commuted in this Code for money, which no Christian law-giver can, consistently with the obedience he owes to an higher law, avoid punishing with death. See Gen. ix. 6, which is a Noachian precept, and therefore of universal obligation. Thus much, however, must be allowed, that, while systems of legislation, excessively severe, defeat their own end, because human nature revolts at the execution of them, the Saxon, like all other mercenary laws, were, for an obvious reason, pretty sure of being enforced.

† I do not mean to say, that a little knowledge of the Saxon language is not of easy attainment; but that any further progress in it, is to an Englishman attended with that peculiar difficulty, whatever it may be, which is always experienced, in making ourselves masters of a dialect akin to our vernacular language, yet abounding in other idioms.

‡ See that truly original work, the “Lancashire Dialect,” in which the author, my old acquaintance, besides the praise of having drawn a most faithful and diverting picture of rustic manners, while he supposed himself to be doing little more than transcribing the modern jargon of his own parish, was in reality perpetuating words and forms of speech which had subsisted before the Conquest. His glossary proves that he had sometimes a glimpse of this fact: but his knowledge of the Saxon language was too confined to shew him, in its full extent, what would have delighted him beyond measure, the merit and importance of his own achievement. *O si sic omnia!*

From

From a people occupied like the Saxons, in rearing and devouring the produce of their own lands, posterity had little to expect; and, accordingly, the subject of this history cannot boast one Saxon charter, one remnant of Saxon architecture*, properly so called; and, independently of general history, we have no remaining evidence, but that of language, that such a race of men ever existed amongst us. I do not even recollect that a Saxon penny or a Northumbrian stica has ever been turned up within the parish.

The Normans were a more abstemious and polished people: their lawyers, with more chicane, had infinitely more knowledge of the principles of jurisprudence: their ecclesiastics, though more devoted to the Court of Rome, had a greater share both of piety and learning; their princes alone, haughty, unjust, and cruel, gave a conquered people reason to look back with regret on the mild, though unskilful sway of their native monarchs †.

As scribes and architects, in particular, they were men to whom this district was greatly indebted; for our only castle, our oldest remaining churches, our most curious and valuable records, are all early Norman.

Such was the state of property and manners when the house of Lacy, who will be the subject of the next chapter, became possessed of Blackburnshire. But, before we go on to that part of the subject, it may be proper to consider the effects which this great revolution produced upon the state of property in this extensive district. The simplicity, therefore, and independence of Saxon tenures, was completely destroyed; a tract of country which had been parcelled out among 28 lords, now became subject to one, and all the intricacies of feudal dependence, and all the rigours of feudal exaction, wardships, reliefs, escheats, &c. were introduced at once.—Yet, perhaps, the rights thus acquired were seldom exercised in their utmost extent. The Saxon lords, though reduced to a state of galling dependence, do not appear, in general, to have been actually stripped of their fees; and we have one instance, in which the old possessor of a manor before the Conquest, alienates, after that event, in his own name.—What a man, in such circumstances, is permitted to transfer, he has been previously allowed to retain‡.

But these remaining rights, for the destruction of which many trains were laid, gradually merged in the superior fee §, where, perhaps, the greater part of them still remain; but others were successively re-granted in military service or frank almoigne: subordinate freehold properties were also cantoned out in socage; tenures in villenage, which had commenced, as we

* I should ascribe the remains of very early architecture in the churches of Clitheroe and Colne, by far the oldest in the parish, to an æra somewhat, but not much posterior to the Conquest. There is no evidence that either of those churches was founded before that event: we know that they existed soon after.

† I am not displeased to find that Mr. Gibbon is of the same opinion. "England," says he, "was assuredly a gainer by the Conquest." Chap. LVI. note 28. He refers, also, to Wm. of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Anglorum*, l. 3, p. 101—2.

‡ *Vide* Downham.

§ The existence of a race of mesne lords, and their gradual extinction long after the Conquest, is no chimerical hypothesis.—An instance will occur under the manor of Worsthorn, in which one of these (about the time of Hen. II. as appears from the attestations,) granted lands to be held of himself and his heirs.—Yet, in the reign of Edw. I. the manor had reverted to the chief lord of the fee, and was by him granted out again.

have seen *, immediately after the Conquest, were extended and encouraged ; and thus, by successive steps, the origin of all landed property within the hundred, some later copyholds alone excepted, is to be traced to voluntary concessions of the Lacies, or their successors of the house of Lancaster.

Yet we are not to consider these grants as acts of pure beneficence ; for, beside the personal services which they required, they were frequently charged with pecuniary payments nearly equivalent, at first, to rack-rents ; but their real value, which is great indeed at present, grew out of the operation of causes little understood at the time, either by lord or vassal, namely, the certainty of the render, the diminishing value of money, and the perpetuity of the title.

* The progress of these, during a period of more than two centuries, will be accurately traced under every township, by lights borrowed from the great Inquisition of 1311.



CHAPTER II.

LORDS OF THE HONOR OF CLITHEROE.

RESPECT only to general opinion, and to the authority of Dugdale, which has been held decisive, induces me to place at the head of this catalogue

ILBERT DE LACI *, a Norman adventurer, on whom the Conqueror undoubtedly conferred the great fee of Pontefract ; but, as he is unnoticed under the survey of Blackburnshire, by the authentic record of Domesday, which was completed in the last years of the first William, and died early in the reign of Rufus, there is no evidence to prove that he was ever connected with the subject of this history.—Ilbert, however, left a son,

ROBERT DE LACI, who was certainly lord of Blackburnshire, though it is now impossible to discover by what means he became possessed of it. As, however, the Hundred of Blackburn, at the time of Domesday, constituted a part of those vast possessions which the Conqueror granted to Roger de Busli and Albert de Greslet, the probability is, that Lacy acquired this fee from them, and held it under them. This opinion is strengthened by a charter of Henry I. †, granting Boeland to this Robert, son of Ilbert, to be held of the Crown in *capite*, as it had heretofore been of Roger de Poitou.

That he was possessed, however, of this fee, by whatever means he acquired it, there can be no doubt, as he confirmed the original charter of Merlay, granted by Ilbert, his son, to Jordan le Rous ‡.

Robert, however, did not long enjoy his inheritance in peace ; for an. 1mo. Henry I. having espoused the better cause of Robert Curthose, he was dispossessed of all his lands by that monarch ; and is stated, by Dugdale, to have gone twice into banishment, from which he did not return a second time.

After the second banishment of Robert, we are told by the same writer, that the fee of Pontefract (including that of Clitheroe) was granted first to Henry Travers, and secondly to Hugh or Guy de la Val. The latter fact is certain ; but, it appears equally certain, that Robert actually returned, and was restored ; for we find him confirming several grants of churches made

* This name is spelt with all the laxity of ancient orthography, *Laci*, *Lacy*, and *Lascy*. The earlier part of Dugdale's account of this family, *Baronage*, vol. I. p. 98. and *seqq.* is singularly inaccurate.—He seems to have been principally misled by a MS. in Bib. Bodl. (G. 9, Cant.) F. 98. 6. which is little better than a collection of traditionary tales. Where I shall have occasion to differ from him, I shall do it on the authority of original charters, and assign my reasons.

† Dugdale, *ubi supra*.

‡ *I*de Merlay.

by Delaval, during his temporary possession, to the priory of Nostel, which was of his, or perhaps his father's foundation *.

With equal certainty, and on similar authority, it may be proved against Dugdale that this Robert the First† founded the castle of Clitheroe, for it did not exist at the time of the Domesday survey; and in the interval of Delaval's possession, during the banishment of Lacy, we find the former expressly granting, under the dependencies of the church of Whalley, *capellam Sci. Michaelis in Castro de Clyderhow*.

It was, indeed, antecedently to be expected, that the 28 manors within the hundred, now united into one honor, should not have remained two generations longer without a common centre: a temporary residence, at least, was required for the lord, a court-house for the transaction of his business, and a fortress for the defence of his lands.—In a country not abounding with strong positions, an insulated conical rock of lime-stone, rising out of the fertile plain between Penhull and Ribble, would naturally attract his attention; and here, therefore, the first Lacy of Blackburnshire, and second of Pontefract, fixed the castle of Clitheroe, the seat of his barony, to which a numerous train of dependents, during a period of seven succeeding centuries, have owed homage and service. Robert de Lacy also founded the Cluniac priory of St. John, in Pontefract; to which, however, he refused a confirmation of the church of Whalley, granted by his disturber Delaval; and, dying, left two sons, Ilbert and Henry‡.

ILBERT DE LACY, the oldest son of Robert, and the companion of his exile, was distinguished by his fidelity to king Stephen, and by his valour in the Battle of the Standard fought near

* The following are instances extracted from Burton's Mon. Ebor. of several alternate grants and confirmations between these parties:—

CHURCHES.	GRANTORS.	CONFIRMATIONS.
Batley — — —	Robert de Lacy — — —	Hugh De la val, Hen. 1st, Alex. 3d.
South Kirkby — —	Guy de la val — — —	Rob. de Lacy.
Featherstone — —	Hugh de la val — — —	Rob. de Lacy, King Steph. Alex. 3d.
Huthersfield — —	Hugh de la val — — —	Rob. de Lacy, Alex. 3d.
Rothwell — — —	Hugh de la val — — —	Rob. de Lacy, Alex. 3d.
Warmfield — — —	Id. — — —	Id. Id.

We now see the reason why the monks of Pontefract failed in their claim upon the Church of Whalley, under Delaval's grant: it was never confirmed; and all alienations made under an attainder, unless confirmed by the party attainted, after his restoration, are held *pro infectis*.

† I now find that I had overlooked another hypothesis, with respect to the foundation of this castle, which will assign to it a still higher antiquity; namely, that it was the work of Roger of Poitou himself. For it appears from Domesday, under Bernulfswic, that Berenger de Toden had held xii car. of land in that place, *sed m^o c. (in) Castellatu Rog. Pictaviensis*. We know that it was a disputable point much later, whether Bernoldswic was or was not in Blackburnshire; and what can be meant by *Castellatu*, if there was now no castle at Clitheroe? It may be answered, that the word refers to Roger's great fee of Lancaster: but this is impossible; for, at the time of the Domesday Survey, *Longcaster* and *Chercalongcastre* were surveyed *inter terras regis*, in Amunderness, not yet granted out; and were so far from having a castle, or being yet the head of an Honor, much less a County, that they are taken as vills or berewicks appertaining to the manor of Halton. All is darkness and confusion with respect to the foundation of the Castle and Honor of Lancaster; and particularly with respect to Roger of Poitou, of which name there must have been two persons: for how could it be supposed that a follower of the Conqueror should forfeit under Stephen?

‡ Rob. de Lacy confirms to the abbey of Selby the manor of Hamelden, given by his father for the soul of Hugh his brother.—Lands quitcl. here by John, son of Hugh de Lacy, of Gateford.—Burton's Mon. Ebor. p. 395.

Northallerton,

Northallerton, and having married Alice, daughter of Gilbert de Gaunt, died without issue. He was therefore succeeded by his brother

HENRY DE LACY, the first, who, rivalling his ancestors in the devout liberality of the times, A. D. 1147, founded a Cistercian abbey at Barnoldswick, and afterwards translated it to the more genial climate of Kirkstall. He is remembered as lord of Blackburnshire by having granted out the manor of Alvetham, with Clayton and Accrington, to H. son of Leofwine, which was the second alienation of that kind after the accession of his family to the honor of Clitheroe. Of the successive restitutions of these brothers by Stephen and Henry II. to the estates of their family, related by Dugdale in a narrative inextricably confused, after the decisive evidence before adduced, that the restoration really took place under Robert their father, it is now become superfluous to speak; suffice it therefore to say, that Henry, of whose marriage however nothing is recorded, left a son

ROBERT DE LACY, the second, of whom it is very confidently told by Dugdale, on the authority of his MS. that he founded the castle of Clitheroe and the chapel of St. Michael, with the consent of Geoffry, dean of Whalley. The falsehood, however, of this story has already been proved. He married Isabella, daughter of, and dying without issue, 12 kal. Feb. 1193, was interred in the abbey of Kirkstall*. With him ended the male line of this great family, and in fact the blood of the Lacies itself, so that he had no other resource than to devise his vast estates, consisting of 60 knights' fees, to his uterine sister AWBREY, daughter of Robert de Lizours, who married

Richard Fitz Eustace, lord of Halton, and constable of Chester, who died sometime before 1178, 24 Henry II. leaving

John, constable of Chester†, and lord of Halton, who, A. D. 1178, founded the Cistercian abbey of Stanlaw, the parent of Whalley. He died at Tyre, on a crusade, A. D. 1190, 2 Richard I. leaving issue by Alice, sister of William de Mandevyle, Roger, who succeeded him‡, Eustace, surnamed of Chester, Richard a leper, Peter, whom I conjecture to have been Peter de Cestria, the long-lived rector of Whalley, and Alice. This

ROGER DE LACY, the terror and scourge of the Welsh, for his severe executions upon whom, together with the general ferocity of his temper, he was denominated *Hell*, succeeded to the fees of Pontefract and Clyderhow, in consequence of a fine, levied between himself and Awbrey his grandmother, devisee under the will of Robert de Lacy, his maternal

* With him too terminates my unpleasing task of detecting the perpetual errors of Dugdale and his authorities. Sir Peter Leycester will henceforward be my guide, in whose account of the constables of Chester I have not been able to detect a single mistake; but Sir Peter Leycester wrote, as every historian if possible ought to do, from original evidences.

† That the name of Lacy, to which he had not the slightest pretensions, should be popularly given to the founder of Stanlaw, is no more extraordinary than any other vulgar error: but it is singular indeed that this mistake should have been committed in the foundation charter of Whalley Abbey itself, where Henry de Lacy expressly styles his ancestor, Joh. de Lacy, Const. Cest.

‡ So Sir Peter Leycester, and this is confirmed by a fine levied at Clyderhow, 7 Ric. I. before Roger de Lacy in person, where we meet with some other persons of the Halton family, of whom I do not know that they are mentioned any where else. Coram Rog. de Lacy, Const. Cest. et fratre Roberto, filio Ricardi Avunculi Rogeri, Eustatio fratre suo, &c. Vid. PC. 10, No. 11.

great uncle, in 1195, or little more than a year after the death of the latter; Richard Fitz Eustace and John his son, not having lived to enjoy this great inheritance.

He was now lately returned from the Holy Land, whither he accompanied Richard I. in the third crusade, having assisted at the memorable siege of Acre *, where so many of his countrymen and equals perished.

There is something evidently allusive to the temper and the achievements of Roger de Lacy, in his great seal, of which some drawings have been preserved. On the obverse side, instead of the equestrian figure, usual in that situation, is the spirited figure of a griffon, rending the body of some other animal; and on the endorsement, an armed man trampling on the body of an enemy, whose head he holds up triumphantly with the right hand, while the left sustains an antique heater shield.

In this crusade he was accompanied by William de Bellomonte, ancestor of the Beaumonts of Whitley Beaumont, in Yorkshire, who received from his patron the grant of ten oxgangs of land in Huddersfield, and who, from the frequency with which he attests the charters of Roger, appears to have been almost his inseparable companion for the remainder of their lives. It was the practice of those days for dependents to adopt, with some distinction, the armorial bearings of their patrons; it has always been usual to add to them some charge in memory of signal achievements, and thus a lion rampant in the shield of the Beaumonts attests their ancient connexion with the house of Lacy, and an orl of crescents alludes (not obscurely) to some triumph over the standard of Mohammed †.

In his connexion with the honor of Clitheroe, Roger de Lacy gave to the abbey of Stanlaw, the lordship of Merland, the advowson of the church of Rochdale, with four oxgangs of land in Castleton, (the valuable glebe of the present vicarage) and Brandwood, an uncultivated tract, then considered as part of Rossendale. The Coucher Book of Whalley proves, with what enthusiastic ardour this example was followed by the inferior proprietors of lands in that district, who seem for a time to have been even ambitious of stripping themselves and their families to enrich this popular foundation. Roger de Lacy also granted the villa de Tunlay, and manor of Coldcoats, with Snodworth, to Geoffry, son of Robert dean of Whalley, served the office of sheriff for the county of Lancaster in the 7th, 8th, and 9th of Richard I. and is found occasionally presiding in his own courts at Clitheroe. He died Oct. 1, 1211, and was interred in the abbey of Stanlaw, leaving by Maud de Clare, his wife, a daughter, married to Geoffry dean of Whalley. And

JOHN DE LACY, who, after the death of Alice de Aquila, his first wife, without issue, married Margaret, daughter and coheiress of Robert, son of Saher de Quincy, earl of Winchester. This Robert married Hawys fourth sister and coheiress of Randal Blundevil, earl of Chester and Lincoln, who gave to her in the distribution of his lands and honours, the latter earldom,

* It is curious and edifying to contrast the scenes which took place respectively before this obscure and remote place (St. John de Acre) at the close of the 12th and 18th centuries. In the former, the armies of France and England are seen fighting together against the Moslem infidels, under the common banner of the cross; in the latter, appears a Christian knight leading a Mohammedan army against an host of apostate Frenchmen, crusading in the cause of atheism.

† The above affords a similar instance in the family of Neville, and probably of the same date.



Viro Reverendo, Thomae Wilson, S. T. B. Ecclesiae de Clithero Ministro — Sodali iucundissimo ἀγαλλοχοῦ (u) insigni,
 felici iuvenum institutori, hanc tabulam vovet T. D. Whitaker.

scilicet quantum ad me pertinuit ut inde comitissa existat. From her it descended to Margaret her daughter, who marrying John de Lacy as above, Henry III. by patent dated 23 Nov. 1232, reg. 17, re-granted it to the said John, and the heirs of his body begotten upon Margaret his then wife. John de Lacy granted the two medieties of the rectory of Blackburn to the monks of Stanlaw, and the manor of Little Merlay to William de Nowell, and dying July 22, A. D. 1240, was interred with his ancestors at Stanlaw *. His son and successor was

EDMUND DE LACY, who, dying in the life-time of his mother, never assumed the title of earl of Lincoln. He was educated at court under the immediate eye of Henry III. and probably by his procurement, married, to the great indignation of the good people of England, Alice de Saluces, a foreign lady, related to the queen, and daughter of a nobleman of Provence. He died June 5th, A. D. 1258 †, and was buried at Stanlaw, leaving

HENRY DE LACY, the last and greatest man of his line, who, from his peculiar connexion with the subject of this work, as well as his own personal qualifications, is entitled to a larger and more distinct commemoration than his ancestors. He was the confidential servant and friend of Edward I. whom he seems not a little to have resembled in courage, activity, prudence, and every other quality which can adorn a soldier ‡ or a statesman. In 1290, he was appointed first commissioner for rectifying the abuses which had crept into the administration of justice, especially in the court of common pleas,—an office, in which he behaved with exemplary fidelity and strictness. In 1293, he was sent ambassador to the French king to demand satisfaction for the plunders committed by the subjects of France upon the goods of the English merchants.

After the death of Edward, earl of Lancaster, he was appointed commander in chief of the army in Gascony, and viceroy of Aquitain.

In 1298, he raised the siege of the castle of St. Catharine, near Toulouse, and expelled the French from the confines of that country. In 1299, he led the vanguard at the memorable battle of Falkirk.

In the parliament of Carlisle, in the last year of Edward I. he had precedence of all the peers of England after the Prince of Wales; and, by a rare fortune, after the death of his old master, he seems to have retained the confidence of his son. This Earl died at his house of Lincoln's Inn, Feb. 5th, 1310, aged 60 years, and was interred in St. Paul's cathedral §, where were erected over his remains, a magnificent tomb and cross-legged statue in linked mail,

* He obtained from Henry III. a grant of divers privileges, within the Honor of Clitheroe, and particularly the "Furca" or Gallows at Clitheroe and in Tottington. I had overlooked this charter. Townley MSS.

57 Hen. III. H. de Lacy, com. Linc. armis milit. ab eodem rege apud Westminster honorifice delatus. Hac etiam nocte circumcis. D'ni R. de Northburgh ab. Stanl. ob't. Chron. de Kirkstall.

† See the great seal and endorsement of this Edmund in the plate of Seals, No. 10. The endorsement has three garbs, which the constables of Chester occasionally used in compliment to their chief lords, as it was the original bearing of Hugh Lupus. This coat still remains in the East window of the church of Blackburn.

‡ Though he were not a long-lived man, his services began with the reign of Edward, and continued beyond it. For in the 1st year of Edward he besieged and took the castle of Chartley in Staffordshire, which Robert de Ferrars had entered and detained by force from Hamon l'Estrange, to whom it had been granted by Henry III. upon the attainer of Ferrars.

§ By this circumstance he escaped the visitation of an epitaph from the panegyrists of his family. I have foreborne to give those of his ancestors at Stanlaw, for the following reasons: 1st. They are very long. 2dly. They are very absurd.

which perished with many others in the great fire of London, but happily not until they had been perpetuated by the hand of Hollar.

Henry de Lacy received from his sovereign, in recompence of his services, the honor of Denbigh in Wales, and additionally to his other titles, styled himself, in consequence, *Dominus de Roos and Rowennock*. Over the gate of this castle his statue in robes is still preserved, and here, or at Pontefract, for traditions vary, his oldest son, the last heir male of the family, perished by a fall.

As lord of the honor of Clitheroe, the many remaining evidences of this earl's transactions prove him to have been active and munificent. For, beside many grants of inferior consequence, he rewarded his senescal Oliver de Stansfeud, with the manor of Worsthorn, and the Delaleghs and Middlemores, with the manor of the grange of Clivacher; he confirmed and extended the privileges of his borough of Clitherowe; and, above all, he gave to the monks of Stanlaw the advowson of Whalley with its dependencies, procured the removal of their abbey to that fertile and beautiful site, attended, as it appears, the translation in person, and laid the first stone of their conventual church.

He married Margaret (or Alice) daughter of Sir William Longspée, by whom he enjoyed all the lands, though not the title of earl, of Salisbury; he had two sons, Edmund and John, and two daughters, Alice and Margaret. Of the two former, both of whom died young, various accounts are given. One tradition is, that Edmund the oldest was drowned in the draw well of Denbigh castle; but it appears from another account, that in 1282, the year in which Edward I. granted to Henry de Lacy the two cantreds of Roos and Rowenock, he gave to Edmund de Lacy his son Maud de Chaworth, then only five years old, in marriage, but that Edmund died young, and that John his brother, running upon a turret of Pontefract castle, fell down and was killed. It is not probable that both these children perished by violent deaths, but rather that one tradition has been propagated out of the other. Of the two daughters, Margaret also died before her father*, who left of consequence his sole heir,

ALICE DE LACY, who married, in her father's life time, Thomas Plantagenet, earl of Lan-

absurd†. After this whoever feels his curiosity unappeased, may find them in Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I. under *Lacy*. But they were, properly speaking, elegies rather than epitaphs, such as it became fashionable at a somewhat later period, to hang upon tablets over the tombs of distinguished persons. The genuine and contemporary inscriptions on the tombs of this great family, were probably old French: but they were certainly short, and contained little more than their names, titles, and the respective date of their deaths. There is reason to suspect that these latter were fabricated after the translation to Whalley.

* I have never met with more than one impression of the great seal of this earl, and that in so mutilated a state that it could not be engraved‡. No. 6, however, is the secretum upon the back of the seal: it seems to resemble that

† One of them in particular contains almost as fine an anticlimax as I have ever met with:

Ut Mars in Bello validus—

Totius Dux cohortis.

This, however, allows the God of War the rank of a colonel, which, in the following lines, exceedingly resembling those of the monk, is denied him.

And thou Dalhousie, the great God of War,
Lieutenant-col'nel to the earl of Marr.

‡ I have since met with a very fine one at Townley, appended to the original grant of the manor of Worsthorn. A fragment on one side is broken off, but the remainder is very sharp, and remarkably well cut. It is very extraordinary that artists who could engrave so well, and in such bold relief, for seals, should have contented themselves and their employers with such wretched flat things as the dies of the contemporary coinage.

engraved

caster, and carried along with her an inheritance even then estimated at 10,000 marks *per annum*.

THOMAS OF LANCASTER, though idolized by the monks, was both a weak man and a bad subject, bustling without vigour, and intriguing without abilities, so that, after having long disquieted the kingdom, by an influence which his vast possessions alone created, he at length suffered himself to be overpowered by Edward II. a man as weak as himself, and was beheaded at his own manor of Pontefract, March 22, 1321, leaving no issue.

Of his transactions in the honor of Clitheroe, I recollect no memorial, excepting that, by charter, dated at Whalley, on the feast of St. James, A. D. 1316, he gave to the abbot and convent of that place, Toxteth and Smethedon, as a more convenient site for their abbey. The monks, as we have seen, complained of their present situation: they wanted fuel, building timber, and even an extent of domain at Whalley; but, when the charter of Toxteth was obtained, these inconveniencies were instantly removed, and they thought it prudent to retain their new grant and their old situation.

Of Alice de Lacy there is a very disgraceful story* told by Walsingham; and, were it either pleasant or edifying, to rake into the dust of libraries for ancient scandal, I could relate more to the same purpose than has ever yet appeared; suffice it, however, to say, that after having married two other husbands, Eubulo l'Estrange and Hugh de Frenes, she died A. D. 1348, and was interred in the abbey of Berlyngs in the county of Lincoln, by her second † husband. With her expired the name of Lacy, which, even if she had left issue, would scarcely have been continued at the expence of Plantagenet.

But to return: in the year 1294, Henry de Lacy, despairing of male issue, surrendered all his lands to the king, who re-granted them to the said earl for the term of his life, and after his decease, to Thomas earl of Lancaster, and Alice his wife, and the heirs of their bodies; failing of which, they were to remain over to Edmund the king's brother, (a remarkable proof of the earl's attachment to the royal family), and to his heirs for ever. By this act the honor of Clitheroe became united to the earldom of Lancaster. Thus much is generally known: but the following particulars, which ascertain some important steps, about this time, in the descent of the honor of Clitheroe, have been retrieved from an original decree of Edward III. relating to the advowson of St. Michael in the castle ‡. On the attainder of Thomas of Lancaster, the honor of Clitheroe and hundred of Blackburn, were instantly seized into the king's hands, and remained in

engraved by Sir Peter Leycester, p. 274, which is quarterly (colours gone) over all a bend and label of five points. But the inscription in Sir Peter Leycester is certainly incorrect as to the characters, which were not in use till near a century later. No. 9, is another small seal of this earl, with the proper bearing of his family—a lion rampant purpure.

* I will only mention, on the authority of a memorandum in Dodsworth's MSS. which I have mislaid, that the fact which gave rise to the tragedy of Sir John Elland, of Elland, was a fray between the retainers of earl Warren and the husband of this lady, on her account. This nearly fixes the æra of that transaction; but not of the old song upon the same subject: concerning which Mr. Watson, History, p. 176, critically observes, "that it was penned some time after the facts," that is, a ballad, precisely in the style of Sternhold and Hopkins, was penned sometime after the earlier days of Langland and Chaucer. Doubtless.

† No. 7, in the plate of seals, belongs to this lady. The arms are Lacy impaling Longspée, earl of Sarum. The impression from which this was engraved, was wrapped up in a note written by Bishop Tanner.

‡ Pen. auct.

the crown till the beginning of Edward III's. reign, when, with the exception of Ightenhill Park, they were granted for term of life to

QUEEN ISABELLA, of whom we have several transactions in this capacity upon record*. Previously, however, to her death, the attainder of Thomas of Lancaster, had been reversed on the plea that he had not been tried by his peers; so that immediately upon that event, Henry duke of Lancaster succeeded to this honor and hundred, by virtue of the above-mentioned entail upon Edmund the king's brother and his heirs.

HENRY DUKE OF LANCASTER, the recorded transactions of whom, as lord of the honor of Clitheroe, are the following: he founded an hermitage for two recluses in the church-yard of Whalley, granted the bailiwick of Blackburnshire to the abbey and convent of Whalley, together with the Townleys, Delaleighs, and Alvethams, and the manor of Downham, to John de Dyneley†. This was the last alienation of a manor by the lord paramount within this honor, as Great Merlay was the first.

He died March 24th, 1360, leaving, by his wife Isabel, daughter of Henry Lord Beaumont, two daughters and coheirs; Maud married to William Count of Hainault, and Blanch to John of Gaunt, fourth son of Edward III. earl of Richmond, and afterwards in her right duke of Lancaster.

JOHN OF GAUNT, duke of Lancaster, received by this marriage, as the purparty of Blanch his wife, besides the fees of Pontefract and Lancaster, properly so called, the hundred of Blackburne or honor of Clitheroe, with its appurtenances, thus described: "The wapontake of Clyderhow, with the demesne lands there, the royal bailiwick of Blackburnshire, the manors of Tottington and Rachdale, the lordship of Bowland, the vaccary of Boulund and Blackburnshire, the forest of Blackburnshire, and park of Ightenhill, with the appurtenances in Blackburnshire."

A few inquisitions, and other acts of little importance, are all the evidences which remain of his having exercised these extensive rights‡.

He died February 3, 1398, leaving a son,

HENRY OF BOLINBROKE, duke of Lancaster, then in banishment, who returning the year following, deposed his unfortunate master Richard II. after which the honor of Clitheroe, as a member of the dutchy of Lancaster, merged in the crown§. But Henry IV. conscious of the weakness of his title to the latter, and foreseeing that upon a restoration of the right heirs, the dutchy which was his own undisputed inheritance, would now of course, as an accessary, follow the fortunes of its principal, "*quia magis dignum trahit ad se minus dignum*," with the consent of Parliament, anno R. 1mo. made a charter entitled "*carta regis Henrici 4ti. de separatione ducat. Lanc. a coronâ*;" and in this charter it is declared, that the dutchy of Lancaster, "*remaneat, deducetur, gubernetur, &c. sicut remanere, deduci, gubernari deberet, si ad culmen dignitatis regiæ assumpti minimè fuisset*." Notwithstanding this, all grants of lands, &c.

* Plate X. No. 12 is the seal of this queen, appended to her charters as lady of the honor of Clitheroe.

† Plate X. No. 13 is the great seal of this duke, appended to the grant of the manor of Downham, of which the original in green wax, is in the possession of William Assheton, Esq.

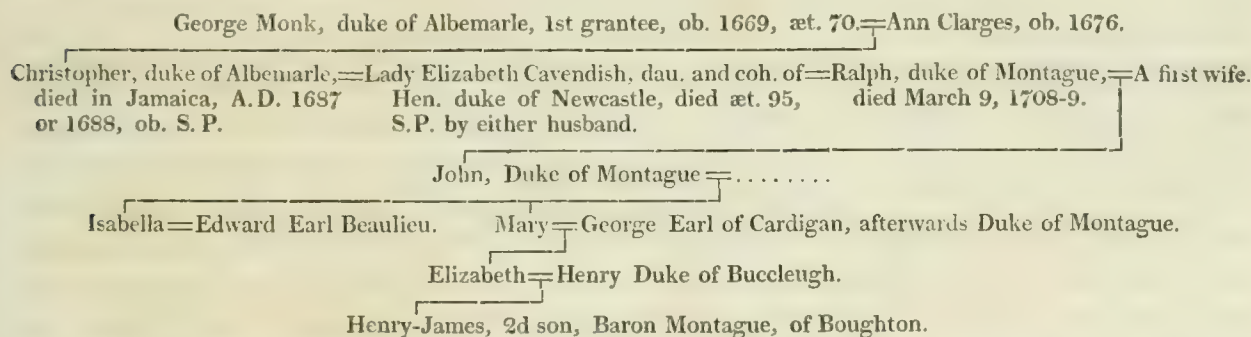
‡ I have an impression of the seal of John of Gaunt, but in too mutilated a state to be engraved. It has, as usual, an equestrian figure on one side, and on the other quarterly France and England, with the label of three points.

§ Fleetwood's Antiquity and History of the Dutchy of Lancaster, MS. p. 36.

passed under the great seal of England alone, through the remainder of this reign, and till the third of Henry V. when it was ordered that no transactions relating to the dutchy should be deemed valid “sub aliquo alio sigillo, præterquam sub sigillo, nostro pro ducatu prædicto*.” And thus the matter rested till the deposition of Henry VI. when Edward IV. whose respective titles to the crown and to the dutchy were precisely those of the house of Lancaster inverted, reasoning on the same principles with Henry IV. passed an act entitled “actus incorporationis, necnon confirmationis inter alia ad coronam Angliæ in perpetuum de ducat. Lanc.” providing, however, that the said dukedom should be and remain a corporate inheritance, and should be guided and governed by such officers as in the times of Henry IVth, Vth, and VIth.

After all, Henry VII. who, independently of these acts of mere power, had the only legal title to this great inheritance, as heir in tail after the death of Edward son of Henry VI. under the deed of settlement upon the heirs male of John duke of Lancaster and Blanch his wife; in the first year of his reign repealed the former act of Edward IV. and entailed, along with the crown, the dutchy of Lancaster, with its appurtenances, upon himself and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten.

These were the fortunes of the honor of Clitheroe, while it continued a member of the dutchy of Lancaster; that is, till the restoration of Charles II. when that prince, in consideration of the eminent services of General Monk, bestowed it upon him and his heirs, from which time till the present it has passed in the following channel:



Christopher Duke of Albemarle, leaving no issue by his wife, who was daughter and coheirress of Henry Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, gave her his estates; of which she died possessed 28 Aug. 1734, æt. 95, having, secondly, married Ralph, Duke of Montague, whose son and heir by a former wife, John, Duke of Montague, succeeded to this property, leaving two daughters; Isabella, married first to the Duke of Manchester, and secondly to Edward, Earl Beaulieu; and Mary, married to George Brudenel, Earl of Cardigan, afterwards Duke of Montague. Ralph, Duke of Montague, died March 9th, 1708-9.—Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of George Duke of Montague, married, in 1767, Henry, Duke of Buccleugh, and had issue a second son, Henry James, now Baron Montague, of Boughton, on whom the honor of Clitheroe was settled, after the decease of the Duchess, his mother.

* Fleetwood's Antiquity and History of the Dutchy of Lancaster, MS. p. 36. Qu. whether by act of parliament? but so Fleetwood.

CHAPTER III.

CASTLE OF CLITHEROE,

AND

CHAPEL OF ST. MICHAEL IN CASTRO.

HAVING now traced the several grants, descents, and limitations, of this honor, from its first foundation to the present time, we will return to the Castle of Clitheroe, its seat.

As the *Castellatus Rogeri* is expressly mentioned in Domesday, and the Castle of Lancaster was not then in existence, there can be little doubt that Roger of Poitou was the real founder of the Castle of Clitheroe. The summit of the rock on which it stands was not sufficiently extensive to admit of a very spacious building, and nothing more appears to have been intended by the founder, than to provide a temporary retreat for his dependents from the predatory incursions of the Scots, or a temporary residence for himself when business called him to this part of his domains. Of the original castle of Clitheroe nothing is now left but the keep, a square tower of small dimensions, which, though much undermined, remains firm as the rock upon which it was erected; but, from an engraving of the building when entire, taken from a drawing made immediately before it was slighted by order of Parliament, it appears to have had a gateway-tower on the site of the present modern gates, with a round Norman arch, and a lofty flanking-wall running along the brink of the rock, and turning first on the back of the present steward's house, and secondly behind the present court-house, towards the keep. Within this bailey is no appearance in the Engraving either of the Chapel of St. Michael, or of any other buildings.

Coeval with the foundation of the castle, and a part of it, was the Chapel of St. Michael in Castro*, erected and amply endowed by the Founder, with licence of the Dean of Whalley, for the purpose of having Divine Service performed, and the Sacraments administered to his household servants, shepherds and foresters. This is proved by the important charter of Guy de la Val, the immediate grantee after the attainder of Robert de Lacy, which conveys to the priory of St. John of Kirkby (Pontefract), amongst other things—"Capellam castri " mei de Clyderhow, cum decimationibus omnium terrarum dominicarum mearum, &c."

* Our ancestors were extremely attentive to secure to themselves the comforts of religious offices, in situations where they might occasionally, and for a long time, be shut out, as in case of a siege, from their parish churches. And the splendor of the religious foundations within their castles kept pace with that of the fortresses to which they were attached. Thus the greater castle had a college, as St. George at Windsor, St. Clement at Pontefract; the smaller a chantry, as at Clitheroe; and the peel, or fortified manor, an oratory, by licence of the ordinary. In the greater castles are sometimes found specimens of the round churches, as at Ludlow.

This grant* was long contested, but the advowson of the Castle Chapel appears, under every change, to have followed the fortunes of the Mother Church, nor did the founder, or his immediate successors, ever claim the right of presentation. At length, Henry de Lacy granted the second mediety of the Church of Whalley to the monks of Stanlaw, without any reservation of the Castle Chapel; yet, upon the death of Peter de Cestria, the last rector, he seems to have repented, in part, of his own liberality, and thought proper to keep forcible possession of the church till the monks compounded for admission by a constrained surrender of this indisputable right; the people, we are told, crying out, in indignation at so foul a compromise, *Væ vobis Simoniacis!*

Having obtained possession, however, they renewed the claim, and, under two spirited abbots, Topcliffe and Lyndlay, carried on a long and obstinate suit against their successive patrons. Lyndlay, in particular, presented a petition in full parliament, stating the wrongful detention of this Chapel, with its appurtenances, till at length the cause seems to have been finally determined in favour of the Abbey, 39 Ed. III.† Yet, after all, though the transaction was closed in the form of a regular decree of the court, a compromise seems to have taken place; for, in a compotus of the abbey, 1368, I find the following entry, in ult. comp. debetur Duci Lanc. pro Capella Castri de Clyderhow cccl.

This was at least equivalent to a purchase of the advowson, as the whole income was estimated, in the Inquisition of 1311, at 13*l.* per ann.

The several particulars of this endowment may best be learned from the confirmation of Urban (4th), which states them to consist in half a carucate of land in Cliderhow, together with the tithes of all the demesne lands in Calderbotham, Blackburnshire and Bowland, particularly specifying the tithe of venison‡, at that time, perhaps, the best part of the endowment, excepting the glebe, even to a chaplain who was no epicure. The records of this long suit, of which the originals, with their beautiful seals appendant, are now before me§, furnish a complete catalogue of the chaplains of St. Michael, while it was pending.

* *Vide Whalley.*

† It is not easy to account for the later proceedings in this cause; for I have now lying before me an original release from Edward III. of all his right and claim in this Chapel, dated An. R. Svo. There is a great seal, in fine preservation, appended to this charter.

‡ Tithe of venison, however, or indeed any other tithe of the forests, was not due of common right, but by special grant; for this reason, saith Spelman:—"Quod episcopis et paræchiarum rectoribus ovium cura, non ferarum demandata erat." But by this rule, in order to claim tithe of wool, the Clergy ought to have charge, not of the flock of Christ, but of the sheep of the field. His next reason is not so childish:—"Exhorruiat nempe Deus cruentam venationem."—This is true; for every pang that man wantonly, and for his own gratification, adds to the sufferings of a creature agonizing under the prospect of immediate death, is a sin of no common magnitude. But the text, which the learned Etymologist has adduced to establish this truth, proves, rather, "exhorruisse Deum venationem incruentam;" that, as animals pursued by hunters might be caught in toils, or chased to death without a wound, they were in the situation of things strangled, and could not lawfully be eaten without a previous effusion of blood. Lev. xvii. 13. "Every moving thing that liveth is given to man for meat." Gen. ix. 3. And where animals can only be caught by hunting, and our object is not gratification from the chase, it is undoubtedly lawful. But the invention of fire-arms has made a great revolution in the morality of field-sports. Unexpected and instantaneous death may now be inflicted, almost to a certainty, upon the poor object of our pursuit; and, therefore, what was lawful to our forefathers, is become criminal in us.

§ On the division of the demesnes of Whalley Abbey they fell into the hands of the Braddylls; and on the purchase of their moiety of the manor by the late Sir James Whalley Gardiner, Bart. were transferred among the title deeds to him.

Of their predecessors we know nothing, save that one was Richard the first of Townley, who held this chapel by the gift of his brother Roger, about the time of the second Lateran council, or 1215.

CAPELLANI.			VAC.			PATRONI.
Wm de Nunny	—	—	mort.	—	—	Hen. de Lacy, Com. Linc.
Ric. Camell	—	—	mort.	—	—	{ Ed. II. ratione attine. Tho. Com. Lanc.
Roger de Lacy	—	—	mort.	—	—	Idem.
*Ric. de Towneley	—	—	resig.	—	—	Regin. Isabella.
Joh. de Wodehouse	—	—	resig.	—	—	Ead.
Hen. de Walton	—	—	mort.	—	—	Hen. Dux Lanc.
Jo. de Stafford	—	—	resig.	—	—	Ed. III. jure regio†.

Ric. de Moseley; resigns to the

Abbot and Convent A.D. 1354. In consequence of this resignation, they seized the whole endowment into their own hands, reducing the Chaplain from an independent and opulent beneficed man, to a mere stipendiary; besides which, they, together with the Ordinary, appear ‡ to have compelled the Vicar to take upon himself the cure and charge of souls within the Castle Chapelry; in consequence of which the Chapel of St. Michael in Castro is yet assigned in the King's books to the patronage of the Vicar of Whalley. In this state, or nearly so, the Chapel of St. Michael continued till the first of Edward VI. when it fell with the other chantries, and has since been so totally demolished, that its particular situation within the area of the Castle is no longer remembered. Some small benefactions, however, it appears to have received in this interval, which were very properly allotted by the Commissioners of chantry lands, at the Dissolution, to the unendowed Chapel of Whitewell, in Bowland.

In the year 1521 it appears, from the Computus of the Abbey, that the Chaplain of St. Michael in Castro received a stipend of 4*l*.

The Castle of Clitheroe, with the demesnes and forests, is, strictly speaking, extra-parochial; and, in consequence of this foundation, the latter are denominated the Castle Parish to the present day §.

But as the Forest of Accrington is now included within that Chapelry, and Trawden within Colne, the whole of the Graveships of Rossendale within Newchurch, Haslingden, or Bury, and all the bootlis of Pendle, except Reedley Hallows, Filly Close, New Laund, and Wheatley Carr, within Colne, Padiham, or New Church in Pendle: these exceptions alone, together with Ightenhill Park, are now termed extra-parochial, and their inhabitants marry at Clitheroe.

Ightenhill Park, however, was not originally extra-parochial, but parcel of the Chapelry of Burnley. This is proved beyond a doubt, by the Inquisition of the Rectory, A.D. 1298.

* There is no account of this man in the pedigree or charters of the family.

† On the plea that the Duke had alienated the advowson to the Abbey and Convent without the royal licence.

‡ See the Letter of William le Wolf, Vicar of Whalley, to the Bishop of Litchfield, his Ordinary, already printed, p. 137.

§ Among the Assheton MSS. I have met with a patent from General Monk, 16 Car. II. constituting Jeremy Webster, gent. Custodem et Janitorem Goale et Castri de Clitheroe.

CHAPTER IV.

HONOR OF CLITHEROE,
WITH THE
FORESTS AND OTHER DEMESNES.

THE Honor dependent upon this Castle is commensurate with no other division, civil or ecclesiastic. It extends over the present parishes of Whalley and Blackburn, which constituted the original Hundred; over those of Chipping and Ribchester, anciently included in the Hundred of Amunderness; over Bowland, in the Wapontake of Staincliff; over the manor of Tottington, within the Hundred of Salford, and over that of Rochdale, partly within the former Wapontake, and partly within Agbridge, in Yorkshire. But it coincides most nearly with the original parish of Whalley, the whole of which it covers, and no where passes the boundaries of it, but to take in the manor of Tottington. Within this extensive tract all manors and estates, of what tenure soever, are held of the Castle of Clitheroe*, the common centre from which all landed property has emanated, and to which, in case of escheat, it must return†. It has already been proved, that in the Saxon times, manors and townships, or hamlets, were commensurate: it has also been observed, and must now be repeated, that a new and arbitrary distribution of manors has long since taken place, merely for the purpose of accommodating the stewards in holding their courts. Thus, all the original manors within the parishes of Whalley and Bury remaining in the hands of the lords, excepting one or two in the immediate vicinity of Clitheroe‡, have been grouped together, without regard to their ancient rights and distinctions,

* Feoda heredum Com. Lincoln. in Blakeburnesh. (meaning the Lands holden by Military Service).

Joh. de Pouchardon ten^t xii partem feodi mil. in parva Mitton.

Adam de Blakeburne et Rog. de Arches ten. iv p^t f. m. in Wisewall et Hapton.

Henr. Gedelyng ten^t x p. f. m. in Townley, Caldecotes, et Snodworth.

Comes tenuit in manu sua x p^t f. m. in dom. in Twistleton.

Adam de Preston, x p^t f. m. in Extwisle.

Ric. de Mittun, x p. f. m. in Aghton, Merlay, et Livesay.

Rob. de Cestr. 1v^t p^t f. m. in Downom, et de Wm. Marescall x p^t in Mereley.

Hugo de Parva Mereley t^t lvi p^t in eadem.

Gilb. f. Henr' x p. f. m. in Ruycheton.

Ad. de Billington t^t mediet. fⁱ in eadem.

Heres Hug^s de Alvetham t^t viii p. f. m. in ead.

Hugo Fitton t. iv p^t feodi in Harewode.

Henr. de Clayton t^t iv p^t in eadem.

DODSWORTH'S MSS. and Liber Loci Benedicti.

Henry Gedelyng must have been a Trustee, and the name an ancient *soubriquet*, or nickname; for Gedling, at that time, expressed precisely the same idea with the vulgar Lancashire word "Madlin," at present. It is used by Chaucer for an idle vagabond,

"That seemed like no gadeling." R. R. 938.

† Excepting in case of particular grants, which amounts to the same thing.

‡ Ex gr. Chatburne and Worston, for which the courts were held at Clitheroe before Edward III.

and

and are now combined under Colne, Ightenhill, Accrington, and Tottington*; and the reason of this arrangement was, that in each of these places†, and in no others within their circuit, was an ancient manor-house, to which the stewards and homagers might conveniently resort. To these inferior courts, the copyholders and Wapontake tenants alone owe suit and services; the lords of manors and freeholders owing suit of court, at the Castle alone‡.—Let it be remembered, that each township had originally around it a large tract of common marked out by certain boundaries. Now, wherever a township was granted out as a manor, the property of the common followed as an appendage, and belonged to the mesne lord; but where the ancient freehold was merely granted and cantoned out in parcels to free tenants, the herbage alone of the common belonged to the freeholder, and no enclosure could take place without permission from the superior lord. These enclosures, however, began, as we have seen, at a very early period, and such lands were always granted in villenage. Agreeably to this representation, the great inquisition, after the death of Henry de Lacy, affords instances, in almost every township, of lands held in bondage: these are of the old copyhold tenure, or copyholds by prescription. But it has been already observed, that, besides the tracts of common, originally appertaining to townships, there was an immense extent of forest lands absolutely unappropriated, which belonged to the lords merely as derelicts, and which remained nearly in a state of nature till the 23d of Henry VII. when they were successively granted out as copyholds; but this tenure being found insecure in the reign of James I. gave rise to a very oppressive attempt at a general resumption of lands so held, and ended in a compromise with the Crown, ratified by an act of Parliament, confirming and constituting them copyholds of inheritance. This was the origin of the newhold, or of copyholds by statute§. I have merely hinted at this transaction here, as it will be detailed hereafter, in order to shew that it is with lands of these two species, their grants, surrenders, admissions, &c. that the above-mentioned courts are concerned.

Since this Work was printed off, the Assheton MSS. have furnished me with the original Custumale, the Magna Charta of Blackburn hire, A. 3 Hen. IV. the usages of which, before that time, seem to have been preserved only by tradition.

“*Hæc Indentura facta apud Brunlay die Martis proxime ante festum Purificationis B. Marie Virginis anno regni Regis Henrici Quarti post Conquest’ Anglie tercio coram Thoma Radclyf*

* Thus, to the very destruction of all ancient landmarks, the forests themselves are now included under these factitious manors, viz. Pendle under Ightenhill, Trawden under Colne, and Rossendale and Accrington under Accrington. Farther, it is to be observed, that copyhold lands are held by copy of court-roll under some specific manor. Wapontake lands are those which hold in villenage of the Honor of Clitheroe in general. Thus, for example, the manor of Cliviger, as distinct from the grange of ditto, though anciently granted to the Townleys, has been lost; but on this account it has, with other original manors, long since granted out, and still continuing to be held as such, never been included in Ightenhill, or any other of the factitious manors; but the commons of that township having been claimed by the superior lords on the extinction of the mesne manors, all enclosures from them are granted as Wapontake lands.

† *Vid. Inquisition. post mort. Henry de Lacy*, where a manor-house is expressly mentioned in each of these places, and no-where else.

‡ *De tribus septimanis in tres septimanas*, in the language of our ancient charters, inquisitions, &c.

§ All the lands held by tenants at will, and not granted out at the death of Henry de Lacy, or afterwards, previous to this act, as having not been held by copy of court-roll, for time whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary, undoubtedly belong to the latter tenure.—The titles of all enclosures subsequent to the said act stand upon the same foundation.

de Wimm'legh tunc Senescallo de Blakburnshire, testat' quod ad requisitionem omnium teneñum consuetudin' infra Wapentachium predictum.

“ Inquisicio de consuetudinibus fuit dicto die Mart' et capta fuit certis de causis inter ipsos tenentes motis per sac'um Wilti Mersden, Gilberti del Legh, Joh'is Parker de Ightynyll, Uchtredi Shotilworth, Rob'ti de Blakey, Wilti Foldes, sen. Wilti de Britwissell, Joh. Tat'sall, sen. Ric. Tat'sall, sen. Nic. Both. del Riley de Hawkyshogh, Joh'is Elliot, et Joh. del Legh, qui dicunt sup. sacru' suu' quod hæc sunt jura et consuetudines sue. Qui tenent aliq' terras et tenementa secundum consuetudinē' mañii ut de honore Lincoln, quibus antecessores sui à temp. quo non extat memoria usi fuerint; videli't. Si aliquis tenens terras seu tenementa sc'dum consuet' manerii inde obierit seizitus, tunc ejus proximus hæres in propriâ personâ suâ vel per attornatum suum veniet infra tria Halmot' tunc proxime tenend' post obitum superioris tenentis ad faciend' finem rationabilem cum D^{no} p. eisdem terr' et tenement', si fu'it in Anglia. Et si rectus hæres non veniet et fuerit in Anglia in prop. persona, nec per attornatum, ad faciend. finem cum D^{no}, et modo debito proclametur 1^o, 2^{do}, et 3^o, ad tria Halmot' tunc prox. tenend. quod tunc licitum erit D^{no} per ejus Senescallum dicta terras et tenementa extraneo dimittere, et sicut dicunt, quod rectus hæres pro se et heredibus suis clameum suum in perpetuum amittet.

“ It^m, dicunt quod post obitum sive decessum alicujus tenentis seiziti per virgam, cujus terre et tenementa sic tenentur D^{no} secundum consuet^m p'dictam, illa terre et tenementa descendunt de herede ad heredem prout terre et tenementa liberorum tenentium per communem legem Anglie descendunt.

“ It^m, dicunt quod licitum erit cuilibet tenenti ter' et ten^a sc'dum cons' man' per suum custodem in curiam et manu' Dⁿⁱ sursum reddere ad opus cujuscunque voluerit, ac eciam ea vendere et alienare cuicunque sibi viderit melius expedire, necnon ea recipere et finem pro eisdem cum D^{no} per ejus Senesc^m facere, et cum necesse fuerit in eâdem curiâ pro eisdem respondere.

“ It^m, dicunt quod quilibet talis tenens potest in manus Dⁿⁱ sursum reddere ter' et ten' sua quæ tenet secundum consuetudinem manerii ad opus cujuscunque sibi placuerit in præsentia Senescalli Dⁿⁱ ib'm, tam in curiâ quam extra curiam, ac ecia' in absentiâ Senescalli in manum Præpositi ib'm, vel in manum alicujus vicini sui ad proximum Halmot' ult'ius tenend'.

“ It^m, dicunt quod illi ad quorum opus t'lia sive tenementa sic tenentur de D^{no} sc'dum consuet' man' sursum red' sive per vendicionē' sive per descensum, finis inde quem facient cum D^{no} erit—vidt cum D^{no} duplicabunt (firmani) unius anni ad maximum, nisi gratiam meliorem inde habuerit de D^{no} vel Sen^o loci.

“ It^m, dicunt quod nulla mulier habebit dotem, nisi solummodo de illis ter' et tenement' de quibus erit maritus seizitus per virgam curie.

“ It^m, dicunt quod nullus extraneus per minas veniens inter tenentes Dⁿⁱ sc'dm consuet' man'ii vertens in auxilium sibi per qu'situm sive conductum de generosis patrie ad implacitand' aliquem vel aliquos tenent' p'dictorum in Halmot Dⁿⁱ de Blakburnshyre ad aliquod implacitum in eisdem intrandum versus tenent. p'dict', vel alique' eor' per Senesc. loci vel ejus locum tenentem ullo modo receptus erit.

“ It^m, dicunt quod custos alicujus tenentis terras et ten. de D^{no} sc'dm c'suet' etsi infra ætatem existet ipse idem custos erit computato primo cum venerit ad ætat. xv annorum, et in hoc consu. man' sequitur communem legem Anglie.

“ It^m, dicunt quod si quis tenens Dⁿⁱ sec. consuet’ man’ii obierit et seizitus habuerit plures filias, omnia t’re et ten’ de quibus pater illarum obierit seizitus erunt equaliter partita cuilibet sororum illarum, sic’ filie lib’or’ tenent’ h’ent sc’d’m co’em legem Anglie.

“ It^m, dicunt quod nulla Esson. jacet in Halmot inter ter’ et ten’ [in it’ alias p’tes] in quovis placito.

“ It^m, * dicunt quod si contingat quod Rotuli Halmotorum sive Wapentache de Blackburnshyre sint perdati negligencia vel aliquo alio modo per Senescallos vel eorum clericos, in quibus quidem aliquis finis de ter^s et ten^s tentis de D^{no} sc’dum cons. man’i [p’d’tas et timebant?] quod si recti heredes tal’ tenent. qui fines fecerant voluerint petere inquisitionem, XII homines de tenentibu’ Dⁿⁱ ad inquirend’ utrum fines facti fuerint per antecessores suos, necne; et si inveniatur, quod tunc heredes eorum p. rationabili fine inde cu’ D^{no} faciend’ erunt recepti cora’ Senl^o loci.

“ It^m, dicunt quod bene liceat cuilibet tenent. sec’ cons^m p’dictam omnia terras et ten’ sua quæ tenet de D^{no} sc’dum cons. p’dictam, ad firmam dimittere rationabili tenenti abque fine aliquo modo cum D^{no} faciend’.

“ It’ dic’ q^d licitu’ e’ eisdem tenentibus recipe’ et h’ere arbores et subboscu’ crescent’ sup’ le Costom Land infra tenura’ p’pa’ ad rep’acione’ domoru’ et sepiu’ suoru’ edificat’ et edificand’ sup’ ten’tis suis de Costom Land, quotiens et quum oportuerit.

“ It’ dic’ q^d quilib’ talis tenēs de jure h’ere debet infr’ le Fens de Penhill à festo S’c’i Mich’is Arch’i usq. ad festu’ Pentecost t’nc p’x sequens unu’ jumentu’ p. IIId. et duo ani’ā p. IId. D^{no} solvend’.

“ It’ dic’ q^d quilib’ talis tene’s h’eret liberacionem p. forestariu’ Dⁿⁱ de Penhill, Rossyndale, et Trowden Accrington ad domos suas quociens et de fæno et Rissches solvend’ p. plaustrato 1d.

“ In quibu’ omn’. consented testimonium jurator. p’dict. necnon Thomas de Radcliff, Senescallus die anno et loco huic Sigilla sua apposuimus.”

To the honor of Clitheroe anciently belonged these officers†, whose fees were as follows :

	£.	s.	d.
Receiver of the Honor — — — —	15	13	4
Master Forester of Blackburnshire — — — —			
Master Forester of Bowland — — — —	6	13	4
Steward of Blackburnshire — — — —	3	6	8
Constable of Clitheroe Castle — — — —	10	0	0
Porter of the Castle — — — —	3	0	8
Keeper of Radholme park — — — —	1	10	4

Lastly, Grantees of the bailiwick from Henry, earl, afterwards duke of Lancaster, by charter dated 25th Edward III. These were the abbot and convent of Whalley, Gilb. de la Leigh, John de Alvetham, and Rich. de Tunlay, whose representatives still continue to exercise this office by deputy; and the Towneley family, so late as the year 1687‡, and perhaps later, con-

* This may seem to have been dictated by a foresight almost prophetic. See the next paragraph.

† Serjeant Fleetwood’s MS account of the Duchy of Lancaster, &c.

‡ From original papers Fen. Auct.

tinued to enumerate, in settlements, &c. not a moiety, but two fourth parts of the bailiwick of Blackburnshire, one for De la Leigh, and another for Townley.

Of this curious grant, yet extant in the Coucher Book of Whalley, the following is an extract, as the whole would be too long for transcription:—"Ceste endenture fait entre le noble Seigneur Henry Counte de Lancastre, Derby & Leicestre, & senescalle de Angleterre d'une Pte. & l'Abbe & convente de Whalley, Gilbert de Leigh, Johan. de Alvetham, et Ric. de Tunlay d'autre Pte. tesmoigne q' le dit Counte ad done & graunte & per ceste presente chartre endente conferme ad ditz abbe & convente & lors successeurs & as ditz Gilberte, Johan. et Ric. & a lors Heires, la Baille del Wapontake de Blakborneshyre, & tous les profits, comoditez & tous autres appurtenaunces a la dite Baille regardauntz; cest assavoir q' les ditz abbe & covente & lors successeur, Gilberte, Johan. & Ric. & lors Heires trouverent un home a cheval & deaux a pie de y estre Bailifs affair l'office que a la dite Baillie appartient, les queaux ferront psents, de an. en an. p. eaux, leurs successeurs et leurs Heires devant le senescalle de dit Counte ou de les Heires q' per le temps serra a la p'scheyne Court tenue a Clyderhowe, apres le fest de St. Michel l'archangel, et servientez de fair toutz choses quieuz atteignent a la dit Baille, nominement des rents, fines, & des amerciements pvantz. les putures deniz la dit Baille aussi entierement come les Bailiffs quieux furent en temps Mons. Henry de Lacy jadys Counte de Nichole priserent deniz le purecynte de la Bailee, hors pris les Tenaunts de dit Counte q' teignent de ly a volonte queux avaunt ces hours ne soyent (grauntez) puture donner," &c.—Couch. Book, p. 58.

Of the Master Foresters of Blackburnshire, though several names will occur in the following narrative, I am not able to give any connected list. The office itself appears to have existed from the origin of the Honor, and to have determined with the commission of approvment in the 23d Hen. VII.

The necessary intervention of the Senescalls or Stewards, in all legal transactions between the lords and their tenants, has rendered it no difficult task to exhibit a pretty complete succession of names in *their* office, which appears for several centuries to have been an object of ambition to the first families of the county; but which, about a century ago, began to be entrusted to common agents resident upon the place, for which reason the series is not continued beyond that period.

The following catalogue, from Gilbert de Clifton, has been extracted from a valuable collection of local MSS. at Browsholme, with some additional names inserted in their proper places. The foregoing names I have collected from charters without date, and cannot therefore undertake to settle their relative places with exactness.

SENESCALLI DE BLACKBURNSHIRE.

Adam de Dutton, temp. Rog. et Joh. de Lacy*.

Robertus de Cancia, }
Alanus Clericus, } temp. Joh. de Lacy, qui ob. 1240.

Nicholas de Burton.

Willielmus de Burch.

* This Adam de Dutton is one of the witnesses to the foundation charter of Stanlaw, A.D. 1178; and a Dominus Adam occurs as steward in charters of John de Lacy, who succeeded A.D. 1211: so that, if both these names design the same person, which I believe, he must have held the office at least 33 years.

Gilbertus de Hocton.

Henricus de Torboc.

Gilbertus de Clifton, 3 Ed. I.

Adam de Blackburn, miles 12 ejusd.

Henric. de Kighley, 16 ej.

Robertus de Hepple, 22 ej.

Simon de Balderston, 32 ej.

Edmundus Talbot, 32 ej.

Robertus Sherburne, 34 ej.

Johannes de Midhope, 10 Ed. II.

Willielmus de Tatham, 17 ej.

Rich. de Radcliffe, 6 Ed. III.

Willielmus de Tatham, ad 13 ej.

Johannes de Radcliffe, ad 22 ej.

Willielmus Laurence, ad 27 ej.

Ric. de Radcliffe, et } cum eo pro eo an.
Rob. de Singleton, }

Idem ad 38 ej.

Godfr. Foljambe, eod. anno.

Ric. de Towneley, a 39 ad 46 ej.

Gilb. de la Leigh, 49 ej.

Tho. Radcliffe, 8 Ric. II.

Joh. de Poole, 9 ej.

Tho. Radcliffe 10 ej.

Robertus Urswick, 16 ej.

Hen. Hoghton, 12 Hen. IV.

Joh. Stanley, mil. 8 Hen. VI.

Ric. Tunstal, mil. 38 ejusd.

Tho. Dns. Stanley, a 3 ad 19 Ed. IV. }

Tho. Comes Derby, ad 19 Hen. VII. }

Petrus Legh, mil. a 21 ej. ad 2 Hen. VIII.

Ric. Tempest, mil. ad 28 ejusd.

Tho. Clifford, mil. 30 ejusd.

Arthur D'Arcy, mil. 36 ejusd. ad 4 Ed. VI.

Tho. Talbot, mil. 1 Phil. et Mar.

Tho. Talbot, mil. }
Joh. Towneley, arm. } 4 ejusd.

Joh. Towneley, arm. a 1 Eliz. ad ejusd.

Ric. Molineaux, arm. a 24 ej. ad 36.

Willielmus Assheton, arm. 39 ejusd.

Ric. Molineaux, mil. }
Ric. Vic. Molineaux, } a 42 Eliz. ad 5 Car. I.

Jacobus Dns. Strange, }
 Johannes Byron, mil. Baln. } ad 16 Car.

Nicholas Assheton, arm. 1653.

Andrew Holden, gen. } 1656*

John Lawe, gen. } 1658

Caryl vicecom. Molineaux, 14 Car. II.

Joh. Baynes, arm. 26 }
 27 } ejusd.

• Tho. Stringer, mil. 33 ejusd. ad 1 Jac. II.

Anth. Parker, arm. 2 Gul. et Mar.

Tho. Coulthurst, arm. 4 Ann.

FORESTS.

And ðeƿe Ʒepexen
 Ʒuda ƿeƿteƿn mýcel
 Ʒuniað on ðam picum
 Ʒilda ðeop moniƷe
 In ðeopa ðalum
 Deopa unƷepim.

VET. POEM. SAX. AP. HICKES THES. VOL. I. p. 178.

Before we enter upon a particular survey of the forests of Blackburnshire and Bowland, it may not be uninteresting to give a short abstract of the laws and customs of our ancient forests in general.

The word forest †, in its original and most extended sense, implied a tract of land lying out, (foras) that is rejected, as of no value in the first distribution of property; but, though immense quantities of ground, falling under this description, undoubtedly subsisted in England from the earliest times; though the whole country of Deira, or Deopalonð, may be considered as one immense forest; though, from the name of those beautiful animals with which they were filled, and the coverts with which they abounded, our Saxon ancestors had long distinguished these retreats by the names of Bucholc and Deoppalð ‡, there is no clear evidence to prove that they were reserved for the peculiar recreation of our monarchs, and still less, that they were placed under a distinct code of laws, before the reign of Canute, who, in A.D. 1016, promulgated the *Constitutiones de Foresta* §.

* During the Usurpation. After the Restoration, Holden was continued as Deputy. About the same time I meet with a Tho. Forster, esq. calling himself lord of the manor of Ightenhill, and Edm. Stephenson, gent. his steward.

† Manwood, who wrote upon this picturesque and curious subject with no taste, and with all the pedantry of his age, gravely proves that there were forests in Judea, from Ps. L. 10.—“All the beasts of the forest are mine.”—When men have long been confined to the professional use of terms, it never seems to occur to them that they have a more popular and extended signification.

‡ These are also proper names of two of our forests, one in Hampshire and Wiltshire, the other in Shropshire. Topographers reckon 69 forests in England, but the enumeration is far from being complete.

§ Lord Coke, Inst. 4. 320, expresses a doubt with respect to the genuineness of these constitutions, because they are no where referred to in the general laws of Canute, and because the 30th constitution of the former is inconsistent with cap. 77 of the latter; as if the virtual alteration, and even repeal, of a former statute by a later, afforded a pre-

In these constitutions, therefore, we have the first outline of that singular system, which, from the anxiety of the first Norman princes to secure to themselves the envied pleasures of the chace, afterwards became very artificial; which is now very picturesque and amusing indeed to us, who view the apparatus of it at a distance; but was oppressive and cruel, in an high degree, to those who had the misfortune to live within its grasp.

By these laws, the supreme jurisdiction over the forests of England was committed to four *Thegenes* (thains or principal barons); an inferior authority delegated to four *Lesthegenes* (homines mediocres, or lesser barons); and the immediate custody of each entrusted to two *Tinemen* (minuti homines); whose office it was to guard, by nightly watches, against offences of vert and venison.

The sanctions of this code were chiefly pecuniary; saving, that in two cases, first of having offered violence to one of the four great thanes, and, secondly, of having slain a staggon, or royal beast, the free man forfeited his liberty, and the slave his life.

The supreme administration of the forests, however, fell by degrees into the hands of one

sumption against the authenticity either of the one or the other. But for what purpose should they be fabricated? I will make the most favourable supposition for Lord Coke's hypothesis—namely, that they were devised for the purpose of confronting an early and merciful code with the sanguinary system of forest laws, which prevailed after the Conquest. But this opinion is encumbered with insuperable difficulties; for, 1st, these constitutions, like the other acknowledged laws of Canute, have been written in Danish: this is proved by the many Danish words, which the Translator has actually left interspersed with his own version; and which, though many of them are so corrupted as to be unintelligible in their present form, are yet capable of a good sense by slight literal alterations.

2d. I recollect no instances of forgeries after the Conquest, but of charters, and those by monks, and for their own advantage: these, moreover, were in Latin; because the Normans either did not understand their Saxon evidences, or treated them with contempt.

The barons, and even secular clergy, being more illiterate, were less inventive, and therefore less to be suspected of such fabrications.

Again, during the first reigns after the Conquest, our countrymen groaned, rather than remonstrated, under the tyranny of the Forest Laws: it is not probable, therefore, that such an instrument would be fabricated before it was wanted, and might be pleaded with some effect.

But in the reign of John, though the Saxon characters were* generally in use, and though the dialect of the time was a semi-Saxon, it would have been difficult to find even a monk who could have written the language of the laws of Canute.

Lastly, in these laws the wolf is spoken of as actually existing; which, though we know it was, not only in the time of Canute, but for a considerable time after the Conquest, yet it only subsisted in remote parts of the Island; and it is almost certain that a monkish falsary of later days, better acquainted with chronicles than facts in Natural History, would have acquiesced in the common opinion of the extinction of wolves by Edgar. Once for all, as we shall have frequent occasion to differ on the subject of legal antiquities with Lord Coke, it may be necessary to say, that though he greatly affected this species of knowledge, he was, in fact, a poor etymologist, and a worse critic, even in his own science. His understanding was clear and acute, rather than comprehensive; and having narrowed the attention of his whole life to a single point, the common law, he became, of course, a consummate master of it. Among those who rise to the highest ranks in his profession, it may be remarked that there are persons of two descriptions; the first consisting of men, who by the compass and universality of their talents, attain to great eminence in other sciences, at the same time that they illustrate and adorn their own: such were More, Bacon, Hyde, Hale, Murray, Blackstone. The next is made up of those who, wanting the illumination of native genius, and the polish of acquired literature, with great knowledge and much practical usefulness in their own peculiar walk, are only to be considered as a more dignified species of attornies—and such appears to have been Lord Coke.

* Some of them are occasionally found in MSS (not in charters) as low as the reign of Edward III. or perhaps lower. The convenient and compendious character þ was, I believe, the last.

chief justiciary, till, in the year 1184, Henry II. divided the forests of England into two jurisdictions, North and South of Trent, which gave rise to the two *itineræ*, or *eyres*, still nominally subsisting. Over each of these he placed four justices; *viz.* two clerks and two knights, together with two servants of his own household, as wardens, over all the other foresters.

Each of these *itineræ*, however, gradually fell back under the jurisdiction of one.

But, after the Conquest, a much more material alteration took place in the internal government of the forests, by which a man, even a free man, trespassing against the king's venison, was condemned to a punishment worse than death, namely, mutilation and loss of eyes; a penalty which, from the assizes of Hen. I. and Ric. I. appears to have been inflicted with no sparing hand.

To return, the constitution of the forests being thus fixed by Henry II. we find their officers, under the chief justices, to have consisted of the wardens, now first introduced, of foresters, verdurers, regards, agisters, woodwards, sometimes called woodreeves and bedels, whose respective offices are ascertained with great exactness in the old writers on this subject.

Forests were generally exempt from the operation of both civil and ecclesiastical law: they belonged, in strictness, to no parish, hundred, county, or diocese; and accordingly they had pleas of their own, greater and less. The former held every third year, by the chief justice or his deputy: the latter, that of *Swainmote*, which carries its inferior rank and rustic character in the name, summoned thrice in every year. Besides these was a court of attachment, subordinate to both the former.

The pervading principle of forest law was essentially different, either from humanity or general policy—*Adeo ut* (says the Black Book of the Exchequer) *quod per leges forestæ factum fuerit, non justum absolute, sed justum secundum leges forestæ dicitur*; and what was worse, the rule and measure even of this factitious justice was the *arbitrium solius regis, vel cujuslibet familiarium ad hoc specialiter deputati*. We may, therefore, cease to wonder that, under a system like this, it was equally criminal to lop an holly and to fell an oak; or that it was even more penal to kill a stag than to murder a man.

Forests are either natural, such as have been above described, or factitious; for it was held a branch of ancient prerogative in the kings of England to afforest, under certain forms, at pleasure, the lands of the subject, for their own sovereign amusement.

This formidable right, however, appears to have been rarely exercised. Never, perhaps, but in two instances, by William the Conqueror, in afforesting great part of Hampshire; and by Henry VIII. in creating the forest of Hampton Court. The latter, however, seems to have comprehended little but lands previously belonging to the Crown. But the wide and unfeeling devastation committed by the former was followed by an awful lesson to those who pervert the first principles of justice and mercy for their own brutal gratification; since, in a tract where he had made the blood of man to be lightly regarded, in comparison with that of beasts, three of his own immediate descendants actually shed their own blood in the pursuit of these very animals*.

* These enormities frequently drew heavy complaints from the historians and other writers of those times; out of which, for the Reader's amusement, rather than to excite his compassion, I will select one from Joh. Sarisb. in his *Polyeraticon*:—“A novalibus, sui arcentur agricolæ, dum feræ habeant vagandi libertatem: illis, ut augeantur, prædia
“subtrahuntur agricolis; cum pascua armentariis et gregariis, tum alvearia à floralibus excludunt, ipsis quoque
“apibus

But though succeeding kings, as Henry II. Richard I. and John, never ventured upon acts of similar devastation, that is, never afforested in a manner equally oppressive with that of the Conqueror, yet, without absolutely depopulating villages, destroying inclosures, or extending the utmost rigour of the Forest Laws beyond their former bounds, they enlarged far and wide the limits of the forests themselves; and this, among other grievances, provoked the barons (who, to do justice to their humanity, were not the principal sufferers) to extort from King John the first charter of the forests, in which the deforestation of all these recent additions to the ancient forests was expressly stipulated; but, before the necessary regulation took effect, the king died, and nothing material was done till the 9th Hen. III. when a second charter, to the same effect, having been extorted from his necessities, orders were given that inquisitions should be held, and perambulations made, in order to distinguish the lands afforested by the late kings, from old and rightful forests. — Little, however, in the remoter parts of the kingdom especially, was done to this effect, through the remainder of that long reign*.

But, in the beginning of the reign of Edward I. the work was seriously undertaken. A commission was issued, under the great seal, to cause all the true and ancient forests to be mered and bounded by certain land-marks; — all newly afforested lands to be severed from the former, and the boundaries of each to be returned into the Court of Chancery†.

And these lands, so disforested, were called *Pourallees*, or *Purlieus*, from *Fr. pourallée*, a perambulation; yet, notwithstanding all these steps, as lands of this peculiar description had never been completely afforested, so they were never considered by the lawyers as entirely restored to their original rights; but, as partaking of a middle nature and constitution between free and forest land, and were therefore placed under certain laws and regulations peculiar to themselves.

But this wise and excellent prince rendered a much more essential service to English liberty by his general confirmation of the *Carta de Foresta*, in which all the arbitrary and all the sanguinary parts of the old code were abolished at once; and it was expressly declared, “that no English subject shall henceforward lose life or limb for any trespass of vert or venison; but, if any one be convicted of killing the king’s deer, he shall be sentenced to pay an heavy mulct; which if he cannot discharge, he shall lie in prison one year; after which, if he be unable to find pledges, he shall abjure the realm‡.” This surpassed even the Saxon law in clemency§ and moderation.

“apibus vix naturali libertate uti permissum est.” — The first part of this complaint is rational, but the latter puerile and trifling.

The writer had probably never asked himself by what mode of enclosure, or by what act of prerogative, hive-bees could be shut out from the flowers of the forest. But truth is an ingredient equally necessary in good rhetoric and in good morals.

* *Carta de Foresta*, 9 Hen. III.

† *Assize and Const. Forest.*, 6 Edw. I. *et seq.*

‡ *Spelman in voce Foresta.*

§ Excessive severity always leads to the contrary extreme; and accordingly, the royal forests have long been undisturbed retreats of poachers and deer-stealers. But, while I am writing this, a bill is brought into Parliament for the better preservation of game in the King’s forests, of which the principal enactment is to *punish persons poaching in the forests in the same manner with those who are convicted of that offence on private grounds*. So that it now requires additional rigour to put these parts of the royal domains upon a footing which the Norman princes would have encountered a rebellion rather than have consented that they should be reduced to.

Our next inquiry will be into the animals which these laws had for their object to protect.

It were a tedious and pedantic task to pursue the old foresters through all the barbarous terms by which they distinguished beasts of venery or chace, their haunts, foot-marks, excrements, and other particulars equally unimportant*.

But the two following extracts, one from the *Cons. Canuti*, A.D. 1016, and the other from Dame Juliana Berners, authoress of the Black Book of St. Alban's, who flourished about 1480, will shew, in general, what was the nature of this distinction, and also how little agreed foresters of different periods were among themselves, with respect to the particular objects of it.

By Const. Can. 24, the staggon, or stag, alone is considered as the true *fera forestæ*, or beast of venery: he is otherwise denominated, by way of eminence, *fera regalis*; and by Const. 27, in the same collection, it is declared, “*Quod sunt aliæ bestiæ, quæ, dum inter septa et sepes forestæ continentur, emendationi subjacent, quales sunt Capreoli, Lepores, Cuniculi: sunt et alia quamplurima animalia, quæ, quanquam intra septa forestæ vivunt et curæ mediocrium subjacent, forestæ tamen nequaquam censeri possunt, qualia sunt, Bubali, Vaccæ, et similia. Vulpes et Lupi nec forestæ nec venationis habentur, et proindè eorum interfectio nulli emendationi subjacet; Aper vero, quanquam forestæ sit, nullatenus tamen animal venationis haberi est assuetum†.*”

We will now hear the Prioress of Sopewell deliver her scientific precepts:-

“ My dere sones wher ye fare by Frith or by Fell
Take gode hede in hys tyme, how Tristrem‡ will tell:
Ffour maner Bestes of Venery ther are
The first of hem is a Hart, the second is an Hare,
The Boor is one of tho
The Wolf and no mo:
And wherso ye come in Playe or in Place,
Nowe I shal tel you which be Bestes of Chace,
On of the' a Buck, another a Doo,
The Fox and the Martyn, and the wilde Roo,
And ye shal, my dere Sones, other Bestes all
Wherso ye finde, Rascals hem call
In Frith or in Fell
Or in Forest I you tell.

Without attempting to reconcile differences in opinion, or rather in language, which a revolution of five centuries had produced, we will now leave the king and the lady to adjust these points between themselves.

* The curious Reader, however, is referred, for all these particulars, to Manwood.—For. Laws, c. 4.

† In this constitution I discover the passage alluded to by the solicitor-general St. John, in his inhuman speech at the trial of the Earl of Strafford. “We give law,” said that unfeeling accuser, “to hares and deer, because they are beasts of chace; but we give no law to wolves and foxes, because they are beasts of prey, but knock them on the head wherever we find them.”—Clarend. Hist. Reb. fol. ed. vol. I. p. 183.

‡ “Sir Tristram, an ancient forester, in his worthy Treatise of Hunting.”—Manwood.

For, indeed, which were beasts of venery, and which of chace, is to us a matter of small importance; but, as some of these animals in the royal forest have long been extinct, while others, perhaps less likely to sustain themselves against the strength and cunning of man, are yet remaining; as a new and beautiful species appears to have been introduced at an uncertain period; and as it is always a pleasing exercise of the understanding to investigate the causes which produce important changes in animated nature, we will now attempt to assign a few probable reasons for these circumstances.

First, then, in the earlier periods of society*, the bulky and timid quadrupeds, which minister to the sustenance of man, if not taken under his protection, are the first which fall under his ravages.

To this class belonged a gigantic species of deer†, which became extinct in England too early to be noticed even in the laws of Canute: to this also belongs the stag, together with the bubalus, or wild bull, of which the last continues in some ancient parks, while the former, though more numerous, is yet rapidly decreasing.

These were the first and easiest prey of savages, because their haunts were easily discovered, their swiftness was greater than their sagacity, their strength easy to be subdued by perseverance; and their powers of resistance almost nothing.

In the same class must be ranked a smaller tribe; the *Capreoli*, *Lepores*, *Cuniculi*, of Canute's Constitutions; of the two former of which it may reasonably be asked, why, with much greater swiftness, though less sagacity, the first is, within little more than two centuries, become extinct in England, while the second every where abounds.

Both, we see, were alike placed under that partial protection of man, which was introduced by the Forest Laws, and is still continued in unenclosed manors or chaces; but the one did not want, and the other disdained to accept, the closer protection of a park; for it is scarcely possible to impound an animal which can bound almost twenty feet perpendicular‡.

* No fact contributes more, in my mind, to verify the Mosaic history, than the account given in Gen. iv. 2. by which the sheep appears to have been placed under the protection of man from the beginning. Nothing but inspiration, or what is the same thing, specific instructions from the Almighty, could have directed the attention of a creature so helpless and ignorant as man then was, to another creature so totally devoid of strength, swiftness, and sagacity, before the latter had perished from the earth. Beasts of prey were guided by a swifter impulse, and would have discovered its relish long before *he* had learned its uses. Our old unthinking historians tell us, that Henry I. stocked his park of Woodstock with panthers, ounces, leopards, &c. never considering what was to become of its gentler inhabitants. But immediately after the Creation, or rather the Fall, the world itself, though upon a larger scale, must have been nearly in the same state. I suppose, therefore, that in some instances, like the present, specific instructions were given to man; and in others, a particular Providence watched, for a season, over the feebler animals.

† This animal, of whose existence in England there is no evidence but that of its gigantic horns, of which several pairs have been found in Lancashire (Leigh, p. 184, &c. &c.), is mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis, as remaining in Ireland in his time. He describes it as of the shape of a stag, and the bulk of an ox. I have not the work of Giraldus at present to refer to; but am certain of the fact, as he reports it: and his account is confirmed by the great number of horns and skeletons belonging to that animal, which are found in Ireland. Leigh called the horns which he has engraven, in his History of Lancashire, those of the Canadian stag; by which, I suppose, he meant the elk, whose horns, however, are palmated; and thence too, with his usual sagacity, he inferred the universality of a Deluge. As if an indigenous animal, extinct in his time, could not have died in a Lancashire bog.

‡ In Leland's time the roe remained in the marches of Wales: at present it is found in no part of the Island, but in the highlands of Scotland; and at Blair, in Athol, where the breed most abounds, it is seen indiscriminately within the park and without, passing and re-passing the pales at pleasure.

The

The roe and hare, therefore, were necessarily left to take their chance for life, together, in the forest or in the field. But an animal like the former, bringing forth once a year, and at most two at a birth, did little more than provide for a succession of its species against the contingency of natural death, in a secure and protected state. Placed, therefore, out of that protection, it could only have subsisted, at least in populous districts, by means of a quality which it did not possess, namely, sagacity added to swiftness; while the other, by producing three, or sometimes four together, perhaps, too, by the singular property of superfoetation*, multiplies much faster; and by the acuteness of its hearing, and the rotundity of its eye, together with its habits of vigilance and universal caution, though otherwise helpless in itself, and very partially protected by man, preserves its species, undiminished, in the midst of enemies. The bulk of the roe, too, which rendered it a better mark and more difficult to be concealed, was another unfavourable circumstance.

The third, and most helpless of these animals, the rabbit, is obviously preserved, partly in consequence of having been made property, and partly by its own instinctive habit of subterraneous concealment.

But, after the time of Canute, another species of deer seems to have been introduced, of which, though it is become the most numerous of the whole genus, the great ornament of our parks and forests, and even yet the second luxury of our tables, the history is very obscure: this is the common fallow deer; with respect to which, it is really extraordinary, that so accurate and well-informed a zoologist as Mr. Pennant† should acquiesce in the common opinion, that the spotted kind were brought from Bengal, and the brown from Norway to Scotland by James I. at the time of his marriage. This opinion must of course bring down the introduction of the first variety to a later period than the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope; whereas the species was unquestionably found in England two centuries before. I will now state what has occurred to me upon the subject, not as being at all satisfactory, but in order to invite a more accurate investigation.

In the squire of low degree, which is alluded to by Chaucer, in the rhyme of Sir Thopas, and is probably not long anterior to his time, we find merely this enumeration of forest-beasts, *harte and hynde, and other like*; but in the romance of St. Degore, which is supposed by Mr. Warton‡ to be contemporary with the former,

For to hunt for a dere or a do.

This may be referred to the end of Edward II. or beginning of his son's reign.

A little after, we find the following passage in the romance of Hippomedon§.

Hippomedon he, with his houndes throo,
Drew down both Buck and Doe.

* This fact is denied by Mons. Buffon, but asserted by our countryman Sir Thomas Browne, a man not inferior to the French Naturalist in exactness of observation and philosophical incredulity. Instances of extra-uterine conception, which may possibly have led to the other opinion, are certainly observed in hares. See Plot's Hist. of Staffordshire, p. 253.

† History of Quadrupeds, vol. I. p. 35, &c.

‡ Hist. of English Poetry, vol. I. p. 180.

§ It must be observed, that whatever may be the hero's name or age, and wherever the scene is laid in the old romances, the manners are contemporary with the writers, and purely English. Thus, too, Shakespeare's Thescus is a mere English Sportsman.—Mids. Night's Dream.

And again,

All the Game of the Forest,
Hert and Hynd, Buck and Doe.

While Caxton was printing the Golden Legend, he had a present from William Lord Arundel, of a buck in summer, and a doe in winter.—And about the same time they are mentioned by dame Juliana Berners, in the passage quoted above.

But it is not to be dissembled, that though the silence of Canute's constitutions of the forest seems to prove them not indigenous in England, yet, the Saxon Bucholtz, occasions a little hesitation: still, the word may either be derived from Bucken, beech-trees; or, which is more probable, may denominate the deer genus universally.

If, however, the buck and doe be not indigenous, from what country, and at what period, between the time of Canute and that of Edward II. or III. they were introduced, I am yet to be informed. Can any evidence be adduced to prove that they were imported by the later crusaders from the East? If our hierozoicon be accurate, the fallow deer was known in Judea as early as the time of Solomon, 1 Kings iv. 23.*

The rascal tribe (from which it does not appear why the marten should be excluded) consisted of the otter, the badger, the weasel; and, in Leland's time, of the beaver also. To these ought to be added (if the name were not unworthy of him), another beautiful and harmless forester, the squirrel; and a sixth, well entitled to the appellation; who, if his courage had been in any degree comparable to his strength, activity, and fierceness, would have been a formidable animal indeed: this is that shy and treacherous native of the woods, the wild cat, of which our common household cat is a diminutive and degenerate variety; who with all the habits of domestication, retains every propensity of savage life: fawning, yet irascible; alternately indolent and indefatigable, vigilant and sluggish; voracious, though patient of abstinence; fond of warmth, yet capable of enduring all the extremities of cold; cunning, but almost altogether indocile; and thievish, when pampered to the utmost.

The wild boar, which appears to have existed in England during the reign of Canute, is to be referred partly to the present class, and partly to the following.

2d. The next tribe, which disappears before the skill or the courage of man, are the larger animals of prey, of which the wolf†, as it attacks the more valuable domestic animals, and sometimes man himself, will not long be endured after the invention of fire-arms, except where his retreats are nearly inaccessible.

His congener, the fox, now exists in England, either by connivance or contempt: for,

* And long before.—See Deuteron. xiv. 5; where the *Dishun*, rather than the *Jackmur*, appears to be our fallow deer; as Jerom, who must have been well acquainted with the animals of the country where he lived, renders the former *Pygargus*.

† Dr. Caius acquiesced in the vulgar opinion of the extinction of wolves in England by Edgar. "Regnavit," says he, "Edgarus circ. A.D. 959, a quo tempore non legimus nativum in Anglia visum lupum." I have already affirmed, that they certainly existed among us to a much lower period, and will now produce the latest positive evidence I have met with upon the subject.—The abbey of Fors, in Wensleydale, was founded A.D. 1145; that is, nearly two centuries after the reign of Edgar; and some time after, Alan, earl of Bretagne, gave to the monks of that abbey the flesh of wild animals, killed by wolves, in the Forest of Wensleydale.—These men must have been both stout and vigilant to make the gift of any value; but the grant ascertains a curious and important fact in English zoology.—*Vide* Burton's Monast. Ebor. under Fors Abbey.

were this paltry animal once to be abandoned by sportsmen; or were he, instead of confining himself to petty larcenies in the hen-roost, or on the common, now and then to seize an infant, the species would not be permitted to remain for twelve months.

But, as we descend in the scale of predatory animals, their extinction becomes proportionably difficult: their fecundity and diminutive size, together with the nature of their haunts, near to themselves and inaccessible to man, enabling them to defy the vanquisher of nobler beasts, and to carry on their petty but teizing and innumerable depredations, without a possibility of redress.

After the animals, which, in one way or other, were either protected or tolerated in the forests, we are next to consider such as were forbidden. These were four: the goose, the hog, the sheep, and the goat. For the first of these prohibitions, which would probably not be executed with rigor, I know no reason, unless there be something in the scream or dung of that uncleanly and vociferous fowl particularly offensive to deer; of the second, the reason is obvious, as hogs would have made too free with mast and acorns; the third must have resulted from observing a circumstance, which I have often attended to, but never heard remarked, namely, a visible aversion between deer and sheep; deer will attach themselves to cows, and goats to horses; but nature seems to have implanted a mutual antipathy in the two other tribes, for the purpose of preventing unnatural commixtures between animals not sufficiently remote from one another in size, to hinder that evil without a strong repulsive instinct.

The reason why the goat was included in these prohibitions is very obvious, as he must have been a capital offender against vert and greneheu *.

Another tribe of animals was partially forbidden within the forests, from a very different motive.

In the varieties of the dog, Providence seems to have raised up a faithful and necessary ally to man in his warfare or intercourse with other quadrupeds. In this alliance he was too formidable to be overlooked by the jealousy of a forest legislator. Accordingly we find that,

1st. The greyhound and the spaniel, from their strength and swiftness, were absolutely prohibited within the verge of the forests.

2d. The mastiff†, a stout but not an active dog, was allowed to be kept, when incapacitated for mischief by one of the two following operations, either genucission, sometimes termed

* Manwood, p. 238.

† The etymology of this word has never been made out. Manwood says, (Forest Laws, c. 16,) in the old British speech, meaning, I suppose, old English, they do call him Mase-thefe. This is childish, besides that, in old English, the word would have been not Mase, but Mate, as *ex. gr.* a great wooden tower, which Richard I. raised against the Saracens, was called Mate-griffon. Dr. Caius, the learned author of that scarce little work “*De Canibus Britannicis*,” is not much more happy, as he derives the words a *maste sagina, est enim crassum genus canum et bene saginatum catenarium hoc*; on which I have only to observe, that, if the mastiff had nothing better to feast upon than mast, he would not long be *genus crassum et bene saginatum*. What follows will, I think, lead to the same origin of the word: *scio Augustinum Niphum Mastinum (mastivum nostri vocant) pecuarium existimare et Albertum, Lyciscum, ex cane et lupo genitum*. This leads me to suspect both the name and the breed to be Spanish, for in that language the word Mestino really signifies the lyciscus, or wolf dog; but the word mestizo, a mongrel, is, I believe, the genuine parent of mastiff. This was Junius’s conjecture (in voce Mastiff), and is strikingly confirmed by the manner in which it is pronounced by the common people in Lancashire, *i. e.* not mastiff but mastiss.

hoxing, which was the more ancient practice *, or expeditation, otherwise called lawing †, that is, striking off three toes of the fore feet, which is still in use ‡.

3d. By the constitutions of Canute, it was lawful to keep the veltor or langeran §, and the ramhundt ||, by the former of which I understand the terrier, and by the latter the sheep dog, as the diminutive size and base propensities of these kinds secured the nobler animals of chace and venery from their attacks.

4th. No prohibition whatever is laid upon the keeping of staghounds, either because it was supposed that no one would dare to attack the king's deer openly, and with whole packs of dogs; or, because certain privileges to kill deer having been granted to peers, bishops, &c. on their way to and from parliament, it would be understood that whatever was not included in these indulgencies, was prohibited of course ¶.

It only remains that we throw together a few miscellaneous facts relating to the administration of the forests.

* Or hocksinewing. Henry II. introduced the modern practice of lawing. Assiz. Woodstock, art. 6.

† Or hambling. Hence the vulgar word hample, to limp.

‡ In Bowland expeditation is not governed by the species, but by the size of the dog—an iron ring being kept as a gauge, through which every foot that will pass escapes the operation.

§ In these constitutions almost all the Danish words which the translator has retained, are corrupted. I would read, therefore, instead of Langeran, which is nonsense, Langpun or Longsnout, from *gpn*; in the Lancashire dialect *groom* or *groin*, a sharp snout. I meet with the word also in old Scottish poetry.

“ Came like a sowe out of a middin,
Full slepy was his Grunye.” Dunbar.

|| Ramhundt is pretty obviously the common sheep dog. Hund in Danish, as in modern German, being co-extensive with the generic term dog itself. Of this Dr. Caius admonishes his friend Gesner: “ Hounde—a vocabulo vestrati hunde, quod canem in universum apud vos significat.”

I will just beg leave to add, that in the time of Caius, whose book “ De Canibus Britannicis” was first published A. D. 1570, three species of hybrid animals were common in England, of which two are now rare, and the last I think unknown.

1st. The lyciscus or mungrel between the dog and the wolf.

2d. The lacena, bred between the dog and the fox.

3d. The urcanus, between the dog and the bear. Of the existence of this last I should have doubted, had not Dr. Caius, a man of integrity and science, declared that it abounded in his time.

¶ In the present state of manners it will scarcely be believed with what tribes of dogs our ancient nobility, and even dignified ecclesiastics, were accompanied on their journies.

“ Now,” says the accurate observer and bitter satyrst of his contemporary clergy, Piers Plowman,

“ Is religion a pricker on a palfry, from maner to maner,
An heape of houndes at his . . . as he a lorde were.”

And we are told that A. D. 1216, an archdeacon of Richmond, on his visitation, came to the priory of Bridlington with ninety-seven horses, twenty-one dogs, and three hawks. Dugdale's Monasticon, vol. II. p. 65.

It is well known that, upon the death of a bishop, his kennel of hounds was due, at common law, as a mortuary to the king. Archbishop Cranmer was an excellent horseman, and fond of hunting. One of his successors, Archbishop Juxon, was probably the last prelate in England who kept a pack of hounds: but there was an Irish prelate of later times, T. . . . Bishop of R. . . . , a little man, but mighty hunter, whose example in this respect, as well as others, probably has been monitory to his brethren in that kingdom, and who closed a life of indecorum and irregularity in a manner more horrid than was ever openly told.

In

In the privileges of a forest were contained all the subordinate rights belonging to chaces, parks, and warrens, as *omne majus continet in se minus* *.

In strictness of law none but the king could have a forest, for no subject could grant a commission to hold a court of justice seat; but there are exceptions to this rule, as will appear below.

To a forest, besides the justice seat, appertained the two inferior courts of swainmote and attachment, with foresters, verdurers, regards and agisters; a chace was entitled to keepers and woodwards only.

Fifteen days before midsummer, and fifteen after, were called the fence month, in which all hunting was strictly forbidden, the hinds being then either big with young, or having just calved.

The forests were generally driven twice a year, once immediately before the fence month, in order that no disturbance might be given to the hinds, does, or fawns; and, 2dly, about Holyrood day, when the agisters began to take in cattle †. At these times all who had common right upon the forest came to the pounds, where a roll of the *gaits* they were entitled to was kept, surchargers fined, and foreigners who had cattle straying within the limits amerced, or sometimes the beasts forfeited.

No forester was permitted to arrest an offender against vert or venison, unless he were taken with the manour, which he might be in the four following situations, *viz.*

Stable-stand,
Dogdraw,
Back-bear,
Bloody-hand.

Stable-stand, when a man was found with a long bow, or cross bow bent, or standing with greyhounds in his leash, ready to let them slip.

Dogdraw, when a man had already wounded a deer, and was found drawing after him with an hound or other dog, to recover him in his flight.

Back-bear, when actually carrying off a deer which he had killed. And

Bloody-hand, when a man was found coursing, or returning from coursing, within the forest, in a suspicious manner, with his hands embrewed in blood.

All these were to be arrested and committed to prison, where they were to await the court of justice seat, unless delivered by the king's especial command.

Verdurers, were judicial officers sworn to keep the assizes of the forest, and to receive and enrol all presentment of trespasses against vert and venison ‡.

The verdurer was also a kind of coroner, who, with ludicrous solemnity, held an inquisition *super visum corporis*, over the slain deer.

The regarder was to view and enquire of similar trespasses.

Foresters were sworn to preserve the vert and venison, to attend the wild beasts, to attach and present offenders. These were of two kinds, 1st, ordinary foresters, holding their offices

* Manwood, p. 52.

† Ibid. p. 235.

‡ Ibid. c. 21.

during pleasure, though under the great seal; or, 2dly *, foresters of fee, who held the office to them and their heirs, paying a fee farm to the king. These were the real efficient guardians of the forests, and they had under them inferior servants, called underkeepers or walkers.

Next to the foresters, ranked the bedels of the forest, whose office was merely to execute processes, and to make garnishment of the courts of Swainmote and Attachment.

The lowest officer in this catalogue was the woodward, to whom belonged only the care of wood and vert, an object then deemed of no importance, excepting as it regarded the accommodation of the deer.

The ensign of the woodward's office was a bill, as he was not empowered to bear a bow, which belonged to his superiors.

To enliven this dry detail, we will now conclude with a beautiful portrait, drawn by Chaucer, of an ancient forester, in the person of the squire's yeoman, of which the costume is most exact.

“ And he was clad in Cote and Hode of Grene;
 A Shaft of Pecoche Arwes bright and kene
 Under his Belt he bare full thriftily,
 Well coude he dresse his takel yemanly:
 His Armes drooped not with Fetheres lowe,
 And in his Hande he bare a mighty Bowe;
 A not-hed had he with a broune visage,
 Of Wood-crafte could he well all the usage.
 Upon his Arm he bare a gay Bracer,
 And by his Side a Sword and a Bokeler,
 A Christopher on his Brest of Silver Shene,
 A Horne he bare, the Baudrick was of grene,
 A Forster was he sothily, as I gesse.”

Prol. to the Cant. Tales, Tyrwhitt, Ed. p. 5.

We will now return from this long digression.

To the honor of Clitheroe appertained a very extensive and wild domain, which was divided into the forests of Blackburnshire and Bowland †, as the former was subdivided into those of Pendle, Trawden, Accrington, and Rossendale; and, after the marriage of Alice de Lacy with Thomas of Lancaster, all were included in the common description of foresta de Lancaster.

This, in exception to the general rule, was a forest in the strict sense of the term, before it came united to the crown, “For,” saith Manwood, “the earl of Lancaster, in the time of Edward II. and III. had a forest in the counties of Lancaster and York, in the which he did

* This explains the term in the old ballad of Adam Bell, &c.

“ And forty forsters of the fee,

These out-laws had yslaw.” Percy's Ancient Songs, vol. I. p. 179.

† This is the distribution uniformly observed in the Tower records, where, so far as I recollect, the subdivisions of the forest of Blackburnshire are never mentioned.

“ execute

“execute the forest laws as largely as ever king of this realm did; and, even at this day, there are no records so much followed as those that were executed by the said earl in his forests.” *Forest Laws*, p. 72.

Those of Blackburnshire and Bowland were high and barren tracts, rejected at the first distribution of property, when townships were planted, and commons mered out in the fertile and sheltered grounds beneath; in this state they remained among the last retreats of the wolf, and the abode of stags, roes*, and bubali, or wild cattle, which are mentioned by Leland, as remaining not long before his time at Blakeley, and of which tradition records, that they were transplanted into the dean’s or abbot’s park at Whalley, whence they are reported, on the same evidence, to have been removed after the dissolution, to Gisburne park, where their descendants still remain†.

A domain so stocked would probably be preferred by a Norman hunter, to the most fertile portion of his territories. And our ancient lords appear to have been sufficiently jealous of this part of their territories; for while they grant, with wonderful liberality, free chace and warren to their dependents over more cultivated tracts, it is always, excepting in a single instance, with a reserve of the *feræ bestiæ* within the *haia dominicales*‡, and in that one instance, the indul-

* The existence of the roe in Bowland, is pretty plainly indicated by the word roecross in the perambulation. But, independently of particular evidence, there can be little doubt of the fact; for though now confined to the highlands of Scotland, it was once general in England, was referred to in the forest laws, and was mentioned by Leland as actually remaining in his time in the marches of Wales. *Vide supra*.

† In Mr. Bewick’s *History of Animals* is a good account, and better engraving (for his wooden cuts have a spirit peculiar to themselves) of this animal. He mentions a tradition that they were drawn to Gisburne by the power of music: whatever truth there may be in this, there is no doubt of the general fact, that wild animals are capable of being affected very strongly by melody; and it requires not always the hand or lyre of Orpheus to work upon their feelings, for in the year 1782, I saw at Edinburgh a stag who had followed the bagpipes of an highland regiment from his native mountains, *tractus dulcedine cantus*.

‡ Parks have sometimes been defined to be forests enclosed; and forests, open parks. But it appears that the forests themselves were sometimes bounded by hedges or paling, here called *haia dominicales*. This word is of such extent, and appears so frequently in the composition of local names amongst us, under its dialectical varieties of *hey*, *hay*, *hawe*, *hag*, *haigh*, that it may be worth while to investigate its origin, meaning, and different applications. 1st. then, *þæg* the original Saxon word, signified merely an hedge, and this was softened down into the old French word *haie*, or *haye*. All the other varieties of the word are to be traced to these two sources, accordingly as different places happened to be more strongly tinctured with the old language of the country, or with that which had succeeded it. Thus the hawthorn is the hedge thorn, and the hagber (in the dialect of Lancashire), the bird cherry, is the berry of the hedge: in this sense it is used by Chaucer, “There is neither bush nor haye.” R. R. But, by an easy metonymy, the word was transferred from the enclosing fence to the area enclosed by it. These were sometimes woods, sometimes pastures, and sometimes parks: of all these, instances will now be adduced. 1st. In the Pipe Rolls 17 Henry III. we have “Haga de Burchenwode.” Again, Robert de Lacy grants “boscum qui vocatur la Haia de Akerington,” and in Briercliffe is a wood called Haughton Hag. 2d. The many heys in Lancashire, were pastures enclosed with hedges. 3d. Parks were frequently denominated haigh, hay, or de la haye. Thus the well-known Rothwell Haigh near Leeds, (Hopkinson’s MSS.) was the park belonging to the manor-house of the Lacies at Rothwell. The out-park of Skipton castle is called the hawe park, and that of Knaresborough the haye park. To these instances may be added the forest of Hay, in the marches of Wales. But this last application of the word will lead to another enquiry nearly akin to our present subject. To the ancient economy of our royal and baronial castles, usually belonged two parks, one (a *parke* enclosed with a wall. Chaucer) probably for fallow deer, after the introduction of that species; the other for red deer, fenced with a hedge and paling; or, in the words of Bracton, l. 2, c. 40, No. 3. “vallatum fuit et inclausatum fossato, haia, et pallatio.” These were contemporary with the forests and forest laws; the park of Woodstock, which, however,

gence extended only to *ad unius teli jactum* *. The ancient deans of Whalley possessed, and certainly exercised the right of hunting within the forests, which had been transmitted to them from the earliest times; but it was regarded with little complacency by the lords; and, before the translation of the abbey of Stanlaw to Whalley, Henry de Lacy extorted from Gregory, the first abbot, an express renunciation of that privilege, which, as he was probably *no outrider that loved venery* †, like his secular predecessors the deans, would be obtained from him without reluctance. But, at an uncertain period during the occupancy of the Lacies, the first principle of population commenced ‡; it was found that these wilds, bleak and barren as they were, might be occupied to some advantage in breeding young, and depasturing lean cattle, which were afterwards fattened in the lower domains. Vaccaries or great upland pastures, were laid out for this purpose §; booths or mansions erected upon them for the residence of herdsmen; and, at the same time that herds of deer were permitted to range at large as heretofore, lawnds, by which are meant parks within a forest, were enclosed in order to chase them with greater facility, or, by confinement, to produce fatter venison. Of these lawnds, Bowland had Radholme and Leagram, Pendle had new and old Lawnd, with the contiguous park of Ightenhill, Rossendale had Musbury, and Accrington Newlaund.

But in process of time, when the lords no longer visited these remote parts of their territories periodically, in order to consume their produce, these vaccaries were demised to tenants, first at will, and afterwards for years; and, in the 22d of Henry VII. that wary prince first issued a commission for their improvement at advanced rents, directing, what it seems his letters patent alone were unable to perform, that they should be converted into copyholds, and held in perpetuity.

They were under the superintendence of two master foresters, one for Blackburnshire, and one for Bowland, and the former had under him an inferior keeper in each, of which that of Rossendale inhabited the chamber of the forest, and had the direction of other still inferior officers, termed graves, (from the Saxon *Geƿera* *præpositus*), or reeves of the forest.

however, is the first on record, being mentioned as early as Henry I.: so that Mr. Pennant was mistaken in supposing that parks had their origin in the destruction of forests. But, in ancient times, every considerable manor-house had its park, and the old patent rolls abound with *licentiæ imparcandi*.

These greater and more remote enclosures for deer, surrounded by the *fossatum haia et pallatium*, were the hay parks mentioned above; and the words, as well as many remains, in Musbury, Cliviger, &c. prove the manner in which these *haie dominicales* were constructed, viz. with a ditch and rampart surmounted by pales. This last word is, in all our ancient charters, expressed by Bracton's word *pallatium*, and the old plural form of the word pale, which was *paliz*, has given origin to Paliz-house, in Haberghameaves, (very improperly called Palace house), and to the word *pulliser*, or keeper of the pales, an office, so far as I know, peculiar to the forest of Knaresborough, (Ext. For. de Knaresborough, MS. pen. Auct.) since grown, like Parker, Forester, &c. into a proper name, which will call to mind a pious metropolitan of the last century, and a gallant admiral of this.

* Vide Merley Mag.

† Chaucer.

‡ It is to the credit of the monks that the first systematic attempt at enclosing and reclaiming any portion of these wastes, was made by them. Vide Brandwood, under Rossendale.

§ “By vaccary,” saith Sir Edward Coke, “is signified a dairy house.” But the following quotation will prove vaccaries to have been large upland breeding farms.

Henry VI. A. R. 9, grants a vaccary, called Batterax, for 32 vaccæ, 1 bull, and their issue (*exitu eorum*), both at summer pasture, and hay in winter. Vide Bowland.

These

These observations on the history and constitution of the forests, are intended as an introductory sketch to render the following details more intelligible; but it may not be improper to add, that they still bear the marks of original barrenness, and recent cultivation, that they are still distinguished from the ancient freehold tracts around them, by want of old houses, old woods, high fences, (for these were forbidden by the forest laws *) by peculiarities of dialect and manners in their inhabitants, and lastly, by a general air of poverty, which all the opulence of manufactures cannot remove.

To confirm these remarks, and to prevent the possibility of offence, we will call upon the old inhabitants to describe their soil and climate for themselves, which they are ready to do with great truth and simplicity. “We find,” say the jurors (in the time of James I.) “that the quality of the said bootes and vaccaries is cold and barren, yet, by manuring, marling, and tilling, will yield a certain grain called oats; and, after such marling and tillage, in a short time it will grow to heath, ling, and rushes.” And, in an humble petition to the king, they declare, “that the soil of their country is extremely barren, and, as yet, not capable of any other corn but oats, and that in dry years, and not without continual manuring every third year, and that they have no timber trees within many miles thereof.” It is difficult to read this account without shivering †.

The last circumstance, however, though indisputably true, is hard to be accounted for; the forests had been originally overspread with native woods of oak, hazle, birch, alder, and pine, and it is easy to conceive how these might have grown up and extended themselves, while graminivorous animals were rare upon the earth; but how, after having covered the face of the country for centuries, and after having produced, by the dropping of their seeds, a perpetual undergrowth of rising plants, they should at length decay and perish without the hand of man, is a difficulty more easy to state than to solve: yet that they did so perish is demonstrable, for the mosses abound not only with trunks, but stools of trees, too large by far to have been destroyed by beasts, yet without a vestige of the stroke of an axe, and in a state which proves them to have sunk within the surface of the earth by gradual decay. As an attempt, however, at a solution of this fact, I will hazard the following conjecture: that, after a long period of time, the rotting of neglected woods may generate too large a proportion of soil, consisting of vegetable particles alone, and that the roots of the surviving trees, unable at length to strike into the original surface of the ground, have to extract their nutriment out of a substance which the whole analogy of nature shews to be either noxious or innutritious at least, namely, the exuvix of their own species.

Another singular fact is this, that in the peat mosses, which are known to be powerful preservers of animal substances, no horns, or other remains of deer, have ever (so far as I know)

* If a man have licence to enclose any ground within the forest, he may not enclose the same *cum alti haid et fossato, vel cum alto pallatio*. Assiz. Forest. de Lancaster, 12 Edward III. Manwood, c. 10.

† “In the year 1698, a very late harvest, for there was much corne never housed, but som psons cut it and gave it there catall, and at the Newe Church in Pendle, there was corne to house in the latter end of December. Mr. White, our vicar, tould me he saw some to house February 12th, which belonged to the clarke of the New Church in Pendle.” MS Journal of Thomas Braddyll, Esq.—This calamity probably has not been paralleled till the disastrous year 1799, from the effects of which, the poor of this country are now (May, 1800,) suffering many of the horrors of famine.

been discovered, whereas, in the bogs of Ireland, the skeletons and antlers of the great segh deer, a much rarer animal every where than the stag, are far from being unfrequent.

A third circumstance, which deserves to be attended to in the general history of these forests, as it proves not merely that they were rejected at the first colonization of the country after the Saxon conquest, but that they were antecedently in a state of nature, is, that they must have been utterly unoccupied by the Romans. This fact has been observed by antiquaries concerning our forests in general. Mr. Lambard, in particular, remarks, “that no monuments of Roman antiquity are to be met with in the Weald of Kent. The same reflexion may be made upon the Chiltern Hills, upon Bernwood Forest, and all those parts of England which were of old uncultivated woods and deserts*.” And accordingly, in our Blackburnshire chaces, I know not that a coin, fibula, or other trifling relic has ever been discovered, to prove that they had ever been traversed by that active people. Bowland alone, from its situation, was unavoidably crossed by the great road † from Coccium to Bremetonacæ.

We will now go on to a particular survey of the forest of Blackburnshire, considered, 1st, with respect to its general history.

2d, With respect to that of its four subordinate divisions. The first important transaction affecting the Forest of Blackburnshire in general, is explained by the following

“ COMMISSION FOR GRAUNTINGE OF THE FORRESTS,

“ In anno vicesimo secundo Henrici septimi.

“ Henry, by the grace of God, kinge of Englande and of France, and Lorde of Irelande, to our trustie and well-beloved the Stewarde that now is, and that hereafter shall be of our possessions of Blakburneshyre, within our countie palatyne of Lancaster, greeting. For so much as heretofore we, by our lres of commission under the seale of our dutchie of Lancaster, have deputed and appointed Sir John Boothe and others, to vewe and survey all our groundes, castles, and lordshyps, within our said countie palatyne, and thereupon to improove the same and every parcel of them for our most singuler profit and advantage, whereupon we understand that our said commissioners have indeavoured themselves, surveying and approving the same accordinge to our saide commission and pleasure, and have made graunte and promisse of lease of certaine of our landes and tenements within our saide county, to the tenor and effect of a schedule, to these our lres annexed to certaine persons, to have and to hould to them and their heires for terme of lyfe or lyves, or for terme of yeares after the custome of the manor by copie of court roll, for execution and accomplishment whereof we have authorized, and by these presente authorize and geve you full authoritie and power by these our lres callinge unto you the saide Sir John Boothe, and by his advyse, to sett and lett all suche of our said landes and tenements

* Bishop Kennet's Par. Ant. p. 11.

† A considerable portion of this road was lately uncovered in the estate of Knolmere, where it appeared to be a pavement of broad and heavy stones, very artificially wedged and compacted together. But the most extraordinary circumstance was, that no wheel-carriage had, as far as could be discovered, ever traversed it. It follows, therefore, that the baggage of the Roman armies, except what was borne by the legionaries themselves, was wholly conveyed along these mountainous districts on horseback. This difficulty of conveyance will partly account for a fact which I have already stated as highly probable; that the line from Ribchester to Overborrow was abandoned, in the reign of Philip, for that which passed by Blackrode and Lancaster.

as bee or lye within your said office, to the said personns for suche rents yearlie as bee contained in the said schedule, to have and to houlde to them and to their heires or otherwise, for terme of liefie or yeares, at the libertie or choise of our said tenantes, and for the full accomplishment of the said promisse and graunte, taking sufficient security of the said persons for the sure paiement of the same rente, as yee shall see best and most convenient. And also that upon the death or exchange of everie tenant, that yee make newe lease or leases to such personne or personnes after the deathe or exchange of any such tenant or tenants of the same, as the same land shall happen to be granted by you, takinge of everie suche tenant as shall happen to exchange or decease, one whole yeares rent of the said tenemt. and that yee shall take for a fine, accordinge as other our tenentes there, beinge copieholders tyme out of mynd gave, and used to paie in suche cases, over and above their ancient and oulde yearelie rent of the same, provyded and alwaie forseene, that yee, by color of your said leases, doe not demyse our said rent, fynes and gersomes, nor other duties, due and demandeable for us in that parte. And these our lres shal bee unto you at all tymes sufficient warant and discharge in this behalfe; whiche our lres wee will that yee doe enter into your court rolles, there to remaine of recorde for the more suertie of everie of our said tenants, for their saide leases, to bee had and made accordinglie. Given at our cittie of London, under the seale of our saide duchie, the 19th daie of Maie, in the 17th yeare of our reigne."

The effects of this commission will be explained hereafter. But it may be necessary to observe here, that it was a commission to approve and not to disforest; as the following example, in which especial provision was made for the preservation of the deer, will abundantly prove :

"Feely Close always hath beene agisted to ye sune of *IXl. xis. viiijl.* and noe more, because of ye recourse yt ye deere of Pendle hath thereunto, and yt was thought by us that they should have the same yt saveinge ye like course of deere as hath beene used afore." Comm. Henry VII. *ut supra*.

Other facts to the same purpose, will occur under Rossendale.

In consequence of this commission grants of the vaccaries were made, and upon the faith of these titles, houses were built, and improvements, such as the soil was capable of, were made; lands were bought and sold; the first grantees died off, and their heirs or other representatives were regularly admitted in perfect security for more than a century, when the Crown lawyers of James I. discovered, or pretended to discover, that copyholds of inheritance could not be created, that the lands of the newhold tenure were of the nature of essart lands, and the occupants, a sort of tenants by sufferance. This was a thunderstroke—as it shook to the foundation the titles to twenty-five thousand Lancashire acres of lands, and destroyed the comforts and the hopes of many families who lived in competence and quiet upon these new improvements, without any other resources.

It may not be uninteresting, at least to the descendants of the parties concerned, to give a short abstract of the proceedings in this transaction.

1st. Then, appears an information exhibited by Sir John Brograve, Knt. in the Duchy chamber, against Richard Townley, of Townley, Richard Shuttleworth, of Gawthorp, Nic. Townley, of Royle, Nic. Banastre, of Altham, Esqrs. &c. who have unlawfully, according to their pretended titles, without any title, right, custom, warrant, or authority, entered and intruded into certain lands, parcels of the honor, castle, manor, or lordship of Clitheroe, in the

manors of Colne, Accrington, and Ightenhill, and in the forests or chases of Rossendale, Pendle, Accrington, Trawden, &c.

2d. A letter directed to Mr. Auditor Fanshaw, and Ralph Asheton, of Lever, Esq. deputy steward, signifying, that there were within his majesty's honor of Clitheroe, divers lands which have been only granted by the steward, and by warrant to the steward made, which parcels have been improved out of his majesty's forests and chases, there commonly called lands of the newhold, which are only, however, of the nature of essart land, and cannot be claimed by custom or prescription to be copyholds *, &c. offering, however, in his majesty's name, to perfect their respective titles to the said essart lands, and requiring them to convene the tenants, in order to receive proposals from them for that purpose.

Dated Ap. 5th, 1607. And signed J. Suffolk,

H. Northampton,
Salisbury.

3d. Next follow a set of articles to be enquired of and presented by the jurors, concerning the nature, extent, and other particulars of the lands commonly called newhold.

4th. Then a presentment of the booths within Rossendale, and of the rents severally paid by each, with distinct and particular answers to the articles of enquiry.

5th. The humble petition of a multitude of his majesty's tenants and copyholders, stating their claim under the commissions of Henry VII. their long undisturbed possession; the regularity of their admissions; the barrenness of the country; the great sums which they and their ancestors had expended upon improvements; the extreme distress to which they were reduced by staying the ordinary course of admittances (which it seems had been resorted to in order to force them to a composition); and praying that the said restraint of accustomed admittances may be repealed, &c.

6th. A tender of a confirmation of the respective titles of the tenants to the newhold lands, by decree and act of parliament, on the payment of twenty years ancient rent.

Dated May 16th, 1608. Signed Salisbury.

Julius Cæsar.

Tho. Parrie.

7th. A letter from Rich. Townley, of Townley, Esq. and others, relating to a general contribution towards soliciting and defraying the expences of this business, and stating, that through the fantastical persuasion of the vulgar sorte, that handes set to an instrument will bind them to they know not what inconveniences, they are enforced to rest only on promises: now in respect the vulgar sorte is knowne to be variable, and may alter from this 2d. resolution; least the peevishness of some few should disadvantage or discredit our undertaking; we are of opinion that this, by Mr. Auditor's and your good meanes made known to the privy council, will worke such effect, yt according to ye proverbe, "The fryers shall not be beaten for the nunnes fault."

Signed Ric. Towneley.

Edw. Rausthorn.

And others.

* The lawyers evidently mistook the meaning of this word (*essart*), which they confounded with *purpresture* or *encroachment*: whereas *essarts* were often held by the firmest titles, and nothing was more common than for the ancient lords to grant lands, *essartus et essartandas*: which would be nonsense, if rendered *encroached* and *to be encroached*.

The superior proprietors were evidently aware of their own danger, and willing to compound for their estates upon any reasonable terms; but had to encounter that levity, selfishness, and obstinacy, in the lower orders, which, as long as human nature is the same, will encumber and embitter all public concerns, in which they have any part.

8th. A number of letters and instructions from Sir Thos. Walmsley, *knt.* one of the justices of the Common Pleas, and Ralph Ashton, *esq.* commissioners concerning the four forests, the last addressed to Rob. Cecil, earl of Salisbury, treasurer, and Sir Tho. Parry, *knt.* chancellor of the Duchy, reporting the progress they had made, and stating the several difficulties which occurred.

9th. A commission from the Crown, stating, that a general agreement had taken place for the confirmation of the titles to the newhold, at twelve years rent (not twenty, which was first demanded), and for assessing the mean rates of payment, directed to Sir Tho. Walmsley, *kt.* Ralph Ashton, Tho. Walmsley, John Braddyll, Rob. Holden, Ric. Greenacres, Savile Radcliffe, *esqs.* Lau. Habergham, *gent.* &c. Dated Nov. 17th, 1608.

10th. Then, after several intermediate steps, of little consequence, follows the decree for the assurance of titles within the four forests, February 1608.

11th. And, lastly, an act of the 7th Jac. 4 Sess. entitled an act for the perfect creation and confirmation of certain copyhold lands in the honor, castle, manor, and lordship of Clitheroe.

The consideration paid for this assurance was 12 years ancient rent, or 3,763*l.*; and thus the poverty of James I. and the chicane of the Crown lawyers, by an act of temporary oppression, conferred a most substantial benefit upon the tenants of the newhold, and opened the way to many subsequent enclosures and improvements.

In fact, this transaction appears to have been but a part of a general scheme carrying on at the same time for extorting money from the tenants of the Crown, whose titles were not perfectly secure. The attempt at a resumption of the border lands held in cornage*, on pretence that, upon the union of the two crowns, service in cornage had necessarily ceased, was a parallel instance.

The forest of Blackburnshire was subdivided into those of Pendle, Trawden, Rossendale, and Accrington. Of these in order.

That of Pendle was so called from the celebrated mountain of that name, over the long declivity of which it extended. The name of this mountain is an instance of the gradual operation of language upon the names of natural permanent objects, having been originally denominated *Pen*, or the head. Its first appellation becoming insignificant, the Saxons superadded *hull*, and *Penhull* was its orthography, probably beneath the Conquest; but the latter syllable, in turn, lost its meaning, by being melted down into *Pendle*; and the modern "hill" was once more superadded, to design the nature of the object. The perpendicular elevation of this mountain, after many attempts, and notwithstanding the facility of obtaining a base line from the sea, has never been exactly ascertained; but it is an enormous mass of matter, extending in a long ridge from N.E. to S.W. and on the S.E. side forming a noble boundary to the forest, which stretches, in

* *Idle Burn* and Nicholson's *Hist. Camb. and West.*

a long but interrupted descent of nearly five miles, to the water of Pendle, a barren and dreary tract, excepting on the verge of the latter, which is warm and fertile*.

The whole extent of it cannot be estimated at less than 25 miles, or 15,000 statute acres; which, as early as the great Inquisition, in 1311, were divided into eleven vaccaries, each of which paid 10s.—In the commission of Hen. VII. already referred to, these vaccaries were denominated as follow:—

West Close and Hunterholme	—	—	—	XLVIS. viiId.
Heigham Boothe	—	—	—	LXVIS. viiId.
Newelawnde	—	—	—	XXVIS. viiId.
Bareley Boothe	—	—	—	LXXIXs. iVd.
Heigham Close, <i>olim</i> Nether-heigham	—	—	—	XXVIS. viiId.
Overgouldeshey and Nethergouldeshey	—	—	—	ivl. xVIS. viiId.
Feelie Close	—	—	—	XXVIS. viiId.
Old Lawnde	—	—	—	XXVIS. viiId.
Whitley Carre	—	—	—	XXs.
Over Barrowforde and Nether Barrowforde	—	—	—	ivl. iIIs. iVd.
Over Rougley and Nether Rougley, al Rougley Bootheres	—	—	—	ivl. viS. viiId.
Haweboothe and Whitley in Haboothe	—	—	—	LVS.
Redhalowes	—	—	—	XIIIs. iVd.

Of these, Filly Close is the flower of the forest; and Reedley-hallows crossed the Pendle water, and extends nearly to Burnley.

Besides these, I find also the vaccary of Admergill, granted 20th Rich. II. to William, son of John de Radcliffe. Townley MSS.

Towards the end of Henry VIII.'s reign, a chapel was erected here by the inhabitants of the five booths of Gouldshaw, Bareley, Whitley, Roughlee, and Ouldlawnde, of which the sentence of consecration, by John Bird, the first bishop of Chester, bears date Oct. 1, 1544, dedicating it to St. Mary, and decreeing, "That all ye fruits, oblations, and proventions, of
" the saide chappel, should go to ye support of a fit chaplaine for celebratyng Divine Service,
" and for repaying ye saide chappel, without contradiction or reclamation of the vicar of Whalley,
" and saving the rights of the rectory."—Townl. MSS. 4. 2. †

The chapel has been decently rebuilt, but the original tower remains.—Here are no sepulchral memorials which deserve to be transcribed.

The first village which arose in Pendle was Heyehouses, of whose origin the following account is given. There was, it seems, a portion of the forest, upon which the freeholders and customary tenants of the eight following towns, *viz.* Merley, Penhulton, Wiswall, Read, Simonstone, Padiham, Downham, and Worston, claimed right of common. There was also a

* I know not whether it be worth while to relate, that the gloomy enthusiast, George Fox, professed to have received his first illuminations on the top of Pendle.—*Vide* Lesley's Snake in the Grass.

† Besides these booths, which constitute the Chapelry of New Church, some parts of the forest to the West, as Heyhouses, are within the Chapelry of Padiham; and some of the East, as Barrowford, within that of Colne. But Reedly Hallowes, Filly Close, New Laund, and Wheatly Carr, together with Ightenhill Park, having been allotted to no chapelry, are considered as still belonging to the Castle Parish: in consequence of which, their inhabitants marry at Clitheroe

laudable custom, for commissioners of the crown to make periodical circuits over the royal demesnes, to enquire into encroachments and other abuses. In the 29th Henry VI. I find that Rauf (Holden) Abbot of Whalley, with the charterers and customers of these towns, held a meeting at Pendle Cross, where they entered into several resolutions, in most barbarous old English, of which the following is the substance:—"That their entertayning lies from Croybrig "to Cleg yate, and so to Padiham towne end," &c. Next follow several resolutions to abate encroachments; and afterwards the same persons preferred a bill before the commissioners of Ed. IV. against "Ric. Radclyffe, sqyer, for makeyng a towne upon a tenement callyd ye Hay-houses, where he had no right without the kyngs staff." This might be wrong; but the commissioners probably thought, "*Quod fieri non debuit, factum valet*;" for the obnoxious towne has subsisted ever since.

In the earlier part of the last century, a scene of pretended witchcraft was exhibited in this place; which, from the high rank of the parties who interposed, rather than from any thing to distinguish it from stories of a similar kind, which abounded in that credulous age, seems entitled to a distinct narration.

In or about the year of 1633*, a number of poor and ignorant people, inhabitants of Pendle Forest, or the neighbourhood, were apprehended upon the evidence of one Edmund Robinson, a boy, whose deposition, taken before two neighbouring magistrates, is here subjoined.

"The examination of Edmund Robinson, son of Edm. Robinson, of Pendle Forest, mason, taken at Padiham before Richard Shuttleworth and John Starkie, esqs. two of His Majesty's justices of the peace, within the county of Lancaster, 10th of February, A.D. 1633.

"Who informeth upon oath (beeinge examined concerninge the greate meetings of the witches), and saith, that upon All Saints Day last past, hee, this informer, beeinge with one Henry Parker, a neare doore neighbor to him in Wheatley-lane, desyred the said Parker to give him leave to get some bulloes, which hee did. In which tyme of gettinge bulloes, hee sawe two greyhounds, *viz.* a blacke and a browne one, came running over the next field towards him, he verily thinkinge the one of them to bee Mr. Nutter's, and the other to bee Mr. Robinson's, the said Mr. Nutter and Mr. Robinson havinge then such like. And the said greyhounds came to him, and fawned on him, they havinge about their necks, either of them, a collar, and to either of which collars was tyed a stringe, which collars, as this informer affirmeth, did shine like gould; and hee thinkinge that some, either of Mr. Nutter's or Mr. Robinson's family should have followed them: but seeinge noe body to followe them, he tooke the said greyhounds, thinkinge to hunt with them; and presently a hare rise very neare before him, at the sight whereof he cryed, Loo! loo! but the dogges would not run. Whereupon, beeinge very angry, he tooke them, and with the strings that were at their collars, tyed either of them to a little bush on the next hedge, and with a rod that hee had in his hand, hee bett

* This story made so much noise, that in the following year, 1634, was acted and published a play entitled "*The Witches of Lancaster*," which has been applied by Mr. Stevens to the illustration of Shakespeare. Johnson's and Stevens's Shakespeare, v. IX. p. 483, &c.—The term has since been transferred to a gentler species of fascination, which my fair countrywomen still continue to exert in full force, without any apprehension of the County Magistrates, or even of the King in Council.—Permit me to add, that a certain Reviewer has accused me of inattention, in having passed over a narrative of pretended witchcraft, which was supposed to have taken place in the house of Mr. Starkie, A.D. 1592, and is adverted to in Hursenet's "*Detection of Popish Imposture*." I was perfectly aware of the circumstance; but the Reviewer was not aware that it happened at a considerable distance from the parish of Whalley.

them. And in stede of the blacke greyhound, one Dickonson wife stooode up (a neighb^r) whom this informer knoweth; and in steade of the browne greyhound a litle boy, whom this informer knoweth not. At which sight this informer, beeing affraid, indevoured to run away: but beeing stayed by the woman, *viz.* by Dickonson's wife, shee put her hand into her pocket, and pulled out a peece of silver much like to a faire shillinge, and offered to give him to hould his tongue, and not to tell, whiche hee refused, sayinge, Nay, thou art a witch. Whereupon shee put her hand into her pocket againe, and pulled out a stringe like unto a bridle that gingled, which shee put upon the litle boyes heade that stood up in the browne greyhounds steade; whereupon the said boy stood up a white horse. Then immediately the said Dickonson wife tooke this informer before her upon the said horse, and carried him to a new house called Hoarestones, beinge about a quarter of a mile off; whither when they were comme, there were divers persons about the doore, and hee sawe divers others cominge rideinge upon horses of severall colours towards the said house, which tyed their horses to a hedge neare to the sed house; and which persons went into the sed house, to the number of threescore or thereabouts, as this informer thinketh, where they had a fyer and meate roastinge, and some other meate stirringe in the house, whereof a yonge woman, whom hee this informer knoweth not, gave him flesh and breade upon a trencher, and drinke in a glasse, which, after the first taste, hee refused, and would have noe more, and said it was nought. And presently after, seeinge diverse of the company goinge to a barn neare adioyneinge, hee followed after, and there he sawe sixe of them kneelinge, and pullinge at sixe severall roapes which were fastened or tyed to ye toppe of the house, at or with which pullinge came then in this informer's sight flesh smoakeinge, butter in lumps, and milke as it were syleinge from the said roapes, all which fell into basons whiche were placed under the saide roapes. And after that these sixe had done, there came other sixe, which did likewise; and duringe all the tyme of their so pullinge, they made such foule faces that feared this informer, soe as hee was glad to steale out and run home; whom, when they wanted, some of their company came runninge after him, neare to a place in a highway called Boggard-hole, where this informer met two horsemen, at the sight whereof the sed persons left followinge him; and the foremost of which persons yt followed him, hee knoweth to bee one Loynd wife, which said wife, together with one Dickonson wife, and one Jenet Davies, he hath seene at severall tymes in a croft or close adioninge to his father's house, whiche put him in a greate feare. And further, this informer saith, upon Thursday after New Yeares Day last past, he sawe the sd Loynd wife sittinge upon a crosse peece of wood, beeing within the chimney of his father's dwellinge house; and hee callinge to her, said, "Come downe, thou Loynd wife;" and imediately the sd Loynd wife went up out of his sight. And further, this informer saith, yt after hee was comme from ye company aforesed to his father's house, beeing towards eveninge, his father bad him goe fetch home two kyne to seale; and in the way, in a field called the Ollers, hee chanced to hap upon a boy, who began to quarrell with him, and they fought soe together till this informer had his eares made very bloody by fightinge; and lookinge downe, hee saw the boy had a cloven foote, at which sight hee was affraid, and ran away from him to seek the kyne. And in the way hee sawe a light like a lanthorne, towards which he made hast, supposinge it to bee carried by some of Mr. Robinson's people: but when hee came to the place hee onley found a woman standinge on a bridge, whom, when hee sawe her, he knewe to bee Loynd wife; and knowinge

knowinge her, he turned backe againe, and immediatly hee met with ye aforesed boy, from whom he offered to run, which boy gave him a blow on the back, which caus'd him to cry. And hee farther saith, yt when hee was in the barne, he sawe three women take three pictures from off the beame, in the which pictures many thornes, or such like things sticked, and yt Loynd wife tooke one of the said pictures downe, but thother two women yt tooke thother two pictures downe hee knoweth not. And beeing further asked, what persons were at ye meetinge aforesed, hee nominated these persons hereafter mentioned; *viz.* Dickonson wife, Henry Priestley wife and her sone, Alice Hrgreaves widdowe, Jennet Davies, Wm. Davies *uxor* Hen. Jacks and her sone John, James Hargreaves of Marsden, Miles wife of Dicks, James wife, Saunders *sicut credit*, Lawrence wife of Saunders, Loynd wife, Buys wife of Barrowford, one Holgate and his wife *sicut credit*, Little Robin wife of Leonard's, of the West Cloase.

“Edmund Robinson of Pendle, father of ye sd Edmund Robinson, the aforesaid informer, upon oath saith, that upon All Saints' Day he sent his sone, the aforesed informer, to fetch home two kyne to seale, and saith yt hee thought his sone stayed longer than he should have done, went to seeke him; and in seekinge him, heard him cry very pitifully; and found him soe afraid and distracted, yt hee neither knew his father, nor did know where he was, and so continued very neare a quarter of an hower before he came to himselfe; and he tould this informer, his father, all the pticular passages yt are before declared in the said Edmund Robinson, his sone's information *.”

Upon such evidence, these poor creatures were committed to Lancaster Castle for trial, not greatly to the honour either of the understanding or humanity of the magistrates: for surely the statute of witchcraft did not bind them to commit, upon any evidence, or upon none, or to shut their eyes against apparent malice and imposture. On their trials they had the misfortune of falling into the hands of a jury equally ignorant or prejudiced, who found seventeen of them guilty. The Judge, however, whose name I have not learned, very properly respited the convicts, and reported the case to the King in council. They were next remitted to the Bishop of Chester (Bridgeman), who, certifying his opinion of the case, whatever it was, four of the party, Margaret Johnson, Francis Dicconson, Mary Spencer, and the wife of one of the Hargreaves', were sent for to London, and examined, first by the King's physicians and surgeons, and afterwards by Charles I. in person.

A stranger scene can scarcely be conceived; and it is not easy to imagine, whether the untaught manners, rude dialect, and uncouth appearance of these poor foresters, would more astonish the king; or his dignity of person and manners, together with the splendid scene with which they were surrounded, would overwhelm them. The end, however, of the business was, that strong presumptions appeared of the boy having been suborned to accuse them falsely, and they were accordingly dismissed. The boy afterwards confessed that he was suborned.

After all this, how must the Reader be surprized to find, that one of the women had actually confessed the fact with which she stood so injuriously charged. This was unknown to Webster, the original relater of the story; but appears from a paper in the Bodl. Lib. Dods. MSS. v. LXI. p. 47, which is here given.

* This copy of the deposition differs very materially from that of Webster, and is undoubtedly more accurate, particularly in the proper names; which, to a Lancashire ear, authenticate themselves.

THE CONFESSION OF MARGRET JOHNSON.

That betwixt seaven and eight yeares since, shee beinge in her owne house in Marsden, in a greate passion of anger and discontent, and withall pressed with some want, there appeared unto her a spirit or devill in ye proportion or similitude of a man, apparelled in a suite of blacke, tyed about with silk points, who offered yt if shee would give him her soule hee would supply all her wants, and bringe to her whatsoever shee did neede; and at her appointment would, in revenge, either kill or hurt whom or what shee desyred, weare it man or beast. And saith, yt after a solicitation or two shee contracted and covenanted with ye said devill for her soule. And yt ye said devill or spirit badde her call him by the name of Mamilian. And when shee would have him to doe any thinge for her, call in Mamilian, and hee would bee ready to doe her will. And saith, yt in all her talke or conference shee calleth her said devill, Mamil my God. Shee further saith, yt ye said Mamilian, her devill, (by her consent) did abuse and defile her body by committinge wicked uncleannesse together. And saith, yt shee was not at the greate meetings at Hoarestones, at the forest of Pendle, upon All-Saints Day, where . But saith yt shee was at a second meetinge ye Sunday next after All-Saints Day, at the place aforesaid, where there was, at yt tyme, between 30 and 40 witches, who did all ride to the said meetinge, and the end of their said meeting was to consult for the killinge and hurtinge of men and beasts. And yt besides their particular familiars or spirits, there was one greate or grand devill, or spirit, more eminent than the rest. And if any desyre to have a greate and more wonderfull devill, whereby they may have more power to hurt, they may have one such. And sayth, yt such witches as have sharp bones given them by the devill to pricke them, have no pappes or dugges whereon their devil may sucke; but their devill receiveth blood from the place, pricked with the bone; and they are more grand witches than any yt have marks. Shee allsoe saith, yt if a witch have but one marke, shee hath but one spirit; if two, then two spirits; if three, yet but two spirits. And saith, yt their spirits usually have knowledge of their bodies. And being desyred to name such as shee knewe to be witches, shee named, &c. And if they would torment a man, they bid their spirit goe and tormt. him in any particular place. And yt Good Friday is one constant day for a yearly generall meetinge of witches; and yt on Good Friday last, they had a meetinge neare Pendle water-syde. Shee alsoe saith, that men witches usually have women spirits, and women witches men spirits. And their devill or spirit gives them notice of their meetinge, and tells them the place where it must bee. And saith, if they desyre to be in any place upon a sodaine, their devill or spirit will, upon a rodde, dogge, or any thinge els, presently convey them thither; yea, into any roome of a man's house. But shee saith it is not the substance of their bodies, but their spirit assumeth such form and shape as goe into such roomes. Shee also saith, yt ye devill (after he begins to sucke) will make a pappe or dugge in a short tyme, and the matter which hee sucks is blood. And saith yt their devills can cause foule weather and storins, and soe did at their meetings. Shee alsoe saith, yt when her devill did come to sucke her pappe, hee usually came to her in ye liknes of a cat, sometymes of one colour, and sometymes on an other. And yt since this trouble befell her, her spirit hath left her, and shee never sawe him since*.

* Dodsworth's MSS. Vol. LXI. p. 47.

What account can be given of so strange a conduct? That an accused person, without torture, which will often compel the sufferer, for present ease, to utter truth or falsehood indifferently, as it may answer the purpose, should confess a capital crime, of which she knew herself innocent, when the effects of such a confession would be nearly equivalent to a conviction! It is not impossible, that in persons of weak understandings, depressed and affrighted almost to distraction, the strong persuasion of their guilt, which they observe in all about them, may gradually produce an imagination that they really possess diabolical powers, and have had diabolical communications, which they have not.

On the whole:—Of the system of Witchcraft, the real defect is not in theory but in evidence. A possibility that the bodies of men may sometimes be given up to infernal agency is no more to be denied, than that their souls should be exposed to infernal illusions: that such appearances should be exhibited in one age, and withdrawn in another, is equally the case with miracles: that they do not extend to all countries, is common to them and to Revelation itself. But every modern instance of supposed witchcraft, which I have read of, is discredited either by the apparent fraud or folly of the witnesses. Were I to behold with my own eyes such circumstances as have often been related, or were they to be reported to me by a philosophical observer of perfect integrity upon the evidence of *his* senses, I know not upon what principles I could refuse my assent to the conclusion, that they were really the effects of diabolical power*.

The boundaries of Pendle Forest, contiguous to those of Bernoldswick, had been perambulated by the first Henry de Lacy, in person, on the day when he delivered possession of that village to the monks; and they are described to have extended “per Blakebroc et ita “sursum ultra moram in directum usque ad Gailmers, et ita in directum usque ad caput de Gleslaghe, et ita in transitum montis qui vocatur Blacou, et ita usque ad Oxegill, et ita sursum usque “ad Pike de Law qui vocatur Alainesete, inde usque ad antiquum fossatum inter Midhope et Colredene.”—The words *antiquum fossatum* (old dike), when referred to the reign of Stephen, prove how early the forests were bounded by these *haie dominicales*. In the perambulation of Bowland, repeated mention is made of paling and dykes, where strong natural boundaries were wanting; and the forest of Rossendale was divided from Cliviger by a *fossatum* yet remaining, called the Old Dyke.

These boundaries seem to have been nearly forgotten: and it is remarkable, that not one of these ancient names appears in the perambulation of the parish of Whalley, of which the antiquity is uncertain, but which cannot be later than the reign of Edward III. as it is found in the Coucher Book of Abbot Lyndlay.

On this account Henry de Lacy the second had encroached on the property of the monks at Kirkstall, and his successors in the honor of Clitheroe seemed disposed to maintain the wrong. This gave rise to a suit between that house and Queen Isabella, which produced the following inquisition:—“The jurors find, that Hen. de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, had violently taken away “840 acres of moor and pasture, parcel of the commons of Bernoldswick, val. 35s. *per ann.*

* That these opinions may not be accused of leaning too much to the doctrines of exploded superstition, I will take leave to refer my Readers to the following sentiment of a great and enlightened modern Divine:—“That for “any thing we know, he (the devil) may (still) operate in the way of possession, I do not see on what certain grounds “any man can deny.”—Bp. Hurd’s Sermons, vol. III. p. 239.

“and no more; that is, an halfpenny per acre, *quia nullum extat ibi alium proficuum capiendum, nisi pastura frisca pro grossis animalibus inde pascendis et debilis existit.*”—Inq. 7th Edw. II.

It was accordingly restored to the proper owners. During the time of this suit, it appears that William de Tatham was keeper, and Ric. de Merclesden master-forester of Blackburnshire. Mon. Ang. v. I. p. 858, &c.

In the inquisition of 1311, the pannage of Pendle was found to be sometimes of no value, but *comm. ann.* worth 6s. 8d.—This is precisely the case at present, as acorns sometimes ripen, and sometimes do not*.

IGHTENHILL PARK.

Separated from the forest of Pendle by the Calder, is Ightenhill Park†, another of the demesnes of Clitheroe Castle, which, though never taken as a portion of the forest, may, from its contiguity to it, most properly be noticed here. The ancient orthography of this word is *Hightenhull*; of which, though the meaning is sufficiently clear, the propriety is not very apparent; for it is, in fact, a soft and gentle swell of ground, rising from a curvature of the Calder, to no very considerable height, but commanding some very pleasing views to the North and West. Within this park was a very ancient manor-house of the Lacies, which was certainly in existence as early as the 22d Henry III.‡ or 1238, as appears from a grant of lands in Tottington, given at Hightenhull in that year, the earliest date, excepting one, I have ever met with in any of our charters. There is a tradition in the neighbourhood, that the house was abandoned by the family in consequence of the last male heir having been killed by a fall from a window. This is merely an echo of the genuine account given above, concerning the untimely death of the heir of Henry de Lacy at Pontefract or Denbigh; and is only mentioned here, to shew how long traditions of real events may be propagated, and how seldom they are found, when traced to their sources, entirely destitute of foundation, however they may have been corrupted.

This park, with its appurtenances, is stated as follows, in the great Inquisition of 1311:—

Hightenhull, one cap. mess. worth, besides reprints	—	ol. os. od.
8 A. in demesne	— — — — —	11s. viiijd.
1 A. of meadow	— — — — —	1s.
A park, in circuit one league and half (leuca), the agistment of which		
is worth	— — — — —	xls.
151 A. demised to tenants at will	— — — — —	1s. vd.

* I find, from the rolls of Clitheroe, A. 17 Hen. VIII. that there were certain grounds called Fence, within the vaccaries of Sabden, West Close, and Higham, upon which the herde of the stagges, always before the deforesting, had their several being; and doubts having arisen with respect to the right of the tenants to the said lands, it is decreed that they shall pass and endure to the said tenants as part of the said vaccaries.

† In the Inq. of Survey for the Rectory of Whalley, immediately before the foundation of the Abbey, Ightenhill is included in the Chapelry of Brunley.

‡ In this date I had nearly been led into an error by Christopher Townley, who assigns this charter to 22d Hen. II. or 1176. But the grantor was John de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, who did not succeed to the family estates till 1211, and died in 1240.

Halmot of the same, together with a certain revenue (*proficuum*)
called Thistlelache*

— — — — — XLS.

 VII. XIVs. Id.

The leuca or league (*vide* Spelman *in voce*) was extremely variable; that of Domesday Book was 1000 geometrical paces: the French league was twice the former; and this I conceive to have been the measure intended here.

In the 21st Richard II. I meet with a John le Parcour de Hightenhull. This was merely a name of office, but gradually became hereditary; and I suspect, from several circumstances, that the Parkers of Extwisle, could their descent be traced to its source, would terminate in a keeper of Ightenhill.

In the earlier part of the reign of Henry VIII. this park was in lease to the Townley family; for, in the court-rolls at Clitheroe, A. 14^o of that reign, is an inq. of survey, taken at the instance of Sir John Townley, kt. in order to certify to the king's council the state in which the Manor-house was then found. And, as this ancient mansion, which was sometimes probably a royal residence, is now destroyed to the foundation, it will not be uninteresting to enumerate, from this record, the names of its principal apartments, and to ascertain the precise state of dilapidation and decay to which they were reduced, even at that early period.—“Juratores
“dicunt, quod magna aula et meremium (the timbers of the roof) ruit et prosternetur ad terram,
“et magna pars illius inde asportatur. Item dicunt, quod magna camera ad finem aulæ ex
“occid. parte simili modo ut supradict. est. Item quod coquina et domus pincernæ et le Pantree
“deformentur. Item domus fornac. in simili modo ut sup. Item dicunt quod magnum OREU'†
“simili modo ut sup. est. Item quod longa camera ad finem aulæ ex occid. ruit et prosternetur.
“Item, quod domus custodis parci adhuc exist. stans et desuper context. cum Tegul. et Later.
“voc. Scloitstons, et quod Hostia et Fenestræ illius asportatæ sunt, et veresimile est cadere. Item
“quod CAPELLA‡ ibm. adhuc existens, stans simili modo. Item stabulum simili modo,
“et in captione sive destructione meremii sive lapidum domorum pdict. Johannes Townley cul.
“non est invent.”

The Park of Ightenhill continued to be held by Sir Richard Townley 4to. Edw. VI. and by John Townley, esq. to about the 35th of Elizabeth, when Sir Ric. Shuttleworth grants a lease of lands in Ightenhill Park, reciting and confirming the conditions granted in the former lease by John Townley, Esq.—There was little difficulty, at that time, for a rising lawyer to displace an obnoxious recusant. *O si angulus ille*, must frequently have been the wish of the Gawthorp family, when they beheld that fair domain, which extended almost to their door; and what

* In the manor of Halton, also belonging to the Lacies, was a revenue (*proficuum*) called *Thistlelake*. *Lache*, in the dialect of Lancashire, is synonymous with *take*, and I therefore conclude the two words to be the same. *Thistlelake* has been understood to mean a payment exacted by lords of manors, for the depasturing of drove-beasts upon their commons, even if they stayed to crop a thistle.—Dr. Pegge reads the word *Tresseltake*, and understands it to be a payment made to the lord for every hog placed upon the tressel for slaughter: very improbably.

† This word, which was not very legible in the original roll, I now believe to be *oreu'*, for *horreum*. See *oreum*, in Du Cange.

‡ From the *Comptus* of Whalley Abbey, A.D. 1536, it appears that the Chapel in the manor-house of Ightenhill was then remaining; for, after an enumeration of the chapels within the castle-parish, follows this entry:—*Ightenhill Park de perq. capellani*.—*Vide* p. 89.

they thus acquired by lease, they have since converted into a fee simple, excepting merely the site of the manor-house, which could not be alienated without a transfer or an extinction of the manor.

For it must be remembered that Ightenhill is one of the factitious manors within the parish, which have grouped together several of the original ones, for the convenience of holding courts; and it consists of Ightenhill *mag.* and *parv.* Burnley, Habergham Eaves, Padiham, Marsden, Briercliffe, and Heyhouses.

Of the Chases within Blackburnshire: the next is

TRAWDEN;

So called probably *qu. Tronghden*, the hollow or excavated valley, stretching from the summit of Boolsworth to Colne Water, about four miles, and from the boundary of Briercliffe nearly to Emot, about three.—It may therefore be estimated, allowing for irregularities in the outline, at ten square miles, or 6,400 statute acres. At the time of the great Inq. or 1311, it consisted of five booths or vaccaries: the agistment of each was valued at ten shillings.

In the commission of appovement, 22d Hen. VII. these were reduced to three; namely,

Berdshaie Booth, of which the old rent paid by	} xl. xiiis. iiid.	IMPROVED RENTS.
John Hartley, Jeffery Hartley, and other ould		- xx mks.
tenants was - - - - -		
Over and Nether Wycoller, old rent pd. by	} iiid. xiiis. ivd.	
*Peirs Foldes, Piers Hartley, and other ould		vii.
tenants - - - - -		
Wynewall - - - - -	vii.	viii. l. xiiis. ivd.

A very moderate advance for the latter years of Henry VII.

The name of *Berdshaghbooth* is now become obsolete, and is lost in that of Trawden proper.—To these has since been added Emot Moore, a more recent improvement, which pays 1*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.*; and as the last improved rents of Henry VII. were fixed and rendered perpetual by the decree of James I. the whole forest now pays 29*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.*

The next, and most extensive of the chaces, is

ROSSENDALE;

Which, including Brandwood, Cohope, and Lench, originally members of it, though in the parishes of Rochdale and Bury, cannot contain less than twenty-four square miles, or 15,360 statute acres. I was once inclined to deduce this word from the British *rhos*, a bottom; but the following etymology, for which I am indebted to Baxter (vid. *Gloss. in voc. Carnovacæ*) is much more appropriate. *Pagus iste, de Russeo puto graminum colore, Rossen dicitur, nam ejusmodi ericeum pascuum Britannorum vulgo Rhos dicitur.* If there was a circumstance about the place which would strike the observation of the first colonists above every other, it must have been the brown and dreary hue of its native herbage, which the labours of three centuries have not been able to overcome.

* Ancestor of the ancient family of the Foldes's of Trawden, still resident in that place. The estate of the Hartleys passed, by marriage, to the Cunliffes of Hollins, in Accrington, and is now the property of Hen. Owen Cunliffe, esq.

Within

Within this chace, in the neighbourhood of Broadclough, are the remains of an entrenchment called the Dykes, to which no tradition is annexed that may serve to ascertain either its antiquity, or the end it was designed to answer. It is cut out from the gentle slope of a rising ground, in one direction, nearly parallel to the horizon, for more than 600 yards in length, not exactly in a right line, but following the little curvatures of the surface. In one part of the line, for about 100 yards, it appears to have been levelled; and in another, where it crosses a clough, is not very distinct: but more than 400 yards of the line exhibit a trench eighteen yards broad in the bottom, and of proportionate depth:—a most gigantic, and at the same time almost inexplicable work, as it could only have been intended for some military purpose; and yet, in its present state, must have been altogether useless as a fortification: for, though it would have defended a great army in front, yet their flanks might have been turned with the greatest ease, and the whole might have been destroyed in their trenches, from the high grounds which immediately command it. On the whole, I am inclined to think it one side of a vast British camp, which was intended to have been carried round the crown of the hill; but for some reason, never to be recovered by us, was left in its present unfinished and useless state. Abating for the herbage with which it is covered, the present appearance of it is precisely that of an unfinished modern canal, though much deeper and wider in its dimensions.

At the time of the great Inq. in 1311, here were eleven vaccaries (or *loci vaccarum*, as they are called), of which the herbage is valued at ten shillings each. These were increased, in later times, to nineteen, including the laund or park of Musbury.

The following are the names of the booths, together with the advanced rent* of each, as settled under the commission 22d Henry VII. which was afterwards perpetuated and confirmed by the decree of James I.

Gamulside	—	—	—	—	ivl.
Dunnockshawe	—	—	—	—	ii. l. iiii. ivd.
Love Clough	—	—	—	—	vl.
Goodshawe	—	—	—	—	vl. vi. vii. ^m q ⁿ .
Crawshaweboothe	—	—	—	—	xl. ivs.
Constablelee	—	—	—	—	vl.
† Rawstonstall					
Dedqueneclough	—	—	—	—	xl. iis. vii. d.
Wolfenden Boothe	—	—	—	—	ivl. xviii. iid. ^{ob} .
Tunstead	—	—	—	—	vl. xiii.
Lenches	—	—	—	—	ivl. vi. viii. d.
Cowhope	—	—	—	—	vl. xiii. ivd. ^{ob} .
Newhall Heye	—	—	—	—	vii. l. xiii. ivd.
Oakenheade Woode	—	—	—	—	ixl. ix. iid. ^{ob} .
Musbury	—	—	—	—	xiii. l. viii. d.

* My copy of the Decree of Henry VII. being defective in the end, I am not able to state the ancient rents of Rosendale and Accrington.

† Of which the old orthography was *Routandstall*, and the adjoining clough *Routandclough*, from the Saxon *hprtan*, strepere, *the brawling brook*.

* Hoddleden	—	—	—	ixl. xixs. xid.
Bacope	—	—	—	xil. xvīs. viiid.
Wolfenden	—	—	—	xiiil. vs. id.
Henheads	—	—	—	xiiis.

We will now endeavour to collect what can be retrieved concerning the vaccaries; and, first, of the

PARK OF MUSBURY,

so called *qu. Moorbyrug*, the hill of moss, from *Moop*, the Saxo-Danish genitive of *Moop*†, a brown conical hill on the confines of Rossendall and Tottington, anciently inclosed as a lawnd for the lord's deer.

Custody of the herbage of Musbury‡ was granted to James de Radcliffe, by John of Gaunt, 18 Ric. II.§

§ A lease is also granted of the park of Musbury to Ric. Radcliffe of Radcliffe, for twenty years, at the rent of viiil. vis. viiid. 9th Edw. IV. The same renewed to the same for the like term, at the expiration of the former, and at the old rent.

Bacope and Newhall-hey, 5 Hen. V. The King grants to John Booth, of Barton, Esq. his vaccary of Bacope, within his forest of Rossyndall, and a certain pasture called Newhall-hey, for the term of ten years, *ita quod p'dict. Jo. Booth et assignati, non interficient neque destruent aliquas feras bestias infra forestam prædictam.*—Townl. MSS. g. 17.

Dedquene Cloghe, of which a lease was granted to James de Greenhalgh, in the minority of Henry VI. year uncertain.—Test. Humph. Duc. Gloucester, cust. Angl. apud Lancaster.

The first mention of Rossendale, by name, is in the memorable story of Liwlphus, dean of Whalley, who, at a place called Ledmesgreve, cut off the tail of a wolf in hunting. The ordinary period allowed by chronologers to human life, together with the number of deans in succession from Liwlphus, to those whose æra is ascertained, will carry up this event to Canute, in whose charter of the forest we have seen that the existence of this animal in England, though contrary to the vulgar tradition, is expressly referred to.

The first part of this tract, which was inclosed and planted with inhabitants, was Brandwood, which was granted by Roger de Lacy, about the year 1200, to the abbot and convent of Stanlaw, in the same charter which conveys to them four oxgangs of land in Recedham.

“Sciانت, &c. quod ego Rogerus de Lacy, dedi et concessi in foresta mea pasturam illam “quæ dicitur Brandewode, ad eorum animalia pascenda per divisas subnotatas, scilicet a “Goresithlache usque Cohopeheved, et sic sicut Cohope descendit in Irewell, et sicut Ire- “well descendit usque Fulbacope, deinde ascendendo usque Saltergate, et sic usque Hamstale- “clohe, sic usque ¶ Senesgreve ¶ et per transitum musæ (sic**) usque Cumbeheph: habebunt

* In the Inq. of 1311, Hoddlesden is neither included in Rossendale nor Accrinton.

† Vide Dr. Hicckes ap. Thoresby's due, p. 267.

‡ Here are three small subdivisions of the hamlet, called Ugden, Musden, and Holden; of which the first is called the “Trippet,” or third part of Ugden; the only instance which I know of the subdivision of an hamlet—but it claims the rights of a constablewick.

§ Townl. MSS.

¶ Probably miswritten for *Fotbacope*, or *Bacop Foot*.

¶ Which I suspect to be an error of the writer for the *Lenesgreve*, or *Ledmesgreve*, of Liwlphus.

** But more probably *Moræ*—unless *Musæ* be meant for *Moss*.

“ autem prædicti monachi in pastura illa C. vaccas cum exitu 11 annorum, et si animalia ibi
 “ habuero, eorum animalia pascentur ibidem in latitudine et longitudine ubicunque mea ani-
 “ malia, &c. Testibus, Turgesio, abb. de Kirkstall. Ric. de Cest. Eust. de Cest. fratribus meis.”

And in the 18th Ed. III. a suit which R. de Radcliffe, Master Forester of Pendle, brought against the abbot and convent of Whalley, for puture of the foresters, which certainly was not reserved by the grantor in the former charter, according to the usual form, *salva foresta mea*, produced this curious account of the first population of Brandwood:—“ Inveniunt juratores
 “ quod temp. Reg. Johan. non erat in prædicta placea de Brandwode, aliquod manerium nec
 “ aliqua mansio, immo fuit vastum, non edificatum neq. cultum, et fuit parcella p'dictæ. forestæ
 “ de Penhuli; et dicitur quod tempore regis Henric. proavi regis nunc quidam abbas qui tunc
 “ fuit primus construxit et edificavit domos in p'dicto vasto de Brandwode, et magnam partem
 “ vasti includi fecit, quod nunc vocatur Manerium de Brandwode.”

In this instance alone does Rossendale appear to be included within the chace of Pendle.

Again, John de Lacy, son of Roger, by charter directed to his bailiffs and foresters, grants to the abbot and convent of Stanlaw licence “ falcandi fænum in foresta mea de Rossyndale, ad
 “ sustentanda in yeme averia quæ illic habeant.

We are not to suppose that this charter has any reference to inclosed and cultivated meadows, but that it was merely a permission to cut and carry away the native herbage of the forest; which, as it was probably much understocked either with deer or cattle, would afford some moist and level spots of luxuriant vegetation.

This representation will give a modern farmer very low ideas of the husbandry of the 13th century in the forests; but, in truth, the vast quantities of sheep and cattle which were anciently slaughtered at the approach of winter, prove a general inattention to the important article of winter-fodder throughout the kingdom, at that period.

The abbots of Stanlaw set an example of inclosure and improvement, which had no followers during three centuries; for, in the *3d Henry VIII. the inhabitants of the several vaccaries within Rossendale describe themselves as consisting of no more than 80 souls, or about one family to a booth.

This and some other interesting facts†, with respect to the progressive population of Rossendale, appears from a decree of the commissioners of pious uses, 4th Ed. VI. which recites a petition of the inhabitants, stating—“ That forty-four years before, or thereabouts (referring to the
 “ date of Henry VII.'s commission of approvment) the forest of Rossendale was replenished
 “ only or chiefly with foresters and keepers of the deer; but upon representation to king
 “ Henry VII. and afterwards to king Henry VIII. that if the deer were taken away, the forest
 “ was likely to come to some good purpose, the said forest was disforested and granted, demised
 “ and let forth in divers sorts, some for a term of years, some by copy of court-roll; so that,
 “ whereas before that time was nothing else but deer and other savage and wild beasts, there
 “ is since, by industry of the inhabitants, grown to be very fertile ground, well replenished

* *Vide infra.*

† This circumstance, together with the peculiar dialect of Rossendale, so different from the rest of the parish of Whalley, so similar to that of the adjacent district of Brandwood, proves to me, beyond a doubt, that the population of Rossendale was a colony from Brandwood. The small number of surnames in this tract proves, if any proof were wanting, its recent colonization.

“ with people. And forasmuch as the Castle Church of Clitheroe, being their parish-church, is
 “ distant twelve miles from the said forest, and the wais very foul, painful, and perilous, and
 “ the country in the winter season is so extremely and vehemently cold, that infants born
 “ to church are in great peril of their lives, and the aged and impotent people, and women
 “ great with child, not able to travel so far to hear the word of God, and the dead corpses there
 “ like to remain unburied at such times for want of carriage, till such time as great annoyance
 “ doth grow thereby: the premises considered, the inhabitants of the said forest, about thirty-
 “ eight years past (1512), or thereabouts, at their proper costs made a chapel of ease in the
 “ said forest; since the disforesting of which, from eighty persons in the forest there are
 “ grown to 1000, young and old.” A remarkable increase, but more than equalled in later
 times.

At the same time (3d Henry VIII.) one Lettice Jackson, widow, vested in feoffees certain lands situated in different parts of Rossendale, for the use of the New Church of our Saviour in Rossendale, which the commissioners of chantries, either from their inconsiderable value at that time, or for some other reason which we are not acquainted with, forbore to seize upon (an instance of forbearance never practised by them in any other case), and decreed that Laurence Ashworth should hold and occupy the place of parson of the said church.

These lands, though some part of them appears to have been lost by the neglect, or something worse than neglect, of the feoffees, were valued in the latter end of the last century but one, at £.50 *per annum*; and form the endowment of the Chapel, the most valuable curacy in the patronage of the vicar of Whalley.

After the death of the last incumbent, the value of this cure occasioned, as we have already seen, a long contest for the patronage, betwixt Dr. Keene, then bishop of Chester, and Mr. Johnson, the late vicar of Whalley, grounded on a decree of the chancellor of the dutchy, 4 Edward VI. that the ordinary should appoint a minister: but as the original decree could not be found in the registry at Chester, or elsewhere, the vicar presented as of common right, and the ordinary was compelled to license his antagonist's presentee.

The following catalogue of the incumbents of this church, proves the situation to be very favourable to longevity.

Laurence Ashworth, - - -	{ Minister before the dissolution of the chantries, and continued by the commissioners afterwards.
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William Horrock.

James Kershaw occurs 1607.

Robert Dewhurst occurs 1650. He seems to have gone out upon the Bartholomew act, and to have been succeeded by	{ By the Lambeth Inquisition of that year, it is found, that the chapel of Newchurch in Rossendale is pa- rochial, the chapelry consisting of Dedwen Clough, Tunsted, Woolfenden Booth, and part of Wolfen- den and Bakcop, which contain, in all, 300 families, desiring to be made a parish: that the minister re- ceived no allowance but what was paid by the inha- bitants. Lambeth MSS. 912.
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Thomas

Thomas Saunders.

Of whom his successor has given this account in the parochial register : “ Tho. Saunders presbyter, Christi Dñi nostri servus humilis, honestis moribus præditus, ecclesiæ Anglicanæ pastor vigilans, artium bonarum studiosus, in hac gente rustica Rossendaliæ, per spatium 33 annorum plus minus commoratus est. Qui per varios casus longo tempore jactatus deinde in patriam suam nativam Com. Cest. discessit. Et ipsâ horâ in qua domum suam ingressus est, placide inter familiares expiravit. Sepultus apud Mag. Budworth, 9^o die Nov. 1695.

Thomas Leigh.

John Welch, died about 1762.

John Sharrock, A. M.

Nicholas Rigby Baldwin, A. M.

The original chapel of the 3d Henry VIII. having been calculated only for the slender population of that period, was pulled down, and the present church erected upon its site in 1561. It is a very decent structure, with a nave, side aisles, choir, and tower, but without any sepulchral memorials of importance.

Not thirty years after the erection of Newchurch, arose a chapel of ease, high up in the forest, at Goodshaw, a proof of the rapid increase of population, for by deed of covenant, dated Dec. 16, 35 Henry VIII. it was condescended and agreed between, &c. &c. that “ they should found, edify, and build one chapel in honor of God, our blessed Lady and all Saints, in a certain place within the forest of Rossendale, called Morrell height, for the easement of the said parties, and of their neighbours the inhabitants of Crawshaw Booth, Gambleside, Goodshaw, and Love Clough, and all other the king’s liege people, which shall be disposed to hear mass and other divine service in the said chapel.”

A very humble edifice was erected accordingly ; and growing ruinous a few years ago, was replaced by another not much more ornamental.

By the Lambeth Inquisition of 1650, it was found that the chapel of Goodshaw was not parochial ; that the chapelry consisted of seventy families ; no minister or maintenance ; but a house and back-yard, value 10s. and that they desire to be made a parish.

In the course of the last century the manufacturing village of Bacopec*, within this forest, increased from seven or eight families to 306 houses, and 1,426 souls, of which it was found to consist by an accurate enumeration in October 1798. In consequence of this rapid increase of population, a spacious and handsome chapel was erected by the very laudable zeal of some of the principal inhabitants, in the year 1788, and consecrated by Dr. Cleaver, then bishop of Chester, August 16th, in that year.

On the ridge of the hill, which forms the North-east boundary of Rossendale, are considerable remains of the Haia Dominicalis, now called the Old Dyke : within this, but in a

* Qu. Bay-cop, the cop or hillock where the deer stood at bay :

piece of ground, though anciently included in the forest, now by prescription belonging to Cliviger, is the real source of the Irewel*. Of this rich and useful stream, the Historian of Manchester, b. 1. c. 7. informs us, “That it wells gently from a double fountain near the “upper part of an hill, between Broadclough and Holme in Rossendale; that it carries its “waters on the western side of Mancenion, and was therefore denominated Ir Gaeil, Irwell, “Irwill, or the Western Torrent.” A more accurate acquaintance with the face of the country, and with the dialect of its inhabitants, compels me to differ from the learned antiquary both in his statement of facts, and in his conjectures on this subject: for, in the first place, Holme, as I have reason to know, is not in Rossendale, but in Cliviger: and, secondly, the only genuine source of this river is at the foot of Dirplay-hill, once within the forest, but now in Cliviger as above stated, where it flows from a copious fountain universally known by the name Erewell. Not far beneath, however, rises another spring called Whitewell, which after a course of several miles unites with the principal stream, and these, I suppose, constitute together the double fountain of which Mr. Whitaker was told.

And, with respect to the etymology of the word, I fear we must be contented to deduce it from a nearer and less venerable source than the British language: for, Ere, in the semi-saxon dialect of this neighbourhood, is *hoar* used as a substantive; and very high grounds, which are often grey with sleet or hoar-frost, while the meadows and pastures beneath remain unsprinkled, are said to be in the Ere. Now this remark is strikingly verified in Derplay-hill, which many times in every winter presents an hoary head, while the low lands of Rossendale retain their native brown. Erewell, therefore, is the spring in the Ere. The neighbouring Whitewell, probably, derives its name from the same circumstance, and the very next elevation Northwest of Derplay-hill, in ancient charters (for the present coarse orthography of the word rests on no authority) is styled Hor, or Horelaw.

Irwell is first mentioned in the charter of Brandwood by Roger de Lacy, about the year 1200, and should any future litigation arise, in which the name of this stream is involved, a reference to that authentic document would determine its real course.

The great increase of population both here and over the whole chace of Rossendale, is solely to be ascribed to the woollen manufactory, which appears to have been attracted hither by the smallness of the estates into which the country was distributed; not sufficient to support the owners or employ their dependents; by the plenty and cheapness of coal; and above all, by the great abundance and rapid descent of the streams, of which almost every foot of fall is employed in working mills; so well have art and industry compensated for blessings which had been denied by nature.

Last among the chases of Blackburnshire is

ACCRINGTON,

Sometimes considered as a member of Rossendale, but more anciently as an independent portion of the demesnes of Clitheroe.

* Irwel, (saith Harrison) a notable water, riseth above Bacop, and goeth thence to Rossendale, and in the way to Aytonfield it taketh in a water from Haselden. After this confluence it goeth to Newhall, Brandlesam, and Bury, and above Ratcliffe joineth with the Rache, a fayre stream.

At the time of the great Inquisition in 1311, here was a capital messuage—val. nihil.

	L.	S.	D.
In Demesne, xxx acres - - -		x	0
Demised to tenants at will, cvi acres	i	xv	vi
Four vaccaries, at xs. each - -	ii	0	0
One water-mill - - - -	i	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£.v	v	vi

In consequence of a deficiency in my copy of the commission of Henry VII. I am not able to give the names of these vaccaries, or the improved rents paid severally by each; but the whole sum, as settled under that commission and paid at present, is £.33. 4s. 2½d.

However, by a lease (date uncertain) the vaccary of Antley, in the forest of Rossendale, was granted to John Rushton for ten years. Townley MSS. g. 13.

Having now considered the four chaces of Blackburnshire particularly, it may be proper to attend to a few circumstances recorded in the great Inquisition as common to them all:

	L.	S.	D.
The winter agistment and herbage of Trawden, Penhull, Rossendall, } Hoddesdene, and Romesgreve, was found to be worth - -	i	ix	viii
Summer agistment of the same - - - - -	ii	0	0
Profits of the sale of hay, viz. for every cart load mown and carried away } id. comm. ann. - - - - -		vi	viii
Profits of old wood, charcoal, &c. sold for the use of iron forges, comm. ann.		ix	iv
	<hr/>		
	iv	v	viii

With respect to these statements of ancient economy, the following observations occur:

1st. The profit of winter agistment must have arisen principally from sheep, which in most countries require a change of air and herbage at different seasons of the year, and in the mountainous parts of Lancashire must necessarily be withdrawn from the high grounds in winter, yet cannot be trusted to meadows or very fertile plains: lower grounds, therefore, comparatively barren, must be sought out for their winter habitation; and such were the more sheltered parts of the forests.

2d. The smallness of the profits arising from wood and charcoal proves that the native forests were in a great measure decayed in 1311, for, if we multiply the sum of 9:4 so as to bring it to the present standard, much more advantage would be made of the old wood, &c. grown upon the same grounds at present.

But, perhaps, a demand for these articles might be wanting.

THE MANOR OF TOTTINGTON.

Another member of the honor of Clitheroe, which belongs not indeed to the demesnes and forests of Blackburnshire, but, as it never formed a part of the original parish of Whalley, has no claim to any other place in this account, and may, therefore, most properly be considered here on account of its contiguity to Rossendale. And as this district has no other than a feudal connection with the honor of Clitheroe, it will be considered principally in that relation.

I have said that Tottington belonged not to the forests, and, in strictness of language, it did not, yet, in the very first charter in which the name is found, John de Lacy grants certain lands abutting upon “Pilgrim-crosse-slack in Foresta de Tottington. Dat. ap. Ightenhill *, 22d Henry II. Test. Galf. Dec. de Whalley.” Thus Saddleworth is called a forest †, and for the same reason only, *viz.* that both were dreary and uncultivated tracts, rejected or overlooked at the first distribution of property, and therefore fallen, as lands unclaimed, into the hands of the lords.

Tottington, however, had another and better claim to the name of forest, for I find that Roger de Montbegon gave to the priory of Monk Bretton, in the county of York, the pasture of Holecombe, reserving to himself the wild beasts, and pasture for his cattle, within certain bounds.

By a second charter, about 1236, he grants all Holecombe: and by a third, *totam forestam de Holecombe*, thereby releasing the reservation of his first grant. Burton’s Mon. Ebor. p. 96.

By a fourth charter, *ibid.* the same grantor conveys to the said priory three acres of meadow near Pilgrim-crosse-charche (I suppose an error of the pen or press for church), which seems to countenance an opinion that this was a resting-place of the pilgrims, (see under Whalley Abbey), and that they had a chapel here for their devotions.

Where this cross and chapel stood, or whether the latter were on the site of the present chapel of Holcombe, I am not informed; but of the last, tradition reports, that it was once a prison, and an adjoining eminence the place of execution belonging to it ‡. It is, indeed, not improbable, that the Lacies or Montbegons, who were mesne lords of Tottington under them, might have a local jurisdiction here extending to capital offences.

The composition of the word Holcombe is, in one instance, among many, of the combination of two or more syllables of local names, expressing the same idea in different and successive languages. Thus Cwm. in British, and Pol. in Saxon, both denote a bottom. The lands granted by Montbegon to the priory of Monkbretton, were, with an immense quantity of others, regranted to John Braddyll, of Whalley, Gent. the great dealer in this unsafe commodity, by letters patent of Henry VIII. dated March 23, anno regni 36, under the description of “omnes illas terras, &c. jacent. in Holcame, al. dict. Holcome et Tottington, com. Lanc. nuper Prioratui de Monkbretton, com. Ebor. dudum spectantes.” Braddyll, MSS. No. 57.

* *Vide supra*, under Ightenhill. From the attestation of Geoffry, dean of Whalley, I am now convinced that the error of Christopher Townley did not lie, as I before conjectured, in substituting Henry II. for Henry III. but John, for Robert de Lacy. This will therefore remain the oldest dated transaction but one in the records of Blackburnshire.

† *Vide cart. W. de Stapleton*, under Rochdale.

‡ A Grant of the Furca or Gallows within Tottington was obtained by Edmund de Lacy from Henry III. Townley MSS.

I have once seen it styled (Townley MSS.) the honor of Tottington, an appellation to which, though holding of the superior honor of Clitheroe, it seems entitled, from the number and opulence of the manors dependent upon itself; for to the court of Tottington the Earl of Derby owes suit and service for his manor of Bury; Lord Suffield for the manor of Middleton; Sir Thomas Horton for Chatterton, and the Lever family for Alkington.

The great Inquisition for Tottington is as follows:

TOTTINGTON IN SALFORD.

	L.	S.	D.
A capital messuage - - - - -		VI	0
c acr. demised to tenants at will - - - - -	I	XIII	IV
viii oxgangs, demised in like manner - - - - -	I	IV	0
The park of Musbury * - - - - -		XIII	IV
A separate pasture - - - - -		X	0
Water Mill - - - - -	I	0	0
Profits of Court - - - - -	1	0	0
Sir Henry de Bury † owes suit and service at the court of Bury for } half a knight's fee.			
Roger de Middleton owes the same for half a knight's fee.			
Henry de Trafford, for Chatterton, with its appurtenances, 1 knight's fee.			
Adam de Prestwich, for Alkington, fourth part of a knight's fee.			
Henry de Bury, for half the manor of Shuttleworth.			
Ric. de Radcliffe for xx acres in Tottington - - - - -		III	0
Roger de Chatterton xii acres omitted to be charged.			
Rob. de Bradshagh - - - - -			1 ob.
	VII	0	IX ob.

Such, then, is the manor, honor, or forest of Tottington ‡, which stretches about five miles on the banks of the Irwell, and far up the sides of the adjoining hills, from Elton southward, to the great opening into the parish of Whalley northward, a tract approximating in soil and climate to the Apennine of Lancashire, and upon which its warm and wealthy feudatories of Bury, Middleton, Chatterton, and Alkington, if ever they remember their dependence at all, will, probably, look upward with contempt.

* *Vide* Rossendale, to which it was afterwards annexed.

† In the 9th Edward IV. a licence was granted to Thomas Pilkinton, to kernel and embattle his manor-house of Bury. Townley MSS. G. 13. This was the old manerial residence of the Burys, and afterwards of the Pilkintons, upon the attainder of the last of whom, it was granted to Thomas earl of Derby; the remains of the moat, which are still visible, were mistaken by Mr. Percival for a Roman station; for which he has been very properly corrected by the Historian of Manchester.

‡ The Greenhalghs, of Brandlesome, were hereditary Bailiffs of Tottington. MS. pen. C. Chadwick, Ar.

BOWLAND.

Having now surveyed the forest of Blackburnshire and its sub-divisions, it remains that we turn northward, where we shall find another of the demesnes of Clitheroe, a forest till very lately “peopled with its old inhabitants.”

Bowland is undoubtedly so denominated, as having been famous in the Saxon times for the exercise of archery. The first mention of the word is in the Status de Blackburnshire, which evidently refers it to a period as early as the foundation of* the Deanery of Whalley. The circumstances relating to its ecclesiastical history will be noticed below. It was undoubtedly a member of that great fee, which the Conqueror bestowed upon Roger de Poitou, and was by him granted either to Ilbert or Robert de Lacy; but thus much is certain, that Robert de Lacy obtained from Henry I. a grant of Boeland, which he had before held of Roger de Poitou, to be henceforward held of the king in capite†. Thus it appears that this portion of the demesnes of Clitheroe Castle was held under a title distinct from that of the Honour itself.

The whole tract of country vulgarly called Bowland, and consisting of the parishes of Slaydburn and Mitton, together with the forest, is now equally a member of the fee or honor of Clitheroe, and was equally comprehended within the original parish of Whalley: the two former, however, were separated at an early period from their mother church, and at the time of the Domesday survey, were taken as portions of the manor of Grindleton, as they have since been of Slaydburn. But the forest of Bowland, in the strict sense, was, in its civil relation, included, from its first acquirement by the Lacies, in the demesnes of the castle, and subject to the court of Woodmote alone, and, in its ecclesiastical, was always a portion of the extra-parochial tract called the castle parish, and uniformly paid tythes to the abbey of Whalley, after the annexation of the chapel of St. Michael in Castro.

The knowledge of this distinction is so nearly lost, and the precise boundaries of the forest so ill ascertained, that circumstances may be foreseen, in which it would answer even a legal purpose to have retraced them with a reference to original authorities. 1st, Then, the following memorandum from the books now lost, of the vigilant and learned abbot Lyndlay, is extracted from Harl. Libr. MS. 1830: “Memorandum quod quondam erat in Bowland quædam Capella, quæ Brennand Capella vocabatur, quæ quidem Capella tum pertinens erat ad ecclesiam parochialem de Whalley. Unde omnes decani prædictæ ecclesiæ invenerunt capellanum quotannis sumptibus suis ibidem celebrantem. Et quidem illo tempore, nullimoda sepulchralia ibidem habebantur: corpora mortuorum totius forestæ de Bowland deferebantur apud Whalley, (this was before the foundation of the castle or church of Clitheroe) tanquam ad ecclesiam matricem, et tunc temporis omnes decimationes, tum majores, tum minores totius forestæ de Bowland, scilicet de Brenand, de Trough, ubi illi de Whittledale nunc habitant, et de Sike, de Harden, de Staplehaw, Thorneyholme, Grishurste et de Bathwarges (Batterax) sicut le Frithbroke descendit usque ad aquam Hodre p'dictæ ecclesiæ de Whalley penitus solvebantur, ubi locus adhuc à multis cognoscitur, ubi prædicta capella fuit sita.”

* “Quondam erat in Bowland quædam Capella quæ Brennand vocabatur; unde Omnes Decani (de Whalley) invenerunt Capellanum.

† Dugd. Bar. vol. I. p. 99. “Ex autographo nup. in Cast. de Pontefract.”

2d. This perambulation* of the forest of Bowland will completely ascertain the boundaries, so far as the ancient names are now intelligible.

“Universis sancte Matris Ecclesiæ filiis JACOBUS STANLEY †, Archidiaconus Cestrie, Salm. Noveritis nos inspexisse Registrum Abbatis et Conventus Monasterii Beate Marie de Whalleye, in hæc verba:—

“Memⁿ de Terminis et Bundis Capellæ Scti Michaelis Archangeli in Castro de Cliderhow, annexe et unite ecclesie parochiali de Whalleye, notatis et determinatis per Dom. Joñem Lyndlay, S. T. P. quondam Abbtem Monasterii Beate Marie de Whalleye prædict. et Dom. Thom. Halton quondam rectorem ecclesie parochialis de Slaydburn.

“Imp^s. Rawcrosse and Newhay-head, bounding upon the parish of Slaydburn, and from Newhay-head following westward unto Longshaw, and from Longshaw unto Grypden-head, and following upp the Oakencloough unto the Height of Kytchholme, and from Kytchholme to Fyldynge Clough Head, then to the Desu ‡ Clough Head, and so the water of Hoder; then following upp the Water of Hoder to the Deptynge between the Dukes Ground called Thorniholme and Hamerton Lands, and so unto the Water of Hoder, and so following Water of Hoder into Longden Water, and from thens following the Meares betwixt Borholme and the Stotclose unto the Red Syke; then following upp the Red Sike to the Height of Todridge, soe following Todridge as Heaven Water deales unto the Head of Brandslack-brooke, bounding upon the parish of Chippin, and so from Brandslacke Brooke unto the Head of Threapleigh unto Paycocke Clough, then to Chippin Brooke, soe following Chippin Brooke to the Park Yeate of Laygram at Chippin Brooke, so following from the Park Yeate the Brooke to the Head of Hudefeld. Soe from the Head of Hudefeld to the Pale, so following from the Pale to the Lands of Startivant, so following the said Lands to Chippin Brooke, so to Foot of Water of Lowde, so unto Water of Hoder bounding on parish of Mitton, so following Hoder unto Wyerburne Foot, so following Wyerburne to Head of Bashall Parke, so following Lands of Bashall and the Duke's Lands to Newhahouse, and from Newhahouse following the Devise of the Lordship of Bashall and the Duke's Land to Head of Newhay, so ensuing the Woodward Scoore to North End of Whitston Cliffe, as Heaven Water deales, so following said Woodward Scoore from Head of Whitstoncliffe to the Wolfstanbanke as Heaven Water deales, so from Wolfstanbanke to the Stone with the Steppes as Heaven Water deales, so the Height of Stiversten line (sic) Swarthaw as Heaven Water deales, and so to Well in the North End of Stiversten, so following the Well Streame from the North End of Stiversten to the Champon Dyke upon the parish of Slaydburne aforesaid, so following Champon Dyke to Fellbrig Water, also following upp Harrop Dyke to the Height of Helden Hill as Heaven Water deales, so to Brynhill Pyke as Heaven Water deales, and so from Brynhill Pyke to Whitstoncliff, and so to Ravencross aforesaid.”

* Vide Coucher Book at Whalley, and Townley MSS. g. 26. It is dated Whalley. 1483, and was made in consequence of the great suit for tythes between Christopher Parsons, rector of Slaydburne, and the abbot and convent: but it refers to a much older perambulation in the time of abbot Lyndley and Henry duke of Lancaster, which explains the expression of the duke's land.

† Afterwards Bishop of Ely.

‡ Qu. Dene?

The following is of the earlier part of the seventeenth century.

“The Oute Bounderies of the Forrest of Bowland — how farr and into what places doth the same extend, and upon what lords landes doth the same bound and border :—

Beginning at the lowe end of Graddell, next adjoining to a certayn place called Grange, and soe along after a river called Hodder, leading to Cross of Greate, and from thence to Croasdale and Whitledale, and part of Brennand North,	} Which bounds N.E. upon the Lordship of Horneby, as Heaven-water deales.
	} Which bounds upon said Lp of Horneby, as Heaven-water deales.
The rest is from Brennand, - - -	{ And bounds upon the farmers of Tarnebrooke, and so to a place called Ughtersik, as Harrington Ditch leads lying over the West end of Millhouse, and soe as Heaven-water leades over the Threape Hawe to the Stone in the Trough, that devides Yorkshire from Lancashire.
And from thence West from Sykes,	{ Which bounds upon Marshay, Hathernwaite, Catshay, Calder, Bleasdale, Fairsnape, Blindhurst, and Woolfhall, as Heaven-water devides.
	{ And from thence down Brooke called Dobson Brooke, to Chippin Brooke, and soe all along after, by the ende of Chippin Towne, and about 16 roodes downe Brooke of Chippin, and soe lineally to Red Banke.
And from thence - - - - -	{ All along the lands of Richard Marsden, of the pale } Mr. Yates his grounds, the Lordship of Thorneley and Lordship of Braidley Hall.
And from thence to after the grounds of Clem. Towlson,	{ Bounding upon the Lordship of Braidley Hall aforesaid.
Then after, and all along the grounds of Rob. Rawthmell,	{ Bounding upon Mr. Shereburne Lordship and Mr. Sunderland Lordship.
Thence to Wyerburne Foot, Browsholme, and Newhay,	{ Bounds upon the Lordship of Bashall.
Thence over coñon called Whitstoncliffe, Bradford Moore, and Grinleton Moore,	{ Which boundes South upon Lordship of Waddington, and the Coppie-houlders of Bradford and Grinleton, pcele of Manor of Slaydburne.
And lastlie, thence to the Vaccary of Harrope, within Forest of Bol-land,	{ Which bounds upon S.E. side of Lordship of Boulton.

Next is the Survey of this Forest during the great Usurpation :

Ebor. et Lanc.—Chacea de Bolland.

A Survey of the Chace of Bolland, part of the possessions of Charles Stewart, the late king, of which he was seized as in right of the Duchy of Lancaster; but now settled on trustees, for the use of the Com'onwealth of England. 12th Oct. 1652.

The Chace of Bolland was held of the Crowne, as parcel of the Duchy of Lancaster, by several tenants on lease; but now, for moste part, said landes are held in fee-farme, being sold to the respective tenants by King James and King Charles, as appears by diverse letters patents.

Leaseholders within said Chace, in all 15, holding among them 8429 acres, 2 roods, 28 perches. Of these, part, Brennand, contained 1713; another part, 1145; and a third, held by Rob. Parker, esq. 929. Whitendale, held by Rob. Sherburne, Esq. alone contained 3693 acres.

Out of these leases were excepted all woods, underwoods, mines, and quarries; also, sufficient pasture for the wild beasts. These leaseholds were all the lands in Bowland which had not been granted in fee-farm by the Crown.

The whole township of the Forest of Bowland then contained 64 tenements.

The officers belonging to this forest were, a Bow-bearer and chief Steward. By the steward are yearly kept two swainmotes, a woodmote court, two courts leet, and two courts baron, to which the inhabitants of Bolland do suit and service, in which all such as felled anie wood without lycens, or killed anie deere, were fyned; also, all actions under 40s. were tried.

The profit of which fynes and amerciaments, estimated to be worth £.1. Other casual profit, as waiffs, estrays, felons' goods, deodands, amount, com^s a^s, to £.3.

Other officers of the chace are, 12 * Keepers for the deere, both red and fallow.

The several tenants, as well lease holders as fee-farmers, are bound to suffer the deere to goo unmolested into their several grounds: they are also fyned, if anie, without lycens, keep anie dogg bigger than will go through a stirupe, to hunt the deere out of the corne.

There are of redd deere of all sortes; viz staggs, hyndes, and calves, 20; which wee value to be worth £.20.; and of fallow deere, 40*; which wee value to be worth £.20.

	£.	s.	d.
Present rent of leaseholds	—	—	—
P'quisites of courts and casul ^s	—	—	—
Value of herbage of deere	—	—	—
Sum total of present rents and profits	—	—	—
Sum total of improvements <i>per an.</i>	—	—	—
Value of wood <i>per an.</i>	—	—	—
Radholme Parke was surveyed by the Com ^s aforesaid, but the return not made in time. Rental	—	—	—
	16	0	0
	£.559	0	5

3d. Some additional evidence, to the present purpose, is contained in an Inquisition taken at Skipton, A.D. 1577 †.

“ Juratores dicunt, &c quod Newton in Bowland, Knolmere, Stanemarrow, Grand Battirge infra villam de Newton, Slaitburne, Woodhouse, Highfield, Grinleton, Bradford, Waddington,

* Townley MSS. G. 16.

† That is, there were twelve keepers of sixty deer. The stock had evidently been wasted in that period of anarchy.

Mitton, Bashall, Crook, Withgill, sunt infra cur. vis. franc. pleg. Dñæ Reginæ de Slaydburne, et infra Wap. de Stayncliffe, et quod Grangeæ, seu terræ dominicales de Edisforth, Esington, Hamerton, Rishtonmere, Harden, Staplehocke, Thorneholme, Betrax, Harrop, Nether Carr. Over Browsholme, Birholme, Troughie, et Sikes, Lee, al. Leehouse, Whittledale, Brennand, Le Lees, Swinehurst, Gradale, Newhay Past. et Radholme Pke, sunt infra forestam Dnæ Regæ de Bowland et infr. Cur. Woodmote infr. for. p'dict tent. apud Whytewell."

Harrop, Countess Flat, near Slaydeburn, part of Burholme, and Browsholme, are within the parish of Whalley; and the same part of Burholme, with Browsholme and Little Bowland, constitute the Chapelry of Whitewell.

More particularly it appears, from Sir Raphe Assheton's Tithing Book, in 1676, that the Tithery of Bowland consisted of Browsholme, Newhey, Radholme, Burholme, Thorniholme, Farrick House, Fence, Dinkley Green, Lickhurst, Over and Lower Grafton Lee, Lees and Wardsleys, Legram, Harrop, and Burnslack. At this time the Tithery of Bowland consisted of about 72 families; at least, so many families *paid* Easter Dues, &c. in that year.

At the time of the Domesday Survey, the boundaries of the forest, as distinct from the tract of country popularly called Bowland, do not appear to have been accurately traced; for the greater part of the villages mentioned above, whether within the forest or without, are there considered as dependent upon the manor of Grinleton, which is now become dependent upon Sladeburne.—This will appear from the following transcript of that ancient and authentic record, so far as it relates to these places:—

∞ In GRETTLINTONE lb. Comes Tosti III Car. ⁊ tre ad gld.

	II Car.	II Car.		III Car.	III Car.
	In	Bradeforde,	Wideton (mis-written for Wadeton or Waddington)	Baschelf,	Witune,
II Car.	III Car.	II Car.	III Car.	II Car.	
Hamertone,	Slateburne,	Badersbi,	Neutone,	Bogeuurde	(I do not know what place is meant by
	III Car.	II Car.	III Car.		this name),
	Esintune,	Radun (Radholme)	Sotlie,	Hæ tre	adjacent in GRETTLINTONE.

These were surveyed under the lands of Roger of Poitou, and were held under him by Earl Tosti, who was soon to give place to the Lacies. Of these villages, Bogworthe and Sotlie, so far as I know, have entirely perished; and Radun, or Radholme, is only remembered as a lawnd; so that we have here what never occurs in the forests of Blackburnshire, an instance of depopulation, whether active or otherwise, previous to the proper afforesting of the country.

Bowland*, though principally inclosed, is still ranged by herds of deer, under the juris-

* One custom, in letting the great sheep-farms in the higher parts of Bowland, deserves to be mentioned, as I do not know that it prevails any where else. It is this: that the flock, often consisting of 2000 sheep, or more, is the property of the lord, and delivered to the tenant by a schedule, subject to the condition of delivering up an equal number, of the same quality, at the expiration of the term. Thus the tenant is merely usufructuary of his own stock. The practice was familiar to the Roman law, and seems to have arisen from the difficulty of procuring tenants who were able to stock farms of such extent.

I have met with the following miscellaneous facts relating to this forest.—16 Ed. II.—The bailiwick of Bowland is granted to Ed. de Dacre, p. 1. m. 15. 17.

20 Edw. II.—The bailiwick of the Chace of Bowland is granted to Ric. de Spaldington.—Tower Records, 20 Edw. II. m. 5.

1 Edw. III.—The same to the same.—Ditto, m. 13.

22 Edw. III.—A grant of free chace in Bowland to Isabella, queen-dowager.

diction of a master forester *; here, in allusion to the name of the forest, called the *Bow-bearer*, who has under him an inferior keeper. The former office is now held by Thomas Lister Parker, Esq. as it has long been by his ancestors. Here have been two lawnds or inclosures for the deer †, Radholme Laund and Lathgram Park.

The following is a copy of one of the Letters Patent, by which the office of Bow-bearer of Bowland was anciently held.

“ Ricardus (3tus) D. G. Rex Ang. et Fr. et *Dux* (sic †) Hib. omni^s, &c. Sciatis quod nos in consideratione veri et fidelis servitii quod per dilectus miles pro corp. nro Jacobus Harrington nobis antea impendit et impendere intendit in futuro : Dedimus et con^t ei officia Mag^ri forestarii senescallorum Balliv^m forestar^m, et le Drivers foreste nre de Bowland, in com^t Ebor. et Lanc. Habend. occupand. et gaudend. offic. p^rdict^r p^rfat. Jacobo per se, vel dep^m suum, vel dep^s suos sufficientes, a festo Sci Mich. Archang. ult. p^rterito durante vita sua, p^rcipiend^r in et pro occupatione officiorum p^rdict^r suam xx et i lib. et xd. in recompensatione certarum puturarum, quas dicti officarii nri temp. p^rgenitorum nrorum usitat. et consuet. fuerunt habere et percipere de diversis tenentibus et inhabitantibus nris infra comitatus p^rdict. et forestam pro suorum feodis et vadiis, ultra x M. annuatim ab antiquo debit. et consuet. pro feod. dict. Mag^r forestar.

“ Dat. sub sigillo Ducatus, apud London, 16 Feb. A. R. 2^{do}.”

The beautiful river Hodder, famous for its umber, rising near the cross of Grete, and passing through the parish of Sladeburn, intersects the forest, and forms the only ornamental scenery of a tract otherwise bleak and barren, by its deep and fringed banks. On one of these is the little Chapel of Whitewell, together with an inn, the court-house of Bowland; and, undoubtedly, a very ancient resting-place for travellers journeying from Lancaster to Clitheroe or Whalley. The landscape here is charming. The Hodder, brawling at a great depth beneath the Chapel, washes the foot of a tall conical knowl, covered with oaks to its top, and is soon lost in overshadowing woods beneath. But it is for the pencil, and not the pen, to do justice to this scene. On the opposite hill, and near the keeper's house, are the remains of a small encampment, which have been supposed to be Roman; but they are too inconsiderable to justify any conjecture about them. At no great distance a cairn of stones was opened, and found to contain a sort of kist vaen, and a skeleton. It is singular, that neither of these remains have been noticed by Rauthmell, a diligent and accurate investigator of the Roman antiquities of his own neighbourhood; but, as he was minister of Whytewell, he could scarcely be ignorant of this encampment, and may therefore be presumed not to have thought it Roman.

9th of Henry VI. is a grant of a vaccary called Batterax, for 32 *vaccæ*, one bull, and their issue, both at summer-pasture, and hay, for the rent of Lxs. to Jo. Harrison and Tho. Hammerton.

And, at the same time, a grant of half the Vaccary of Hardon to Rob. del Shaw.

Also, a pardon to Tho. de Radcliffe for transgressions in the forest of Bowland, 16 Hen. VII. — Townl. MSS.

* “ Up towards the hilles by Grenehaugh (Castle) be three forests of *redde* deere, Wyredale, Boulund, and Blestale : “ they be partly woody, partly hethye.” Lel. v. III. p. 92. — The last stags in Bowland were destroyed within the memory of the present keeper, a fine old forester of more than fourscore.

† This title was not peculiar to the keeper of Bowland; for, in the church of Blakesley, co. Northampton, I find the following epitaph: — “ Hic jacet Matth. Swettenham portator arcus et armiger Regis Henr. IV. mccccxvi.” — Gough's Sep. Mon. vol. II.

‡ Probably a mistake, in the transcript, for D'n's.

On an adjoining height was discovered a quarry and manufactory of querns, or portable millstones; of which, though probably introduced by the Roman soldiers into Britain, the use appears to have continued among us till after the Norman Conquest.

The little Chapel of Whitewell, from the style of its East window, and of the wood-work within, appears to have been erected in the reign of Henry VII. This is confirmed by the accounts of Whalley Abbey; for, in the Computus of the 15th year of Abbot Paslew, or 1521, a charge is made by the bursars of *xs.* paid Capellano de Whytewell; and in that of the 7th year of Abbot Holden, or 1478, no mention is made of this payment *. After the demolition of the chapel of St. Michael in the Castle, the remaining revenue of that Chapel was settled upon Whytewell †. Not far from Burholm Bridge are the vestiges of another and more antient place of worship; but I know not whether there is any tradition of the Chapel of Brennand, mentioned by Abbot Lyndley as only remembered by its site in the time of Edw. III.

On an elevated situation in the forest is the ancient house of Browsholme, for more than three centuries the residence of a family, who probably derive both their name and arms from the office of parker, or park-keeper.

The following Commission, dated 7 Rich. II. was directed to enquire into certain offences and disturbances committed within these forests.

“Rex, &c.—Dilectis et fidelibus suis Waltero Urswic, Ar. Rad. de Radcliffe, Rob. Urswic, Ad. Shillicorn, Rob. de Blackburn, &c.—Quia datum est nobis intelligi quod quidam malefactores et pacis perturbatores, liberas chaceas nostras de Bowland, Pendle, Rossendel, Trawden, et Tottington, vi et armis intraverunt, &c.: Ideo vobis mandamus per inquisitionem factam transgressionum prædictarum auditis et terminatis, &c. &c.

“Concessio per literas patentes Ric. Radcliffe de Radcliffe, de uno parco vocato Musbery P^k, hab^m ad term. 20 annor. reddendo *viii. vis. vii. et vis. vii.* de incremento. 2do. Hen. V.

“Rex.—Jacobus Radcliffe de Radcliffe, quandam indenturam de herbagio et pastura paric. Musbury, et de Chacea de Hodlesden, in Foresta de Rosendale, ad term. *xii* annor.”

This is the only place in which Hoddlesden is mentioned as a chace.

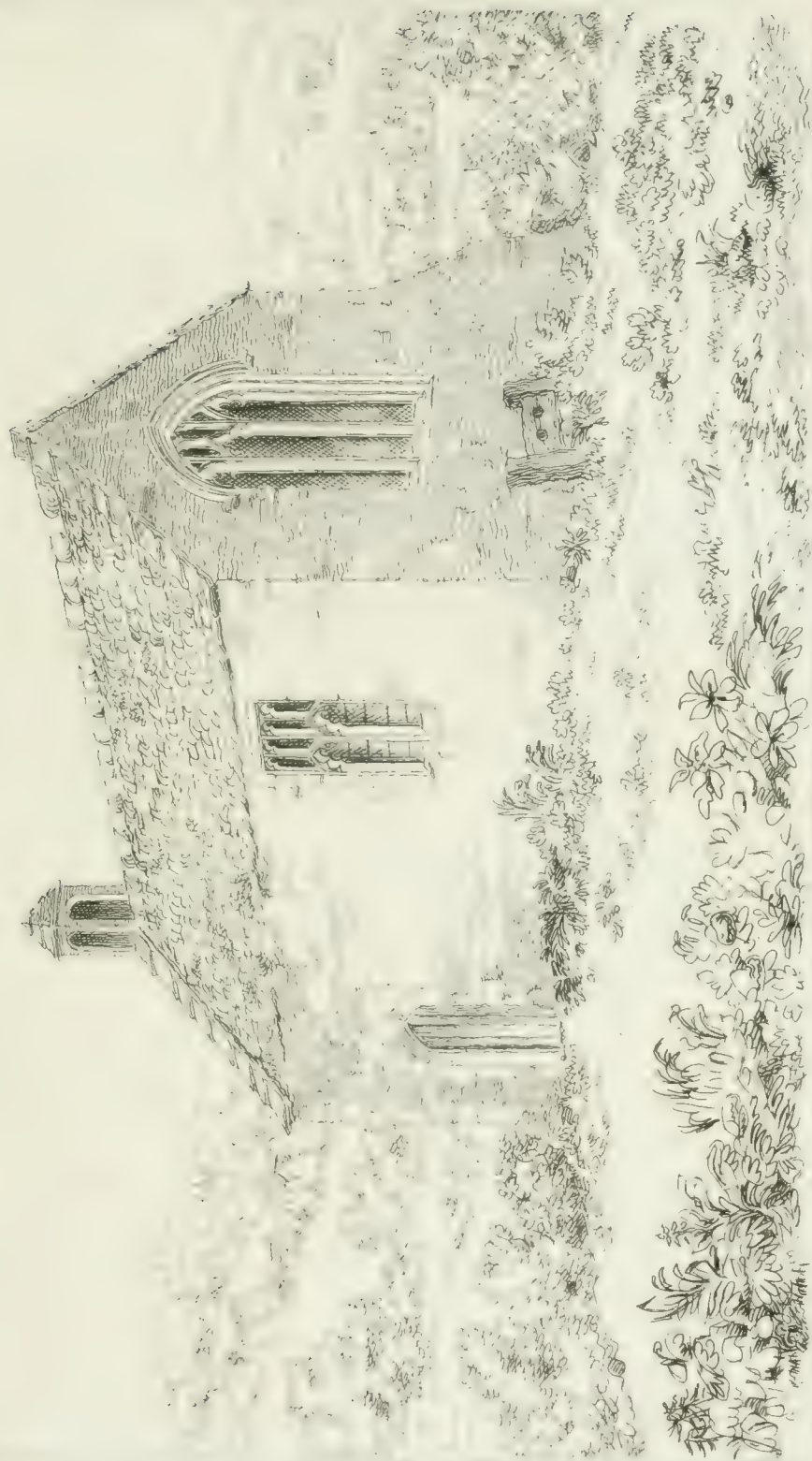
The following is an appointment, by the Trustees under the will of Henry V. constituting Sir John Stanley Master Forester of the Forests of Blackburnshire. It is taken from Dr. Cuerden's MS. and in some places almost illegible.

“Hen. † Arch^s et feoffati, &c. Omnibus, &c. Sciatis quod cum Johannes Stanley, miles, per literas patentes hab. officia capitalis Forestarii Forestarum de Pennyl et Rosendale, et Tomerden (evidently a mistake for Trawden), in Blackburnshire, et Staurarii et Senescalli ibidem, ac officium Senescalli maneriorum de Totyngton, et Ratchdale, et Penwortham, quoad nobis placuerit: Nos

* Its æra might be ascertained more exactly, were any Computus extant in that interval.

† I suspect this Chapel to have been a monument of the piety of our forefathers, in accommodating travellers, upon roads where there were no churches, with the means of late and early devotion. To the same motive are to be ascribed the Chapels formerly erected on the piers of bridges.—“Prayers and provender hinder no journeys,” said the devout and excellent Herbert, a maxim of which the former part is now entirely forgotten.

‡ Archbishop Chicheley.



ad instanciam sereniss. principis et Dⁿⁱ nostri Regis, nunc nobis fact. ac consider^e boni et laudabilis servitii tam præfato nuper regi quam D^{no} nunc regi per dilectum dedimus officii pro termino vite Dom et alterius eorum.

7 Nov. 16 Regni.

With respect to Bowland, one circumstance only remains to be told; *viz.* that in the year 1805 a fine herd of wild deer, the last vestige of feudal superiority in the domains of the Lacies, were destroyed.

The loss, however, of these ancient ornaments of the forest has been in some measure compensated by the late improvements of the house and grounds at Browsholme, by the taste of the present owner. Of these improvements it is no small praise, in this age of experiment and innovation, to say, that while they have produced some splendid modern apartments, the shell of a venerable mansion has been left entire.

Browsholme is a large house of red stone, with a centre, two wings, and a small façade in front, of that species which was peculiar to the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. * Here is a good old library, a large miscellaneous collection of ancient coins, and a valuable assemblage of MSS. relating principally to the antiquities of the neighbourhood, to which this History is much indebted: these are monuments of the intelligence and curiosity of the family. Another relic, preserved with religious reverence, attests their devotion:—it is a skull, said to have been employed by a former owner, in the private exercises of religion, as a monitor of death; and it is polished, by frequent attrition, to a surface resembling coarse ivory. But the most valuable relic preserved at Browsholme is the original seal of the Commonwealth, for the approbation of ministers †. It is of very massy silver; and is inscribed—*The Seale for the approbation of public Preachers* ‡.

In the centre are two branches of palm; and within them an open book, with these words: *The Word of God*.

The workmanship is good, but I could scarcely venture to ascribe it to Simon.

On a piece of needle-work, in the house, but copied probably from an original upon board, are the following lines:—

God blesse Edmonde Parker and alle that wyth hym wones,
Hys fyve Daughters and hys seven Sonnes.

A.D. MCCCCL.

The dining-room, designed by Mr. Jeffry Wyatt, is adorned with some of the best works of Northcote.

The house also contains many paintings by the best Flemish masters, besides two fine specimens of Gainsborough and Wilson §.

* From a letter, lately discovered among the family papers, it is now ascertained that the present house was either wholly, or principally, built in the year 1604.—Whether the family removed at this, or an earlier period, from Higher Browsholme, of which the foundations are now barely discoverable, I do not know.

† See Calamy's Continuation, vol. I. p. 462; where there is an engraving of another seal of 1659, with the same inscription; but instead of the palm-branches and open book, the latter has a plain cross. ‡ See p. 241.

§ An account of this interesting place, and the improvements which it has received from the elegant taste of its Owner, has lately been published by him. To that Volume the Reader is referred for information concerning Browsholme, as it appears at present.

The

The original head of Velasquez's pupil, by himself, is esteemed one of the best portraits of that master ever brought to England.

The hall, 40 feet long, is furnished with antiquities; such as, the Ribchester inscription of the xxth legion, celts, fibulæ, different pieces of armour, and particularly a small spur, found in the apartment called King Henry the Sixth's, at Waddington Hall. Among the rest is a complete suit of buff, worn by the head of the family—a sufferer for his loyalty, in the great rebellion.

The papers of the family contain many curious and original documents of those times. The staircase-window is rich in painted glass.

Among the portraits is one of a Parker, in the reign of Charles II. with the insignia of Bowbearer of Bowland; *viz.* a staff tipped with a buck's head, in his hand, and a bugle-horn at his girdle.

The only vestige of the forest-laws yet preserved here (and that too now become useless) is the stirrup through which every dog, excepting those belonging to the lords, must be able to pass.

That the office of Bowbearer was held by the family as early as 1591, appears from the following warrant, now remaining among their papers:

“After my hartie coiñtendaçons. These shalbe to will and require you to delyver, or cause to be delyv'd, to my verie good Lord, Will'm bushop of Chester*, or to y^e bearer hereof in his name, my fee stagge of this season to be had wthin her Maj^{ties} forrest of Bowland; and this my lre shal be your sufficient warr't and discharge. Great Bartholomewes, this xxvith of June, 1591.

ANT' MILDMAVE.

“To ye Mr of her Mat^{ies} game within the forrest of Bowland; and to his Deputie or Deputes there.”

The fee-stag appears to have been due to Sir Anthony Mildmay, as Chancellor of the dutchy.

To shew the state of this country during the civil wars, I select two letters of protection; one from a notorious sequestrator, the other from a gallant royalist.

“For the Col^s and Lieu. Col^s within Craven these.

“Noble Gentlemen. I could desire to move you in the behalfe of Mr. Edward Parker, of Broosome, that you would be pleased to take notice of his house, and give order to the officers and souldiers of your regiments, that they plunder not, nor violently take away, any his goods, without your privities; for truly the proñess of souldiers sometimes to coiñit some insolencies wthout comand from their sup^{iors} is the cause of my writing at this time; hoping hereby, through your care, to prevent a future evill, in all thankfullness I shall acknowledge (besides the great obligation you putt on Mr. Parker) myselfe to bee

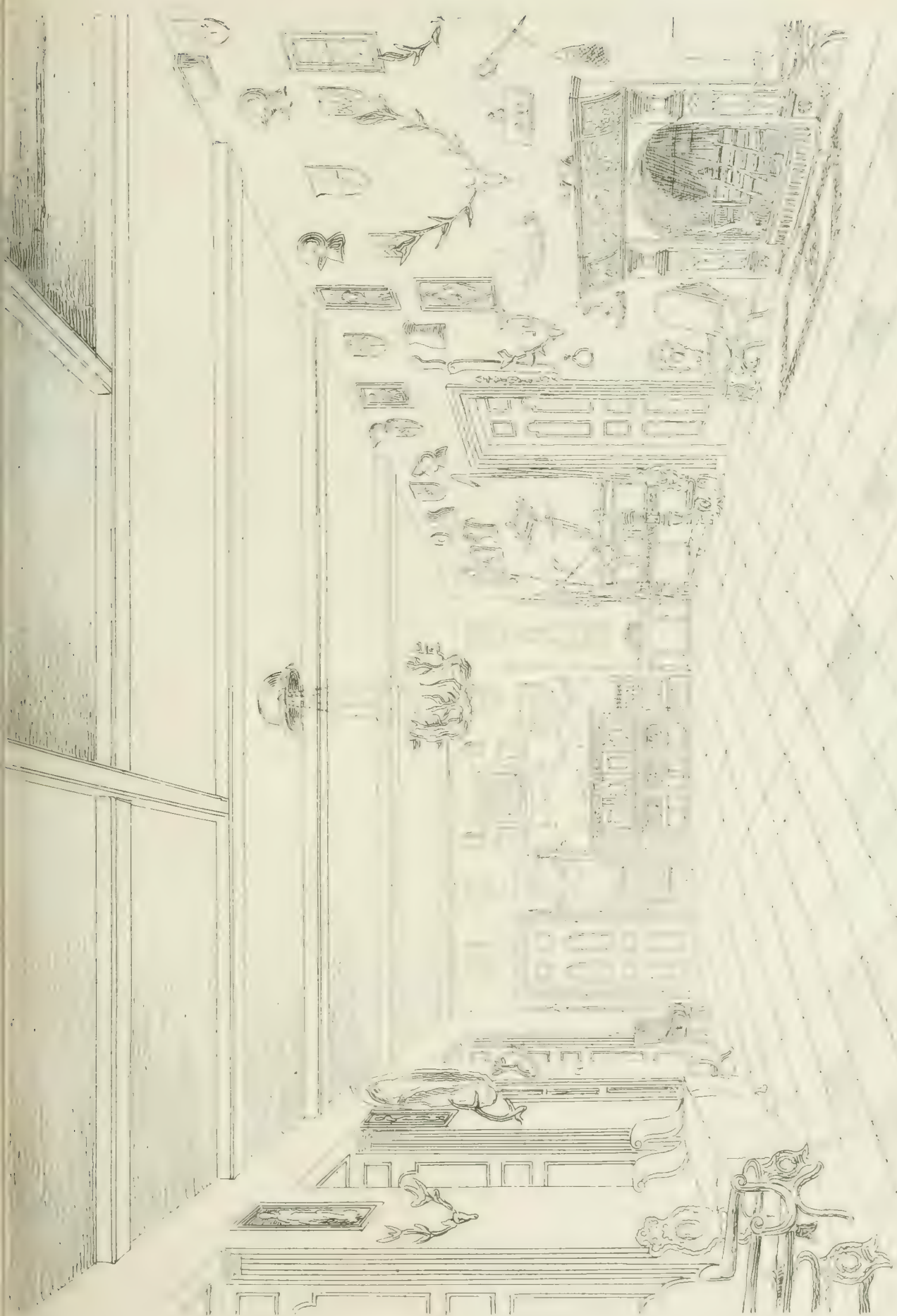
“Gawthrop, 13 February, 1644.

Your much obliged,

“RIC. SHUTTLEWORTHE.”

* Chadderton.

“These

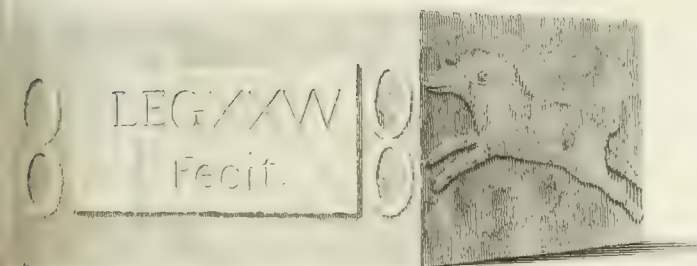




Edward Parker

*EDWARD PARKER ESQ. in the Costume of
Bowbearer of Bowland Cir 1690*

Phahy



*Legionary Stone from Ribchester
now at Brougholme*



Ancient Dog-gauge of the Forest



*Ancient Wooden Tankard
at Brougholme*

*To THOMAS LISTER PARKER ESQ. F.S.A. this Plate is inscribed by his
Obliged & faithful Servant The Author.*

Humphry
hun, E
Herefor
Essex.

Willm. de
Earl of
ampton.

Richard E
Arundel
rey, ob.
Ric. 2.

Sir Robert
hill, K

Thomas S
Lord Spk.
Comptre
the Ho
of King
ob. Ao. 3
6.
Parker, of Browsholme, in
Forest of Bolland, county
Spk.
=

Sir John
of Clifton

Thomas L
Adlington
of Chester
Elizabeth, wife of Leo-
nard Helme, of
Grosenarg, county
of Lancaster.

William F
of the P
county of
Esq. ob.

Adam Hul
the Park
ob. Ao.

Roger Parker, D.D. second son,
of Lincoln, elected Dean of L
and installed 13th Dec. 1613;
1629, aged 71; buried in the

William R
of the Park
son and

George Parker, of Grace, daughter James Carrier
Parkhall, coun- of Hugh Bate- of Helpston
ty of Stafford, man, of Hart- county of
Esq. 1663. ington, coun- Northampt.
ty of Derby. 2d husband

Adam Hul
the Park
eldest son
heir.

Thomas Parker, Anne, daugh- William Parker
second son. ter of Robert son and heir
Venables. of aged 31 years

William F
of the
Esq. ob.

Adam Hul
the Park
died in 1

William F
of the Park
died 27
1694.

essop Hul
the Park
ob. circa

Thomas Ly
Gisburne
in the
of York
ob. 1761

“These are to intreat all officers and souldiers of the Scottish armie, and to require all officers and souldiers of the English armie under my comaund, that they forbear to take or trouble the p̄son of Edward Parker, of Brousholme, esquire, or to plunder his goods, or anie other hurt or damage to doe unto him in his estate.

“This 8th day of August,

THO. TYLDESLEY.”

“*anno Dom.* 1648.

This was only ten days before the battle of Preston.

The following specimen of old local poetry has been lately discovered among the papers at Browsholme. It is given with some abridgments and corrections.

A Balade of Maryage.

In yonder wode there is a dene,
 Wher I myselke was late reposing,
 Wher blosomes in ther prime have bene,
 And flowers faire ther colors losyng;
 A love of myne I chaunced to meete,
 W'ch causid me too longe to tarye,
 And then of hym I did entrete,
 To tell me when he thought to maryl.

If thou wilt not my secreete tel,
 Ne bruite abroad in Whalley parish,
 And swere to kepe my counsel wel,
 I will declare mye daye of marriage.

.....

When Somer's heate wyl drie noe myre,
 And Wynter's rain noe longer patter;
 When leade wyl melt withouten fyre,
 And * beare brades doe nede noe water;
 When Downham† stones with diamond ringes,
 And cockles be with perles compared;
 When golde is made of gray goose winges;
 Then wyl mie love and I bee marped,

When buck and harte in Hoder lies,
 And graylings on the fells are bredyng;
 When musckes grow on eberie tree,
 And swannes on eberie rock are sedyng;

* This very ancient expression I do not quite understand. Perhaps the words mean Barley Fields.

† At Downham is found a species of crystals, usually called *Downham Diamonds*, which in lustre equal Bristol stones.

When mountains are by men remoyd,
 And Ribble back to Horton carped,
 Or Pendle hill grows silk abode ;
 Then, etc.

When moore or mosse doe saffron yelde,
 And becke and sike ren downe with honie ;
 When sugar growes in every fiede,
 And clerkes wyl take no bribe of monie ;
 When men in Bowlande dyeth here,
 And at Jerusalem bee buryed ;
 Or when the Sunne dothe ryse at noone ;
 Then, etc.

Now farewell, frende, yf it bee soe,
 And thys thy once expected wedpyng ;
 For neither I, nor none of my kynn,
 Wyl ev'r nede to loke for biding.
 I swere and now, yf this bee trowe,
 And thou of such an ehyl carryage,
 If I shoulde lyve ten thousande yere,
 I'd nev'r more expecte thie marpage.

A few particulars only remain to be added, with respect to the forests and demesnes of Blackburnshire in general.

The records of this extensive district, now remaining at Clitheroe Castle, contain little which is either curious or antient. This is accounted for from a return of Richard Assheton and Edward Braddyll, Esqrs. to a commission directed to them out of the Dutchy Court, anno 22 Elizabeth, to enquire into the state of the records at this place. They say that the most antient rolls, some of the reign of Edward III. and others without date, having been kept upon a damp floor, were become almost illegible: but that of those which remained in a tolerably perfect state, a schedule, beginning with the Rolls of Henry VII. had been made by their directions, and the rolls themselves deposited within closets in an upper room, under three locks and keys.

During the great usurpation, after the murder of Charles I. the four forests of Blackburnshire were sold under an ordinance of the Commons in Parliament, intituled, “An Act for the “Sale of all Honours, Manors, &c. belonging to the late King, Queen, and Prince,” to Adam Baynes, of Knowsthorp, Esq. for the sum of 6,853*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.* together with the Rents, Royalties, and Profits, of the Halmot Courts. This transaction bore date April 16, 1651.

In January of the same year the free wapontake courts of Clitheroe and Blackburnshire, excepting the forests, were alienated to one Jeremy Whitworth. On this occasion a doubt arose whether Coln, Ightenhill, Accrington, and Tottington, were really distinct manors: and in a case submitted to Sir Orlando Bridgman, it was stated, that either in the reign of Henry VI. or Edward IV. (the original record, I suppose, having rotted away on the damp floor), a decree had

had been made, that, to avoid an inconvenient concourse of people at the Castle, courts should be holden twice every year at Burnley, Colne, Accrington, &c. But, whatever might have been the date of the decree, it appears, from the *Custumale* already given, that courts had been holden at the first of these places much earlier; and Bridgman thought the usage sufficient to constitute them so many distinct, though not independent manors.

During all this time, the old account between the Crown and the copyholders remained unsettled. An agreement had been made between the two parties, in the reign of James I. that forty years old rent should be paid for the confirmation and settlement of these lands: one moiety on the passing decrees for that purpose in the Dutchy Court, and the other within one month after they were confirmed by act of parliament.

Decrees for all the manors and estates thus compounded for were passed, and the first moiety paid, before the death of King James. In the 5th of Charles I. the remaining moiety was assigned to Sir Allen Apsley, for the satisfaction of debts contracted in victualling the Navy. In the 16th of this reign a bill of confirmation passed both Houses of Parliament; but, on account of the distractions then beginning in the kingdom, did not receive the royal assent. In the year 1650, however, sir Allen Apsley obtained from the governing powers an ordinance to confirm the decrees, and to compel the copyholders to pay the remaining moiety; with a heavy penalty of £.5 *per diem*, on default of payment, after the 1st of September then following.

Several of the copyholders failed in providing their quotas; which occasioned a general deficiency of payment, according to the act. This alarmed the wiser and more wealthy of the parties concerned; who paid the whole moiety, together with a great overplus, *nomine pænæ*, amounting, in all, to £.4833; and thus the affair slept till the Restoration: soon after which, namely, in 1661, a general act of confirmation was passed. And on this foundation rest all the titles to wapontake, or copyhold lands of the new tenure, in Blackburnshire*.

* By the same Act, the forests were attached to the adjoining manors; as, *ex gr.* Trawden to Coln, Pendle to Ightenhill, and Rossendale, with Accrington, to the manor of Accrington-vetus. These two last-mentioned forests constitute what is called Accrington Newhold.



BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

TOPOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

OF THE PRESENT

PARISH OF WHALLEY, BY TOWNSHIPS.

TO have considered the several townships of this great parish in alphabetical order, would have been extremely inconvenient, as such an arrangement would have separated those which are united in natural character, as well as civil and ecclesiastical connections, and have brought together others which have no other title to proximity.—I have therefore preferred a distribution, which will preserve all these connections, by dividing the parish into three great portions, which are not only strongly marked by natural features and limits, but are for the most part severally related to each other, as united either immediately under the parish-church, or under the same parochial chapelries. These three portions are:—

1st. The Vale of Calder, anciently Calderbotham*, with its two forks, leading up to the sources of the Colne Water, and the Calder, properly so called.

2d. The tract of country lying between Pendle and Ribble.

3d. That which lies between the Calder and the Hyndeburne.

Again, the Vale of Calder will be separately considered, under three subdivisions. 1st, The town of Whalley itself, together with its several dependent townships; *viz.* the three hamlets of Coldcoats, Henthorn, and Little Mitton, forming, together, one township, Pendleton, Wiswall, Read, Simonstone, Padiham, and Hapton. 2d. The chapelry of Burnley. 3d. That of Colne, with their several dependencies.

WHALLEY, the principal subject of this History, has been already considered in so many views, that little remains but to trace its civil history from the dissolution of the abbey, and to survey the fabric of the parish-church.

* Bull, Nic. IV.

The whole town and manor, consisting of 970 customary, or 1561 statute acres, was from the beginning the property of the Church; for, according to the accurate record of Domesday-Book, *Ecclesia sc̃tæ Mariæ habebat in Wallei 2 carucatas terræ quietas ab omni consuetudine*. Two carucates, the original demesnes of the deanery, and afterwards of the abbey, must have amounted to about 260 customary acres: the rest, of course, lay in common. It is a tract of unusual fertility and beauty, embosomed in woods which once encumbered*, but now serve only to adorn it.

The descents of the two families of Assheton and Braddyll, together with a third of later date, will bring down the history of the town and manor of Whalley to the present day.

From the time at which Richard Assheton, the first purchaser of the site and part of the demesne of Whalley Abbey, took possession of his acquirement, to the marriage of the last coheiresses of that branch with Sir Nathanael Curzon and Mr. Lister, the Asshetons constantly lived at Whalley. In the civil wars, they espoused the cause of the Parliament; and there is extant, among the records of the family, a form of acceptance by Sir Ralph Assheton the younger, of the King's gracious Act of Indemnity at Breda. He had been a Member of the Long Parliament, and continued to sit as Burgess for Clitheroe, after the Restoration. Of the habits of this Baronet I collect the following particulars, from his own books for the year 1676: The income of the rectory, and other estates, does not appear much to have exceeded £.1000 *per an.* yet he kept an household of nearly 20 servants; and, when he travelled, had 13 horses and five servants. He gave 5*s.* every Sunday to the poor, in the church-yard at Whalley, besides additional sums in Lent, and many casual bounties. He cloathed, annually, eight poor children at Whalley, and four at Downham. He received venison from Lord Freshville, at Staveley, in Derbyshire; from Mr. Walmsley, Mr. Sherburne, and Mr. Talbot, of Salesbury. He kept three swans; and there is a monthly charge for their bread. A pair of buck's horns, in the velvet, were brought to him from Dunkenhalth: these were an old delicacy for the table. In this year are the following entries:

“For the large Downham diamond, sent me as a present, 5*s.* 6*d.*”

“To Mr. Lambert, of Cawtons man, that brought a present of very great troot and perch, which he had got by his own fishing, in the great Tarne, at Mawme Moore—*sed quo jure nescio.*”

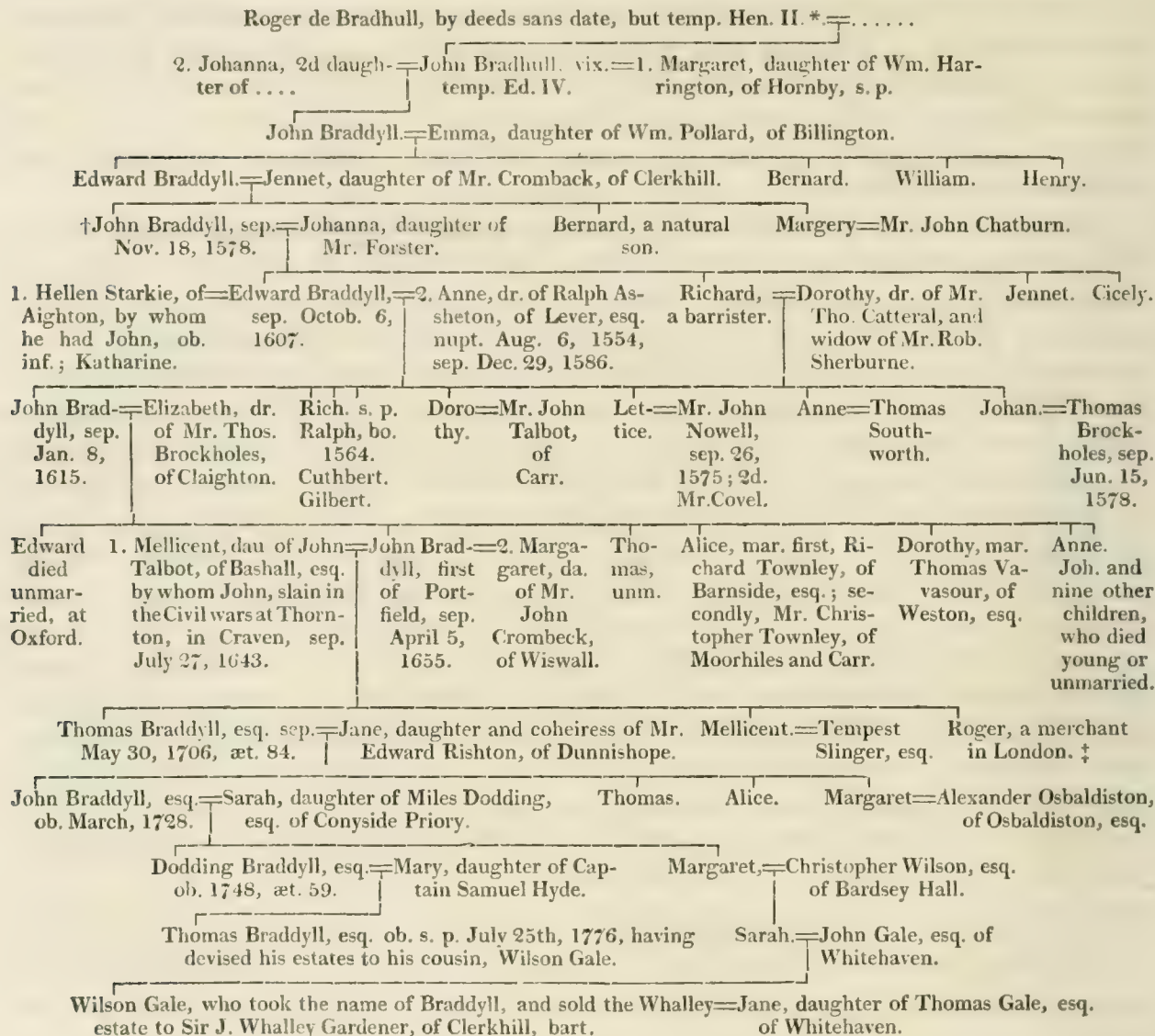
“X^{mas}. Given the *Rossendale* Players, 10*s.*”

“It^m. Marsh the *Harper*, for coming on St. Stephen's Day, and staying till the day after Twelfth Day, 15*s.*”

Cypresses, at this time, grew in the gardens at Whalley Abbey. I have tried them, without success, at the Vicarage. In this year Sir Ralph Assheton laid out 4*l.* 12*s.* in planting oaks at Whalley and Downham. One of the tenants covenanted to plant *six* trees. Such was the scale of planting an hundred and fifty years ago!

* “In eodem manerio silva una leuva longa et tantundem lata.” Domesday de Whalley.—The *leuva* of Domesday is supposed to have been our English mile. Out of 1561 acres, therefore, in the Manor of Whalley, 640 were then covered with wood.

ARMS of BRADDYLL: Argent, a cross of lozenges Vert, over all a bend chequy Ermine and Azure.



* See West's History of Furness, p. 206, where all that is said of the name of Breddale belongs to another family.

† This John Braddyll was not only joint grantee of Whalley Abbey from the Crown, but he also trafficked in the unsafe commodity of abbey lands to a very great amount; so that, among the MSS. of his family, an whole volume, No. 57, is filled with transcripts of these grants alone. The following is a short abstract of the premises so conveyed, most of which he appears to have retailed out again:—Certain messuages, lands, and tenements, in Bowland and Craven, but belonging to the Abbeys of Kirkstall and Whalley—certain lands and tenements in Castleton and Wiswall, belonging to the latter, 37 Hen. VIII.—then, the manor of Barnside, late belonging to the monastery of Pontefract—certain tenements and free rents, belonging to the Abbey of Cockersand—all the lands in Clayton and Harwood, belonging to the Abbey of Whalley—certain lands in Downham and Read, belonging to the same, 36 Hen. VIII.: consideration for these last, 93*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*—certain lands in Marsden, parcel of the manor of Bernsete—12 messuages, and other small parcels of land in Wiswall, belonging to the Abbey of Whalley—all the lands belonging to the said monastery in Witton—again, the manors of Extwisle and Briercliff, late belonging to the abbey of Newbo, com. Lin. cons. 220*l.* 10*s.*—certain lands in Aysgarth, com. Ebor. belonging to the Preceptory of Mount St. John, in eod. Com.—certain lands in Kirkham, belonging to the Abbey of Vale Royal—others in Holcombe and Tottington, to the Priory of Monkbretton—one salt-pit, and divers lands in Northwich, belonging to the Priory of Norton, and the Abbey of Vale Royal, 38 Hen. VIII.—besides many lands in Craven, belonging to Sir Stephen Hammerton, *de alta proditione extincto*.

‡ Buried in the church of the Old Jewry, Nov. 7th, 1684, when Dr. Symon Patrick preached his funeral sermon.—Brad. MSS.

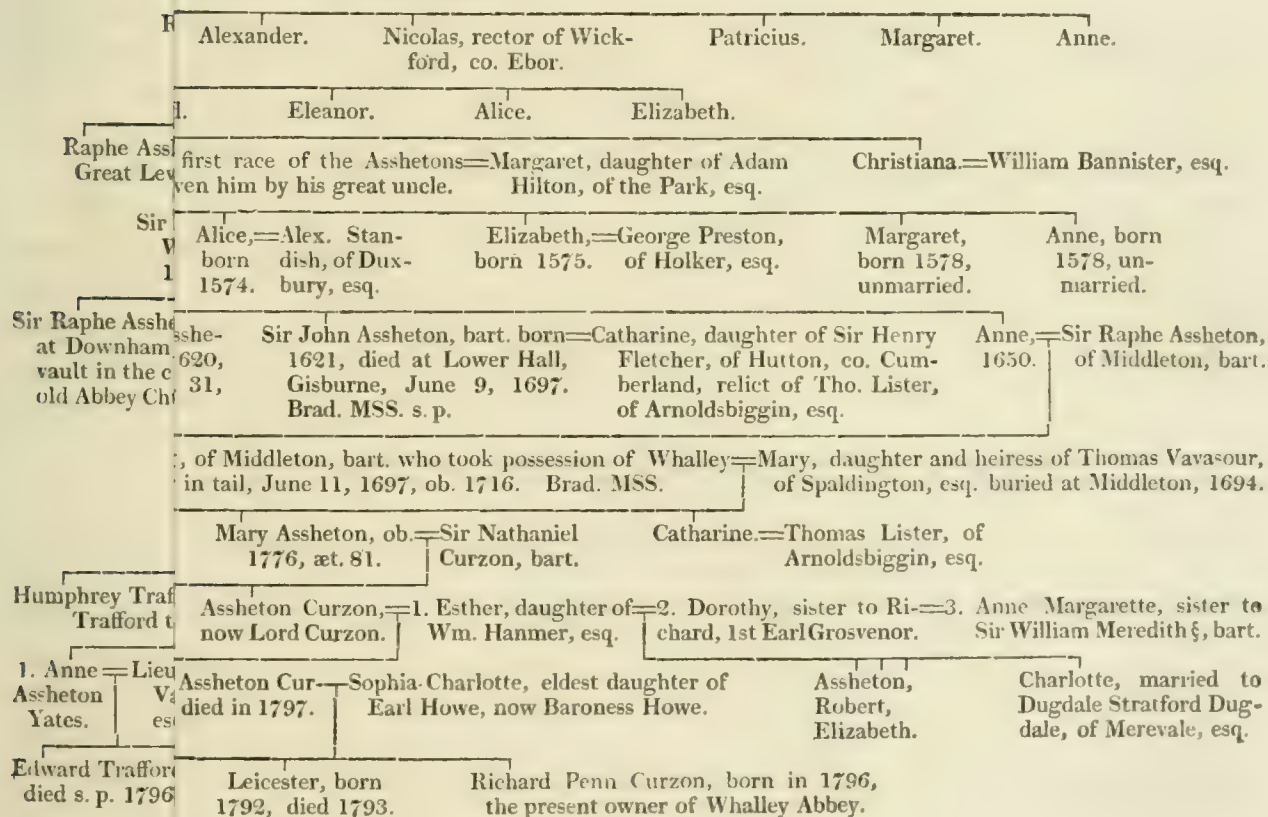
It now branched out from that of Middleton, nearly three centuries ago, became incorporated by the marriage of Sir Raphe Assheton, of Middleton, with Anne, daughter, and, having brothers, heiress, of her father, Sir Ralph Assheton, of Whalley.

of Adam Lever, of Great Lever, esq.

Sir Robert Constable, of Masham, co. Ebor.

ickering, esq.

e Great Seal to Queen Elizabeth.



* There is a Wimbersley, quartering Ratcliff of Todmorden. Date, I think, 1580.

† This Sir John Archbishop Laud, in breaking a lease of the Rectory of Whalley, on which account he was compelled to make a journey.

‡ This Sir John

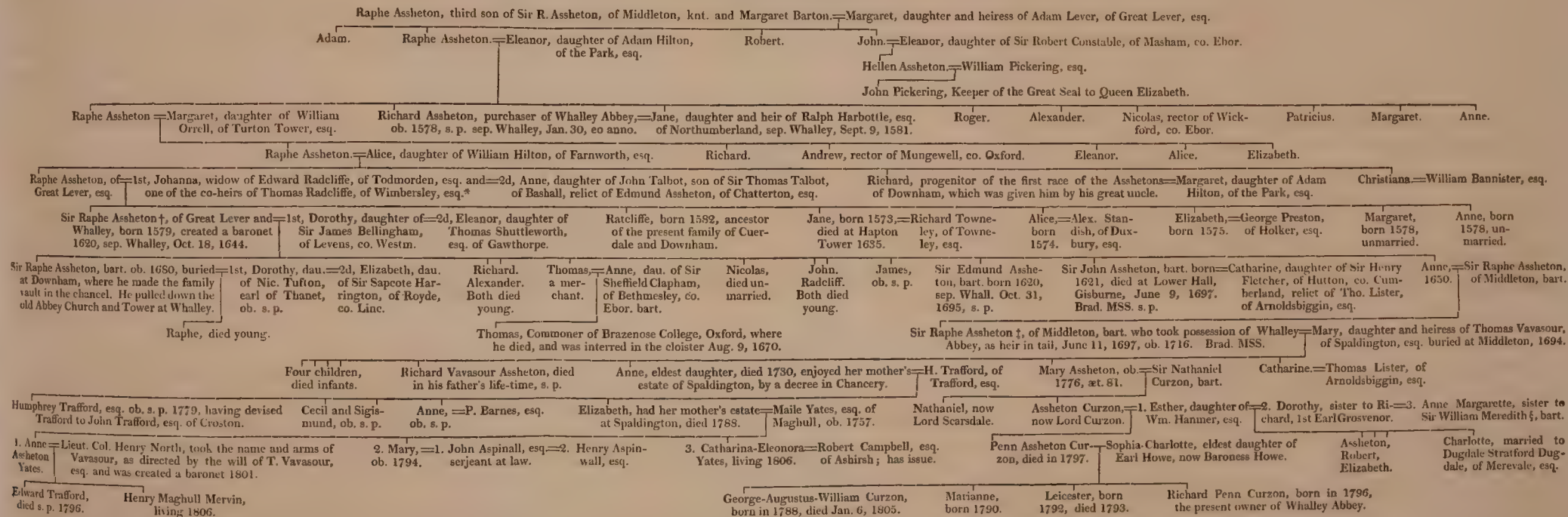
§ Widow of

It now remains that we trace the descent of the other moiety of the Manor and Demesnes of Whalley through the posterity of Richard Assheton, joint purchaser from the Crown. He was a younger son of the house of Lever; and, having acquired great wealth in the service of William Lord Burleigh, purchased considerable estates in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the County Palatine of Durham, which, as he left no issue, were distributed among his collateral relatives.

The family of Lever, which branched out from that of Middleton, nearly three centuries ago, became incorporated with the parent-stock again by the marriage of Sir Raphe Assheton, of Middleton, with Anne, daughter, and, after the death of her three brothers, heiress, of her father, Sir Ralph Assheton, of Whalley.

PEDIGREE OF THE ASSHETON FAMILY.

ARMS :—Argent, a mullet Sable.



* There is at Townley a portrait, on board, of this lady, who seems to have been fair-complexioned and handsome. It is ascertained by the arms, which are Assheton, impaling Ratcliff of Wimbersley, quartering Ratcliff of Todmorden. Date, I think, 1580.

† This Sir Raphe Assheton sold the paternal estate of Great Lever to Bridgman, Bishop of Chester, about the year 1629. In the latter part of his life he complains of great oppression from Archbishop Laud, in breaking a lease of the Rectory of Whalley, on which account he was compelled to make a journey to London when very gouty and infirm.—Assheton MSS.

† This Sir Raphe Assheton had a brother Richard, whose eldest son Raphe succeeded to the baronetcy and estate of Middleton, and was father of Lady Suffield and Lady Gray de Wilton.

§ Widow of Barlow Trecothick, esq. Lord Mayor of London.

We have now deduced our account of the two flourishing families who seated themselves upon the rich domains of the Abbey of Whalley, to the present time, a deduction which may serve to confront the many striking facts adduced by Sir Henry Spelman* and his superstitious followers of the last century, in proof of their favourite doctrine, that ecclesiastical lands, in the hands of laymen, became a curse to their owners. For here is an instance of two opulent families, who have retained possession of this unblest inheritance for a longer period than their monkish predecessors. One of these, in all human probability, may continue in possession of their moiety for generations to come; and the other have been compelled to alienate theirs from a cause which operates in the present day, with equal force, upon property never consecrated to the service of religion.

An account of the Vicarage, and a catalogue of the Vicars of this Church, having already been given, it only remains to notice the fabric, of which the different parts are of very different periods. The oldest parts of the church now remaining, (for of the original structure, the *alba ecclesia subtus lega*, it is almost superfluous to say, there are no vestiges,) are the columns of the North aisle, cylindrical but not massy, and therefore considerably later than the Conquest. The choir must be referred either to one of the last deans, or to the earlier part of the incumbency of Peter de Cestria. The windows are lancet-shaped; the buttresses perpendicular, with little projection, and bound by a filleting or string course to the wall, differing, on the whole, very little from the genuine Saxon pilaster but in the termination; which, though it takes place rather beneath the square, approaches to the pinnacle form. The East window, which undoubtedly occupies the place of the three original lights always seen in the East end of the genuine buildings of this period, is comparatively modern, and filled with ramified tracery. Within, and on the South side of the altar, are three seats for the officiating priests, supported on small cylindrical columns. The hearth of the vestry is a very ancient grave-stone, with a border of foliage; and an inscription, of which I was, with some difficulty, enabled to recover the following remains, apparently part of an hexameter and pentameter line:

QVI. ME. PLASMASTI. TV.

Op. SIT. VT EXCLVSA. TE.

The form of these letters is that of Edw. I.; and the tomb may, with equal probability, be referred to Peter de Cestria, the last rector; or to Thurstan de Cestria, first prior; the latter of whom is known to have been interred before the altar of Our Lady, within a few yards of the place where the stone now lies.

The only known memorial of a vicar of this church is the following inscription, upon a brass plate, fixed in the wall above the altar:—

“Huic subsunt cippo exuviæ reverendi Dni. Stephani Gey, Vicarii de Whalley, qui annos plus minus triginta pastoris evangelici hac in parochia munere egregie functus est; ejusque vitæ probe peractæ exitus etiam pius et placidus respondit. Occubuit 8vo die Oct. 1693.”

* See his celebrated Treatise “De non temerandis Ecclesiis, and his singular account of many considerable families in the County of Norfolk, which were supposed to have entailed a curse upon their posterity by the acquisition of Abbey-lands. If this hypothesis needed any confutation, it might be found in the flourishing house of Russel, which was elevated above the fortune of ordinary gentry, only by the abbey domains of Thorney, Wooburn, and Tavistock.

Placed against the North wall of this choir is a modern monument:

“ Sacred to the memory of Elizabeth, wife of James Whalley, esq. of Clerk Hill, near this place, who died Sep. 8th, 1785, in the 24th year of her age. She was second daughter of the Rev. Richard Assheton, D.D. warden of the collegiate church of Manchester, and rector of Middleton, in this county, by Mary his wife, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Wm. Halls, Esq. of Popes, in the county of Hertford.

“ Here sleeps Eliza ! let the marble tell
 How young, how sudden, and how dear she fell ;
 How blest and blessing in the nuptial tie,
 How form'd for every gentle sympathy !
 Her life, by Heaven approv'd, by earth admir'd,
 Amidst the brightest happiness expir'd ;
 And left an husband fix'd in grief to mourn,
 Widow'd of all her virtues, o'er her urn ;
 Yet, while he feels and bends beneath the rod,
 Meek Resignation lifts his eye to God,
 And shews within the blest eternal sphere
 The partner of his bosom sainted there :
 He bows, and breathes, so Faith has train'd her son,
 Great Sovereign of the world, Thy will be done.”

Since the first edition of this Work, another monument, by Westmacott, has been erected immediately beside the former, and is thus inscribed :

Near this place are deposited the remains
 of Sir James Whalley Smyth Gardiner, of Clerk Hill, Baronet,
 who died August the 21st, 1805, in the 56th year of his age.
 He was the third son of Robert Whalley, M.D. by Grace his wife,
 only child of Bernard Gardiner, Warden of All Souls' College, Oxford,
 brother of Sir Brocas Gardiner, of Roche Court, in the County of Hants.
 As a Christian, he was faithful, zealous, and charitable ;
 As a husband and parent, kind and affectionate ;
 as a friend, sincere ;
 As a subject, true to his Country ;
 and as a Magistrate, judicious and impartial.
 Deeply sensible of their loss,
 his Widow and Children erected this Monument
 as a tribute of their regret for departed worth.

It has already been observed, that a part of the stalls of the abbey have fortunately been removed into this choir, to which they are so awkwardly adapted as sufficiently to prove that it is not their original situation.

They

They are eighteen in number. The canopies, though not highly adorned, are very light and elegant. On the Miserere of the Abbot's Stall, now occupied by a far inferior personage (the Vicar) is a wreath of vine, enriched with clusters of grapes, emblems of the plenty and good cheer attached to his office, and underneath, the initials of Abbot William Whalley, with this jingling hexameter: *Semper gaudentes sint ista sede sedentes*.—Opposite is the Prior's stall, on which is a very ludicrous sculpture; a satyr, armed with a club and covered with rough hair, in the posture of supplication, and weeping oaken tears, before a pert broad-faced girl, who is evidently laughing at his suit. In the corner beyond, appears a grave, bearded man, with his sword and buckler cast away, kneeling, with uplifted hands, before a female, who is beating him about the head with a ladle. These, perhaps, might be intended to console the monks for the privations of love and marriage. In the corresponding angle, to the South, is the whimsical carving of a man shoeing a goose, already described. The rest are of very different degrees of merit; but on one is an aged head, crowned, in which dignity and gravity are very well expressed; and on another is a large leaf, exquisitely carved. These had long been neglected, and were rapidly approaching to decay, but have lately been repaired and varnished; and, when seen from the East end of the choir, have a very striking effect. In long perspective, beyond, is seen another very ornamental feature of this church; namely, an excellent organ, given by a munificent and public-spirited inhabitant of this place, whose name ought to go down to posterity for that as well as many useful works, planned and executed by him in the adjoining districts*. A subscription is now nearly closed, for the purpose of adorning the East window with painted glass, consisting principally of the armorial bearings belonging to the ancient families of the parish, existing or extinct, which, with its other peculiar ornaments, will give an air of solemnity to the choir little inferior to that of a cathedral.

Within or adjoining to the North chapel was a brass plate, with the figures of a man and woman kneeling before a desk. Behind the father were nine sons, and behind the mother eleven daughters. Beneath was this inscription:

Of your charitie pray for the soules of Raphe Catterall, Esquire, and Elizabeth his wyff, and for all their childrens soules, which Raphe decessed the xx day of December 1515, of whose soules Jesu have mercie. Amen.

The plate was in the possession of Robert Sherburne, of Mitton, esq. in 1659, and is now lost. But though the pillars have undergone no alteration, I can discover no groove in which it has been inserted. It is therefore more probable that it was fixed to the surface of the wall.

Fixed to the wall of the North aisle, and immediately adjoining the place of their interment, is a larger marble monument to the family of Braddyll, thus inscribed:

To the memory of the Family of Bradhull, of Brockhole, and afterwards Bradhull of Portfield, who were settled in this county in the reign of Edward II.

many of whose remains are deposited near this place.

Thomas Braddyll, of Portfield, esq. was buried May 30th, 1706, in the 85th year of his age.

He married Jane, co-heiress of William Rishton,
of Dunnisthorp, in the County of Lancaster:

* Adam Cottam, Esq.

She died in Feb. 1697.

Their issue were two sons and three daughters.

Thomas, the eldest, died Feb. 22, 1672.

Mary married Alexander Osbaldeston, of Osbaldeston, esq.
in the said County.

Anne died Aug. 17, 1732, aged 77; and Alice 15th Sept. 1743, aged 88;
both unmarried.

John, the second son, married Sarah, sole heiress of Miles Dodding,
of Conishead Priory, in this County, Esq.
(and removed the family to that place);
by whom he had twelve children.

He departed this life March 17, 1728.

Dodding, his son and heir, married Mary, only daughter
of Captain Samuel Hide, by Martha, younger daughter of
Nathanael Smith, of London, Esq. By the said Mary he had
three sons. The youngest only survived him.

He died the 31st of December, 1748, aged 49.

Roger Braddyll, Esq. son of Edward Braddyll,
interred 8th of March, 1718, married Dame Mary Goldsborrow,
relict of Sir John Goldsborrow, and
eldest daughter of Nathanael Smith, Esq.

The first pew on the right hand of the middle aisle of the nave belongs to the manor of Hapton, and is constructed of ancient and massy wainscoat, long prior to the Reformation.—The next, which is much more modern, will yet prove the falsehood of a commonly-received opinion, that before that period the naves of our parish-churches were like those of cathedrals, or only fitted up with forms. The next is a magnificent old pew, belonging to the manor of Read, with this inscription, in black letter:—*Factum est per Rogerum Nowell Armigerum Anno Dni. MCCCCXXXIII.*—He was brother to Dr. Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, and to my ancestress, Elizabeth Nowell. On the outside, and apparently upon an enlargement of the pew, is a repetition of the former inscription, but of a much later date: *Factum est, per Rogerum Nowell, Arm. MCCCCCX.* The lattice-work, containing the initials of Roger and Dorothy Nowell, and the date 1690, is beautifully carved.

The chantry at the head of the South aisle is appropriated to the Abbey; that on the North to the manor of Little Mitton*. On the wainscot-screen of the latter we read: *Orate pro anima Tho. Lawe Monachi*, who probably served at this altar. At the very entrance of this chapel, and close to the burial-place of the Paslews, of Wiswall, is the stone which I have assigned to the last unfortunate Abbot, John Paslew; and near the font that of Christopher Smith, the last prior of Whalley, for both which see the Miscellaneous Plate.

St. Mary's Chapel was granted A.D. 1593, to Ralph Assheton, Esq. in right of the Abbey, by an order of vestry, countersigned and sealed by archbishop Whitgift; the original of which, together with a faculty annexed, now remains among the Assheton MSS.

Notwithstanding this, the Chapel having been claimed 3 Jac. by Roger Nowell, of Read,

* Townley MSS.

Esq. occasioned a suit in the Duchy-chamber, which brought out a body of curious evidence from Ralph Collinge, parish-clerk, aged 89, who remembered the church 80 years, and had been parish-clerk four years before the Dissolution. From his deposition, and some others, I will select the following particulars:—The North and South chapels were called St. Mary and St. Nicholas Kage*; and having been erected in consequence of the suppression of the hermitage, daily mass was said in them till the dissolution of the abbey. The lattice-work was cut by one Etough, carver to the abbey. The South window was glazed at the cost of Vicar Seller and some others, and had the following inscription: *Orate p. aiahus Tohis Seler, Vicarii de Whalley, Oliver Shuttisworth et uxoribus ejus et Hen. Volker, qui istam fenestram fieri fecerunt, A.D. MCCCCCX.*

But, after the Dissolution, mass was constantly said in these two chapels by Sir Christopher Smith and Sir Tho. Harwood, and by Sir J. Law and Sir Laur. Forest, when they were at Whalley. Besides these, Sir George Grenfield, of whom it does not appear that he was a monk, said Jesus mass on Fridays in the roodloft, over the entrance of the choir, and other masses, sometimes at the high altar, and sometimes in other parts of the church. From the same depositions it appears, that the pew belonging to the Towneley family, in right of their manor of Hapton, was anciently called *St. Anton's Kage*; and that a dispute having arisen on account of sittings in the church, Sir John Towneley, as the principal man of the parish, was sent for to decide it; when it was remembered that he had made use of the following remarkable words:—"My man Shuttleworth, of Hacking, made this form, and here will I sit when I come, and my cousin Nowell may make one behind me if he please—(this is the exact relative situation of the two pews at present)—and my sonne Sherburne shall make one on the other side, and Mr. Catteral another behind him; and for the residue the use shall be, first come first speed, and that will make the proud wives of Whalley rise betimes to come to church."—These words were remembered by the old clerk, and were reported by another witness, on the information of Mr. John Crombock, of Clerk Hill, who had been the last agent to the abbey.

The words were indeed not likely to be forgotten, as they would probably occasion some mirth in the husbands, and some spleen in the *proud wives of Whalley*.

Upon an inspection of the pew, it evidently appears that the old wainscoting of *St. Anton's Kage* still remains, but that the lattice-work above has been cut away.

This award must have been made before, but probably not long before, the year 1534, as the pew belonging to the manor of Read must have been made in consequence of it. It appears, that before this time the gentlewomen of Read sat at a form next to the pillar below.

Shuttleworth of Hacking, whom the knight bluffly calls *my man*, was however a person of property, and was probably his principal agent, or perhaps one of his esquires.

There was at the same time a tradition at Whalley, that Isold de Heton, the last anchoress, broke her leg upon Whalley Nab, in making her escape.

In this church repose the ancient deans of Whalley, the Delaleghs, the Nowells, the Catterals, the Sherburnes†, the Asshetons, all without a single known memorial‡. Such has

* The Hungerford Chapel, in Salisbury Cathedral, was vulgarly called the Cage.—Gough, Sep. Mon. Part II. p. 159.

† Of Little Mitton.

‡ The Braddyls alone have one modern inscription, inserted p. 247.

been the unhappy frugality of our ancestors with respect to sepulchral decorations, while the gross and misplaced extravagance of their funeral banquets often devoured in a day what might have purchased a tribute of affection and a specimen of art, which would have remained for centuries. In the South of England, a church which had been the deposit of so many families of equal opulence and antiquity with these, would have had its walls filled with niches and cumbent statues, or its aisles paved with monumental brasses. In the church-yard are a stone coffin, and another stone with the rude remains of an human figure in relievo, both of considerable antiquity; but, above all, the three venerable and ever-memorable crosses of Paulinus, genuine remains, as I firmly believe, of the period to which they had been assigned by tradition. It ought not to be forgotten that these remains of ecclesiastical antiquity were laid prostrate, and in danger of being destroyed, at the induction of Mr. Johnson, whose first care it was to have them firmly and durably erected upon their original bases.

Such is the present state of this most ancient church, the decayed mother of many daughters, now more flourishing and opulent than herself.

The church of Whalley has been repaired, for time immemorial, by the inhabitants of the eight towns; for in a cause promoted as early as the year 1335, by these townships, together with Clitheroe and Downham, which seem at that time to have had a common interest in the repairs of the Mother Church, against the chapelries of Brunley, Church, Haslingden, and Colne, the latter prescribed for an exemption, and their plea was allowed.

Notwithstanding this suit, and a general release granted in consequence, it seems to have been moved again more than 60 years after; for, in the 21st of Rich. II. an award was made by John of Gaunt, at his castle of Pontefract, to this purpose, that unless the inhabitants of Burnley, &c. shewed cause of exemption within a certain day, they should contribute to the repairs of the parish-church in common with the other townships. It appears that they did shew cause, and the suit was laid asleep.

The original of this award, in old French, yet remains among the Assheton MSS. at Whalley Abbey; and it has appendant to it, not the duke's great seal, but the impression of a ring signet, with a capital I and a ducal coronet over it.

In the year 1335, an injunction was issued by the ecclesiastical court of Litchfield * to the abbot and convent as appropriators, to repair the chancel of the parish-church; a proof that it was even then of considerable antiquity; for a durable building of those days would scarcely have fallen into so scandalous a state of dilapidation, as to call for the interposition of the ordinary in so short a period as a century †.

Such neglect of a church immediately under the eye of the house, was very disreputable; but it must be remembered, that the money and attention of the monks were too much employed, at that time, upon their own magnificent fabric, to leave any portion, either of the one or the other, to be laid out upon a secondary object.

A Lancashire church-yard, with shame and disgust be it confessed, is just as much a

* Townley MSS.

† I have already assigned the choir to Peter de Cestria, or one of the later deans; but it is more probably the work of the last.

receptacle for the ordure of the living as the bodies of the dead. This had long been matter of ineffectual complaint at Whalley. The present incumbent, however, on his accession to the benefice, prevailed on the parties interested to close all the doors which opened into the church-yard; and by obstructing three footways by which it was crossed, and fixing strong iron gates at the several entrances, was enabled to remove this intolerable nuisance. At the same time, the margins of this spacious burial-ground were planted with trees, now beginning to give something of that sequestered and shady appearance to the place which becomes its character.

The Vicarage-house had been so durably and excellently re-built by Mr. Johnson, with oak timber given by Archbishop Potter, that it had endured more than thirty years of non-residence and utter neglect, without any serious appearance of dilapidation. But it had been degraded into a mere cottage, the garden nearly destroyed; and the fruit-trees, planted by the restorer of the house, grubbed up. Under these unpromising circumstances, the present Incumbent took possession. Within and without, the place has since assumed a different aspect; and a small estate in Dutton, given by him for the augmentation of the benefice, has been the means of procuring a parliamentary grant of 300*l.* which is now accumulating for the benefit of the next Incumbent. It has been the fate of this benefice to have had many enemies, and scarcely more than one friend. But, as the dignified patrons will probably be fully aware, hereafter, of the reasons which exist for bestowing the Living of Whalley on men of property only, it is to be hoped that each of these, in succession, will contribute somewhat towards raising it once more to a state of independence on private fortune, fitted to the situation of an Incumbent, who is placed at the head of one of the largest parishes and the most numerous bodies of parochial Clergy in the kingdom.

The Grammar School of Whalley, which, after the dissolution of the Abbey, had remained above ten years without any settled means of instruction, was endowed by Edward VI. with a pension of twenty marks, issuing out of the rectory of Tunstall, in this county. From the name of the old school-house, which is still attached to the large room above the Western gateway of the Abbey, it is probable that the youth of the place were taught there till the year 1725 or 1726, when the present School and Master's house were built by contribution.

It is asserted, in the Braddyll MSS. that all the detached estates in the township of Whalley, *viz.* Morton, Asterley, Parkhead, and Clerkhill, were abbey demesnes; though I have some doubts with respect to the first and last, Morton having given name to a family subsisting before the dissolution of the abbey, and Clerkhill being, in all probability, the place granted by Geoffry, dean of Whalley, to Ughtred the clerk*, and deriving its name from thence. It was long the property of the Crumbockes, who sold it to the Whalley family; and it is now the beautiful residence of Robert Whalley, Esq. second son of Sir James Whalley Smith Gardiner, bart. who extended and enriched his domain by a fortunate purchase of a moiety of the manor of Whalley from the Braddylls.

By Inquisition 9th of Henry VIII. it was found that the abbot's park of Whalley was inclosed 22d Henry VII.; but it is probable that this refers only to a *licentia imparcandi* of later date than the time at which it was actually enclosed.

* Townley MSS.

The house of Portfield, which was the residence of the Braddyll family from about the middle of the last century, when they abandoned their ancient house of Brockhole, till the beginning of the present, when they removed to Conyside, is now destroyed to the foundations.

On the highest point of ground within the lord's park, and immediately adjoining to the site of Portfield, are the remains of a considerable encampment, of which the figure has been a trapezium. Of this the N. and E. sides are pretty entire, with a double rampart and foss, rectilinear, but rounded off at the angles. A road carried in the bottom of the foss on the S. has rendered the appearances less distinct on that side, and a very precipitous sand-bank on the W. But its form and situation, of which the latter commands a very fine and extensive prospect of the Vale of Calder, Ribblesdale, and Bowland, render it highly probable that it was one of the *castra æstiva* dependent upon Ribchester. On the verge of the township of Whalley, far beneath, and within the township of Billington, is an angle formed by the junction of the Calder, and a brook called the Castle, and in a situation very like that of a permanent Roman encampment. I will not say that this was the Gallunio, because I hold, with Mr. Whittaker, that there was no Gallunio; besides, it is distinguished by no remains. Whatever it may have been, it was conveyed by Peter de Cestria, rector of Whalley, more than five centuries ago, by the name of Le Castell. The former encampment has no name; and no remains have ever, so far as I can learn, been discovered either in the one or the other.

To these vestiges, real or imaginary, of Roman antiquity about Whalley, I have now to add, on a nearer acquaintance with the place, that the church and church-yard themselves are included within a quadrangular fortification, which has every peculiarity incident to a Roman encampment. The Southern boundary of the church-yard is a deep and distinct foss and agger, to which another corresponds on the North side of the houses, forming the Church-lane. The Western side, though now interrupted and irregular, is sufficiently visible beyond the gardens formerly belonging to the hermitage, and has united with the Northern side, very near the Abbey Pools. On the East, all vestiges of it are destroyed by the street. It was an oblong, placed on a perfect level, immediately contiguous to a brook, and near its union with a principal river; all which are decisive evidences of Roman castrametation. The remaining strength of the ramparts probably decided the choice of the first Saxon settlers in the site of their church, hall, and village. Nothing was more frequent than this circumstance. Our old Saxon churches, either from this cause, or that some remains of population had continued to linger about the Roman settlements, are perpetually placed within the precincts of the latter: a position which may be exemplified by the situation of the Saxon churches (and in most instances by the halls of the lords) at Manchester, Lancaster, Ilkley, Tadcaster, Castleford, and many other places. The whole area of this fort, at Whalley, must have been about four statute-acres, or scarcely half the extent of a principal station. Its Roman name has wholly perished, as Whalley is pure Saxon; but it was, in all probability, the winter camp, with which, dependently, perhaps, on Ribchester, the camp at Portfield was connected as summer-quarters. It was also at a mean distance between Ribchester and Burnley, where was undoubtedly a Roman settlement; and nearly at the same distance from both, that Burnley is from Colne.

SMYTHE.

Sebastian Smythe, D. D. = Dorothy, daughter
 Canon of Christ Church, of
 Oxford, died April 29, died December 9,
 1674, buried at Christ 1683.
 Church, M. I.

Sir Sebastian Smythe, of Cuddesden, in = Grace, daughter
 the county of Oxford, Knt. baptized of Astyn,
 at Christ Church, June 18, 1644, of
 knighted July 11, 1685, a Bench of in the county
 of the Middle Temple, 1697, died July 21, of Stafford.
 1733, aged 89.

Edward Smythe,
 born
 died Oct. 31,
 1700.

1. Thomas V
 of Sparth
 Oriol Coll
 ford, M.
 unmarried
 at GreatH
 in the co
 Lancaster

Edward.
 Ralph.
 James.

Elizabeth. = John Robinson,
 Rector or Vi-
 car of Chol-
 grove, in the
 county of Ox-
 ford.

Sebastian Smythe, = Hester, daughter
 born of ... Lowndes,
 died of
 buried at Cud- born March 26,
 desden, Dec. 6, 1680, baptized
 1752, aged 75. at Chiswick,
 April 11, fol-
 lowing.

Dorothy. = James Stopes,
 died Rector of
 Nov. 25, Brightwell,
 1733, in the county
 s. p. of Oxford.
 aged 64. He remarried,
 and had
 issue.

2. John Wha
 of BlackP
 born Nov
 1700.

..... daugh-
 ter of
 Cole, died
 July 24,
 1747, buried
 at Fareham,
 s. p. M. I.

Brocas,
 and
 Barnard,
 died s. p.

Frances. =

... Hook,
 of Ports-
 mouth.

Catherine. = Edward Kay,
 of Hatton
 Garden,
 died s. p.

Barbara Smythe, of Cuddes-
 den, in the county of Ox-
 ford, only child, born ...
 died unmarried,
 Jan. 27, 1787, aged about
 75, buried at Cuddesden.

Elizabeth. = liner, of
 Lancas-
 Oxford,
 College,
 Middle
 O, 1768,
 in the
 Oct. 28,
 buried

2. daughter
 of Robert Master,
 D. D. Rector of
 Croston, Dec. 3,
 1789.

6. Thomas Wil-
 liam Whalley,
 born Sept. 2,
 1754, unmar-
 ried in 1787.

2. Barnard,
 3. Robert,
 5. Barnard,
 Barbara,
 all died unmar-
 ried.

Grace, =
 born
 Aug.
 20,
 1752.

Sir William Henry Ash-
 urst, Knt. one of the
 Judges of the Court of
 King's Bench, born
 married April
 .. 1772.

A daugh-
 ter, died
 an infant.

oline,
 born
 t. 17,
 1798.

1. William Henry
 Ashurst, eldest
 son, aged about
 8, in 1787.

2. Henry John
 Ashurst, died
 an infant.

3. James Henry
 Ashurst.

4. Thomas Henry
 Ashurst.

Grace, only daughter,
 born in Spring Gar-
 dens, Dec. 6, 1773,
 living in 1787.

WHALLEY.

..... Whalley = daughter
of of

1. Elizabeth, daughter of Bolton, of Copster Green, in Ribblesdale, in the county of Lancaster, died without issue.
- Thomas Whalley, of Sparth, in the parish of Whalley, in the county of Lancaster.
2. Ellen, daughter of Barton, of married about 1658.

1. Thomas Whalley, of Sparth, and of Oriel College, Oxford, M. D. died unmarried, buried at Great Harwood, in the county of Lancaster. M. I.
2. John Whalley, of Blackburn, in the county of Lancaster, died April 1, 1733, buried there.
- Anne, daughter of Randle Sharples, of Blackburn, Gent.
- James Whalley, the purchaser of Clerkhill about 1715, died unmarried, buried at Harwood, Oct. 1734.
- Robert, died an infant.
- Isabella, died unmarried.

2. John Whalley, of Blackburn, born Nov. 17, 1700.
- Jane, daughter of John Sudell, of Blackburn.
3. James Whalley, of Clerkhill, in the county of Lancaster, a Benchet of the Middle Temple, anno 1770, died Feb. 20, 1780, unmarried.
- Esther, born Aug. 24, 1790, died Nov. 1, 1784.
- John Starkey, of Heywood Hall, in the county of Lancaster, Esq. died March 13, 1780, aged 65.
- Ellin, died unmarried Jan. 17, 1788.
- Thomas, Joseph, Esther, Anne, Elizabeth, Mary, all died unmarried.

- Elizabeth = Dr. Robert Master, Rector of Croston, in the county of Lancaster, grandson of Sir Streynham Master, originally from Derbyshire, and of Essex and Gloucester.
- Anne = James Bradshaw, of Darcy Lever, in the county of Lancaster, s. p.
- John, and several other children, died infants.
- James Starkey, born Sept. 8, 1762, married at Middleton, in the county of Lancaster, Sept. 2, 1785.
- Elizabeth, second daughter of Edward Gregg Hopwood, of Hopwood, in the county of Lancaster.

Sir James Whalley (only child), born at Clerkhill, Sept. 2, 1785.

Robert Whalley, Esq. born Oct. 7, 1790, now seised of the Lancashire estate.

Elizabeth, born Jan. 29, 1792.

John, born Jan. 1, 1793.

Barbara, born Feb. 14, 1794.

Grace, born May 11, 1795.

William, born July 29, 1796.

Thomas, born Aug. 18, 1797, died April 29, 1800.

Caroline, born Oct. 17, 1798.

1. William Henry Ashurst, eldest son, aged about 8, in 1787.

2. Henry John Ashurst, died an infant.

3. James Henry Ashurst.

4. Thomas Henry Ashurst.

Grace, only daughter, born in Spring Gardens, Dec. 6, 1773, living in 1787.

GARDINER.

Robert Gardiner, from Wigan, in the county of Lancaster. M. I.

Mary, daughter of Palmer, and sister to Sir William Palmer, of Bedfordshire.

William Gardiner, of Roche Court, in the county of Southampton, created a Knight of the Bath at the Coronation of King Charles II. and a Baronet the same year; died 1691.

Jane, sole daughter and heir of Robert Brocas, of Beaurepaire, in the county of Southampton, Esq.

Barnard Gardiner, Warden of All-Souls' College, Oxford, born at Roche Court, died

Grace, daughter of Sir Sebastian Smythe, Knt. died Dec. 24, 1747, aged 69, buried at Cuddesden.

Sir Brocas Gardiner, Bart. a Commissioner of the Stamp Office, died Jan. 15, 1739, aged 76, buried at St. George the Martyr, in the county of Middlesex.

Alicia, daughter of Sir John Kelynge, Knt. son of the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. She died Jan. 3, 1734, aged 66.

Edward, Ralph, James.

Elizabeth = John Robinson, Rector or Vicar of Cholgrove, in the county of Oxford.

Sebastian Smythe, born died buried at Cuddesden, Dec. 6, 1752, aged 75.

Hester, daughter of Lowndes, of born March 26, 1680, baptized at Chiswick, April 11, following.

Dorothy = James Stopes, Rector of Bightwell, in the county of Oxford. He remarried, and had issue.

James Stopes, Rector of Bightwell, in the county of Oxford. He remarried, and had issue.

SMYTHE.

Sebastian Smythe, D. D. = Dorothy, daughter of Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, died April 29, 1674, buried at Christ Church, M. I.

Sir Sebastian Smythe, of Cuddesden, in the county of Oxford, Knt. baptized at Christ Church, June 18, 1644, knighted July 11, 1685, a Benchet of the Middle Temple, 1697, died July 21, 1733, aged 89.

Grace, daughter of Astyn, of in the county of Stafford.

Edward Smythe, born died Oct. 31, 1700.

James Stopes, Rector of Bightwell, in the county of Oxford. He remarried, and had issue.

LITTLE MITTON, HENTHORN, COLDCOATS,

FORMING ONE TOWNSHIP.

Little Mitton is situated near the confluence of the Ribble, the Hodder, and the Calder, and nearly on the lowest point of ground within the parish.—The name refers to another village on the opposite bank; and both have been probably so denominated, *qu. Midtown*, the town intersected by a river running through the midst of it. Of this hamlet and manor, the memorials which I have met with are as follow: 1st, it was granted by charter of Robert de Lacy, in the 3d of Henry I. to Ralph le Rous, progenitor of the family who were afterwards denominated from the place*: 2dly, appears as witness to a charter without date, but probably, from circumstances, about the time of Richard I. a Sir Ralphe de Little Mitton†; and by another, and nearly contemporary deed, Roger, son of Henry de Whalley†, grants one bovaté of land in this place to Adam, son of Stephen de Little Mitton†. There occurs also a William, son of Orme de Little Mitton†.

The next family which appears here is that of the Pontchardons, or de Ponte Cardonis, as they are sometimes called, who bore Sable six plates, 3, 2, and 1. Of these John de Pontchardon had†

Richard = Beatrice de Blackburne, who held lands in Billington, Wiswall, and Blackburne.

Lora de Pontchardon.

This Lora married Allan, son of Richard (who lived 16 Edw. I.) and grandson of Allan, lord of Cateral, near Garstang, to whom Richard de Pontchardon gave the manor of Little Mitton, 7th Edw. II.†.—Thus the Townley MSS.: but errors are easily committed in transcribing dates; and I suspect the real date of this transaction either to have been 7th Edw. I. or 1st Edw. II.; for, in the *Inq. post mort.* Henry de Lacy, an. 4to of the latter reign, it was found that this Alan de Cateral held one carucate of land in Little Mitton as the eighth part of a knight's fee, for the render of 10*d.*

But, to go on.—After a considerable interval appears Richard Cateral, 8th Edw. IV.† who had Ralph Cateral, who in the 21st of the same reign leased the whole manor of Little Mitton for the rent of £.10 *per ann.* somewhat less, I believe, than a shilling per acre; so that the price of land was nearly trebled in about two centuries, when the average rent was 4*d.* Ralph Cateral survived to the year 1515, when he was interred in the Church of Whalley.

His son or grandson was Thomas Cateral, who died Jan. 1578; who, though he had five co-heiresses, by deed, dated 3d Elizabeth, granted the Manor of Little Mitton to Robert Sherburne, Esq. and Dorothy his wife, who was fourth daughter of Cateral.

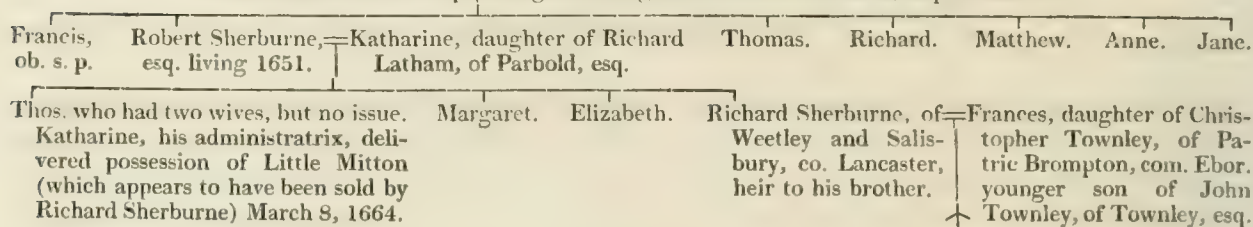
* See Great Merley.

† Townley MSS.

ROBERT SHERBURNE,

was brother to Sir Richard Sherburne, of Stonyhurst, and had issue by this marriage

Thomas Sherburne, esq. = Margaret, daughter of Francis Tunstal, esq. of Aycliff.



The purchaser was Alexander Holt, citizen, goldsmith, and alderman of London, who was cousin, and, by will, dated in 1669, devisee of Thomas Posthumus Holt, esq. of Grislehurst, though the connecting link is wanting in the descent of that ancient family.

Alexander Holt, living 1699 = Mary, daughter of Henry Gouldston, of London.

Alexander, ob. s. p. Robert Holt, of Little Mitton, esq. died before his father. Dorothy, daughter and coheir of his great uncle, Alexander Holt.

Alexander Holt, esq. of Little Mitton, sep. Whall. Feb. 18th, 1713, æt. 38. Anne, daughter of Hulton, esq. of Hulton Park, relict of John Starkie, esq. of Huntroyd; sep. Whall. Aug. 15, 1699.—*Qu.* Whether Dorothy for Anne was executrix to her husband in 1715?

William Holt, esq. of Little Mitton, sep. Whall. March, 1737. Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Whitaker, of Simonstone, gent. sep. Whall. April 6, 1733.

Anne, born Sept. 11, 1725, died unmarried, at York. Thomas, born, baptized, and interred, 18 & 19 Dec. 1727. Elizabeth Holt, baptized at Simonstone, Dec. 3, 1728, ob. Aug. 1791. Richard Beaumont, esq. of Whitley Beaumont, co. Ebor. possessed of Grislehurst and Little Mitton, jure uxoris, the former of which he sold born Jan. 1719, ob. Sept. 10, 1764.

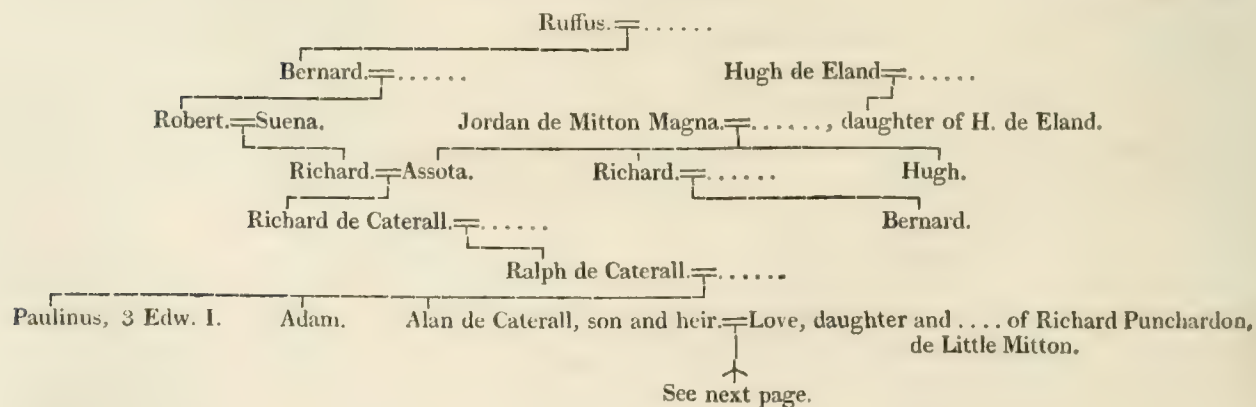
Richard-Henry Beaumont, esq. F. S. A. born 3d March, 1749, unm. 1800, ob. Nov. 22d, 1810. Charles, ob. s. p. Thomas, ob. s. p. John Beaumont, esq. the present owner of Whalley and Little Mitton. Sarah, daughter of Humphrey Butler, of Herefordshire.

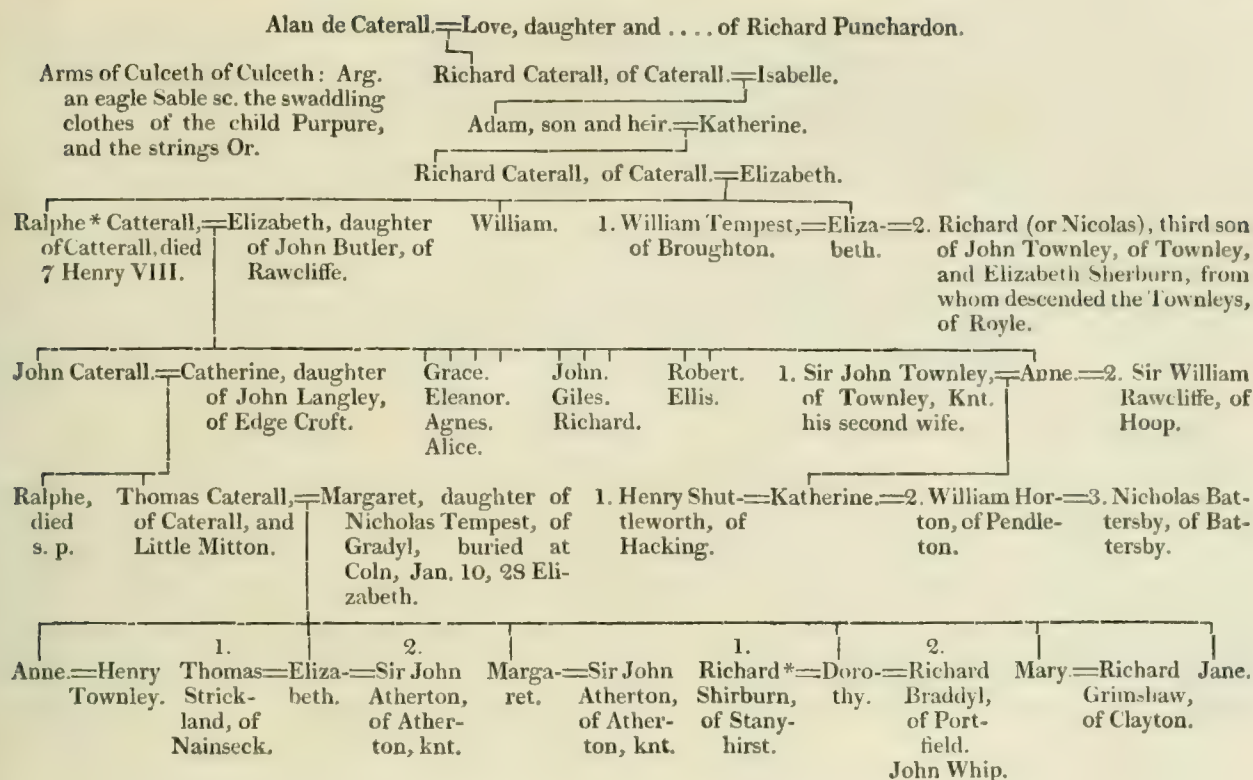
Charles Beaumont, of Bazenose College, Oxford, LL.D. now deceased. Richard. Charlotte. Elizabeth. Sarah.

CATTERALL OF CATTERALL, IN AMUNDERNESS,

AND OF LITTLE MITTON.

Arms: Azure, 3 mascles Or.





* Robert, in the Shirburn Pedigree.

* Rafe Catherall, of Catherall, in com. Lanc. armiger. married Elizabeth, daughter of James Butler, of Raucliffe, in com. Lanc. gener. and by her had issue John Catherall, his eldest sonne; James, his 2d sonne; William, his 3d sonne; Thomas, his 4th sonne; Giles, 5. sonne; Richard, 6. sonne; Ellys, 7. sonne; and Robert, 8. sonne: and five daughters, viz. Isabell, married to Thomas Colthorste, of Edsforth, in com. Ebor. gent.; Margaret, married to Anthony Talbott, of Houghton, in com. Ebor. gent.; Grace, married to Nowell, of Reade, in com. Lanc. gent.; Anne, married to Sir John Towneley, of Towneley, in com. Lanc. knight; another daughter, married to Malham, of Bradley, in com. Ebor. gent.

John Catherall, sonne and heire to Rafe, married Katherine, daughter to John Langley, of Agecroft, in com. Lanc. armig. and by her hath issue Rafe Cathrall, that dyed sans issue, and Thomas, his 2d sonne and heire.

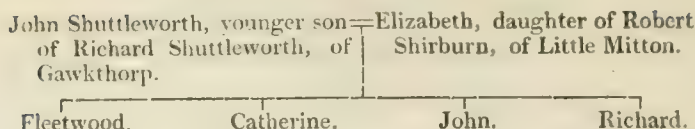
Thomas Catherall, of Little Mitton, in com. Lanc. now living in anno 1567, sonne and heire to John Cathrall, married Margaret, daughter to Nicholas de Tempest, of Baghall, in com. Ebor. gener. and by her hath issue 7 daughters; viz. Anne, married to Henry Townley, of Baronshed, in com. Lanc. gent.; Elizabeth; Katherin, married to Thomas Strikeland, of Nainfer, in com. Westmoreland, gent.; Margaret, married Sir John Atherton, of Atherton, in com. Lanc. knt.; Dorothy, married to Robert Shirborne†, student at Grey's Inne, in London; Mary, married to John Grimshawe, of Clayton, in com. Lanc. gent.; and Jane.

The said Catherall beareth Azure, 3 maseles Or, voyded; and to his Crest, upon the helme on a wreath Or and Azure, a grey catt passant gardant: mantled Azure, dubbed Argent.

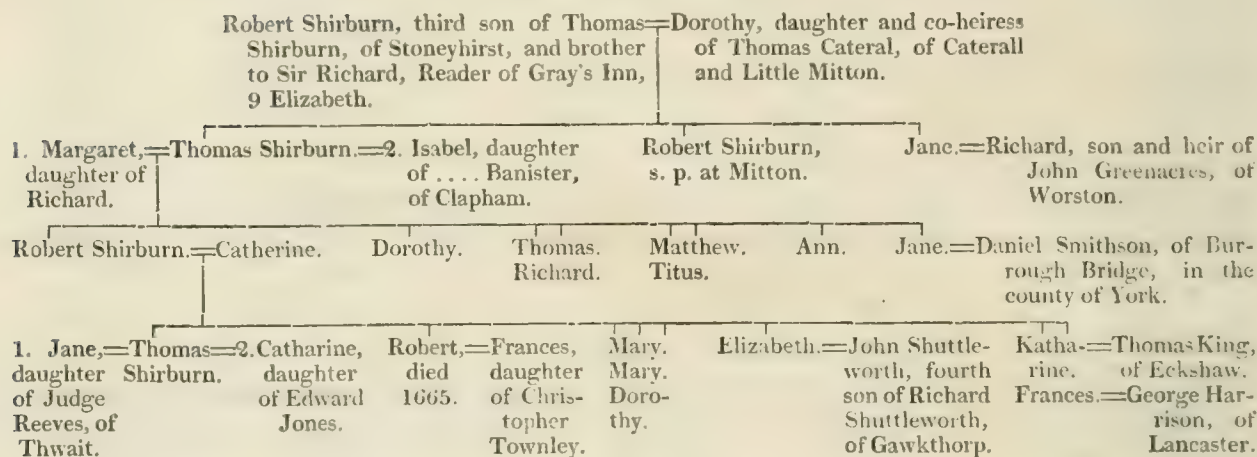
Mr. Beaumont's MSS.

† Mr. Shirborne's heires enjoye the said manor of Cathrall and Mitton.

PEDIGREE OF SHUTTLEWORTH.



PEDIGREE OF SHIRBURN.



The present house of Little Mitton is a fine specimen of the style of domestic architecture which prevailed in the reign of Henry VII. and the beginning of that of his son. It was most probably the work of Ralph Caterall. The basement story is of stone, and part of the upper story of wood; the pasterns, however, descending perpendicularly to the ground, and resting on pedestals of stone. The hall, with its embayed window, screen and gallery over it, is one of the finest Gothic rooms I have ever seen in a private house; the roof is ceiled with oak in wrought compartments; the principals turned in the form of obtuse Gothic arches; the pasterns deeply fluted; their capitals, where they receive the principals, enriched with carving; the walls covered with wainscoat, and the bay window adorned with armorial bearings in painted glass. Besides the royal arms, quarterly France and England, here is the following shield, the bearings of which I am unable to appropriate, as they belong neither to Catterall nor Sherburne: 1st, a cross engrailed within a bordure engrailed Sable; 2d, a squirrel proper Or; 3d, an eagle Sable and a child Or; 4th, as the first. The present porch is of later date, the original entrance having been within the screen. The screen itself is extremely rich, but evidently of a more modern style than the rest of the woodwork. Upon the pannels of it are carved, in pretty bold relief, ten heads, male and female, within medallions, which have a rude kind of character, and were evidently intended for portraits. Annexed to these are the following cyphers, in a character belonging to the reign of Edward VI. with which the pattern of the wainscoat exactly synchronizes, D. H. TH TH. Now these can have no reference to the Catteralls, who were owners of the house at the period to which I have assigned the screen; and I can frame no other hypothesis concerning them, than that they belong to the Holts of Grislehurst, and have been brought from thence in the last century, as the owners of that estate in the reign of Edward VI. were Sir Thomas Holt and Dorothy his wife, with whom these three cyphers exactly accord. I cannot

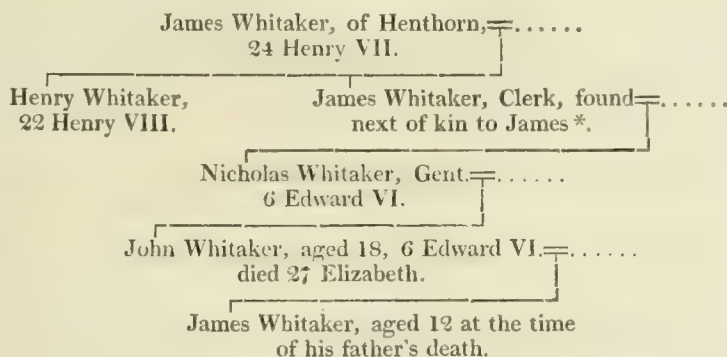
cannot take leave of this venerable room without a wish that it may never fall into hands who have less respect for it than was felt by its late owner; and that no painter's brush or carpenter's hammer may ever come near it, excepting to arrest the progress of otherwise inevitable decay.

In the back yard is a stone coffin, intended for the reception of a very slender body, and said to have been dug up in the garden; a probable proof that, like many other manor-houses, it had anciently a chapel.

The situation of Little Mitton, is a remarkable instance of the predilection of our ancestors for a southern aspect; to attain which, they have turned the front of the house against a marsh overgrown with alders, and have neglected one of the most delicious landscapes in Ribblesdale, which opens to the North and West.

HENTHORN,

A small hamlet on the bank of the Ribble, contiguous to Little Mitton on the North, of which I find little to relate, but that it afforded a name and residence to a Jordan de Henthorn, as appears by deeds *sans* date. By Inquisition *post mortem* Henry de Lacy, A. D. 1311, it was found that Henry de Henthorn held here half a carucate in thanage for the rent of £.1, and, at a much later period, was the property of a branch from High Whitaker, of which I have compiled the following descent from Inquisitions.



COLDCOATS.

A manor and hamlet on the skirts of Pendle, between Wiswall and Pendleton, and anciently attached to the latter.

Roger de Lacy, by charter *sans* date, granted to Geoffry, son of Robert, dean of Whalley, four oxgangs of land in Coldcoats, “pro furfure leporariorum suorum,” and by the same charter, two oxgangs of land in “Tunleia pro quadam mansione quando venari voluerit.” These premisses were alienated from the church as a provision for a brother by Roger the last dean, immediately, as appears, before his resignation of that preferment. Coldcoats was, however,

* “Proximus consanguineus,” in inquisitions, is often used of sons. I was once led into a material error by not having attended to this peculiarity.

granted out once more by the Townley's or Delalegh's, with a reservation of the manerial rights, for in 1363, Richard de Coldcoats grants to the abbey and convent of Whalley, all his lands in Coldcoats, *in villa de Magna Pendleton*, and this charter is accompanied with a licence of alienation from Gilbert de la Legh, as chief lord, the lands being holden of him in capite. Thus it became the patrimony of the church again.

After the dissolution, I have not found to whom this estate was granted out, only there appears an Anthony Watson, of Coldcoats, about the end of Henry VIII. but in the beginning of the last century it was the property and residence of the Walmsleys, a branch of the family of Stowley, who subsisted here to the middle of the present century, when it was purchased by Peirce Starkie, of Huntroyd, esq. in whose representative it still continues.

*GREAT PENDLETON**,

So called from the mountain upon the Northern skirts of which it stands. “Habebat,” says Domesday-Book, “Rex Edwardus, Peniltune de dimidia Hida.” This manor was never alienated by the Lacies, as appears from the Inquisition after the death of the last earl of Lincoln, under whom, with the exception of a single cottage, the whole of Pendleton was held either in bondage (the ancient copyhold tenure) or at will.

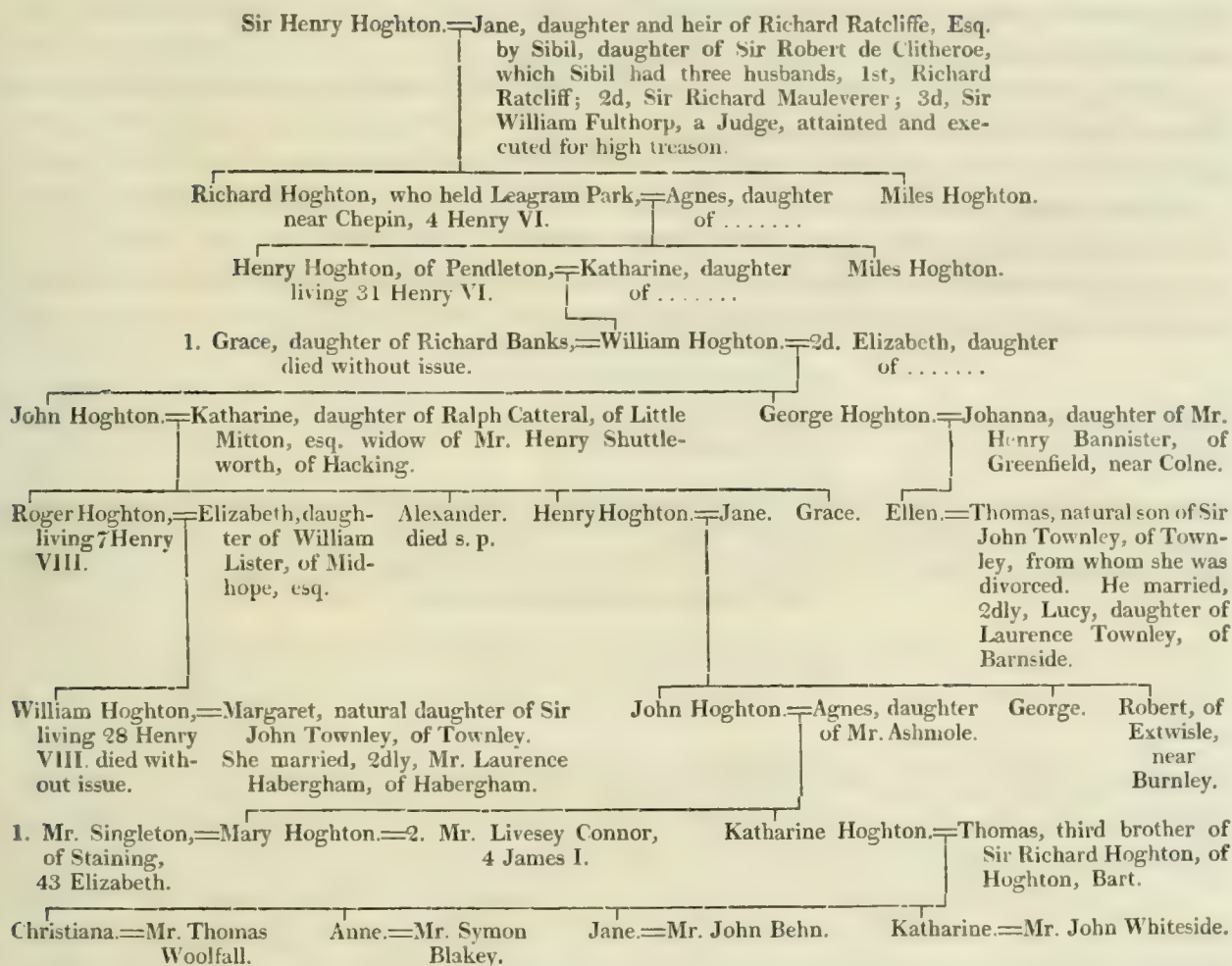
	£.	s.	d.
Penelton 16 bov. in bondage - - - - -	5	6	8
Wm. Owerderrey †, for 60 acres, approved from the wastes	1	0	0
Ric. de Riding, for 20 acres at will - - - - -	0	6	8
Divers tenants, for 12 acres at will - - - - -	0	4	0
Hen. de Blackburn, pro quadam casa in feudo - - -	0	0	1
	<hr/>		
	£.6	17	5

At what subsequent period this manor was granted out does not appear, but in 10 Henry V. or 1422, Sir Henry Houghton, second son of Sir Adam de Hochton (the genuine orthography of that ancient name), levied a fine of the manor of Pendleton. Notwithstanding this, it has, by some means or other, reverted to the lords paramount; and with Worston and Chadburn, has a court periodically held by the stewards.

* Little Pendleton is within the Chapelry of Clitheroe.

† Qu. whether a corruption of Wm. de Owerderwen?

PEDIGREE OF HOGHTON.



All which parties sold the estate to Savile Radcliffe, of Todmorden, and Great Mearley, esq. in which family it seems to have continued till the death of his grandson Joshua Ratcliffe.

WISWALL,

A township immediately contiguous to Whalley on the North.

The true etymology of this word is probably *Vigayrcalla*, from *Viga Heros*, *Semideus*, which is also a proper name, and *Vealla fons*, the well or spring of Wiga. Thus Begastown is melted down into Beeston*, a process of which many other instances might be adduced in the formation of local names.

The first instance in which the name of this village occurs is in a charter sans date, but about the reign of Richard I. which is attested by Swaine, son of Leofwine, and Henry, son of Swaine de Wiswall, an instance of the old Saxon patronymic, and the local appellation, which are not unfrequently found together in charters of this period.

By the Inquisition of 1311, after the death of the last Lacy, earl of Lincoln, it was found that Robert de Sherburne, Dom. Hen. de Lee, and Thomas Arden, held two carucates of land

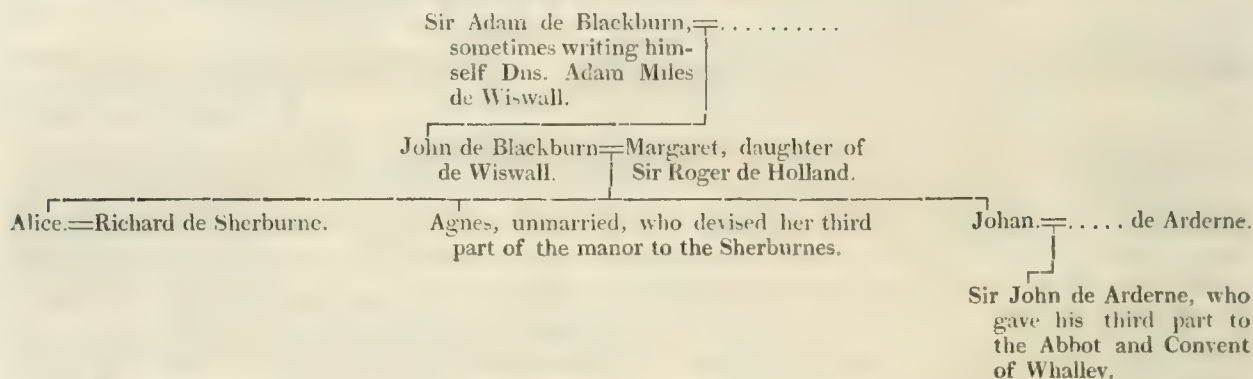
* But see Thoresby's Duc. Leod. p. 268.

in Wiswall by the fourth part of a knight's fee, for the render of 1s. 4d. The smallness of this sum proves the manor to have been granted out at a very early period: so early, indeed, that no record is now to be found of such a transaction.

Again, by Inquisition after the death of Henry duke of Lancaster, 35 Edward III. it was found that the abbot of Whalley, Richard Sherburne, and Gilbert de la Legh, held the fourth part of a knight's fee in Wiswall and Hapton, for the render of xxvs.

These changes, and some others in the state of property here, may be accounted for by the following genealogical table, and the observations which I shall annex to it.

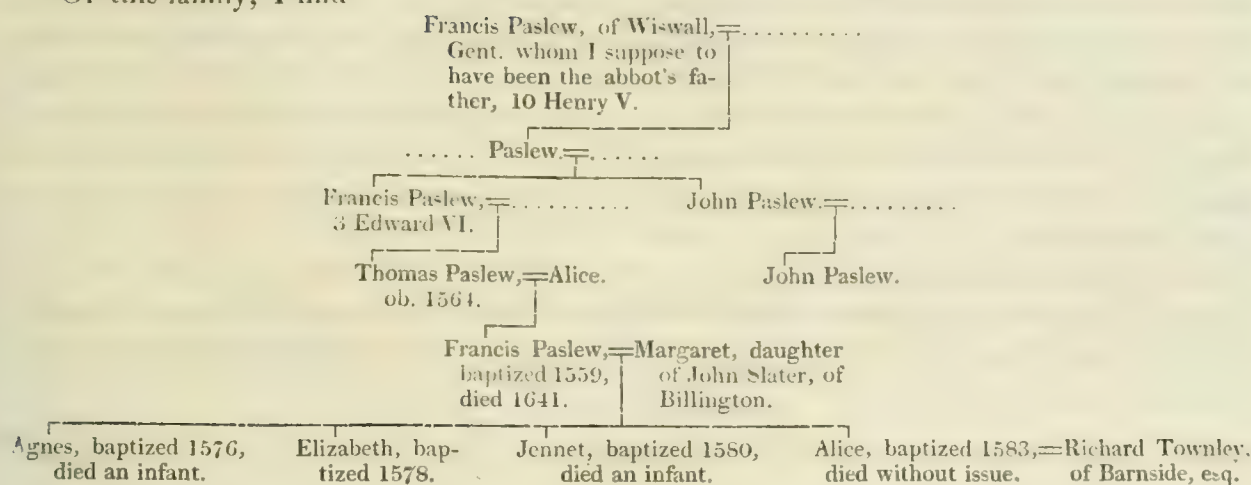
Next, after Swain de Wiswall, mentioned above, appears a John de Blackburn de Wiswall, whom I suspect to have married the daughter of Swain: he had a son,



By Inquisition taken before Godfrey Foljambe Steward, anno 38 Edward III. it was found that Richard de Sherburne, knight, had free chace appertaining to his manor of Wiswall; and in his descendant Edward Weld, Esq. of Lulworth Castle, Dorsetshire, it still continues.

At a period somewhat later, Wiswall-hall was the property and residence of the Paslews, who bore Argent a fess between three mullets Sable pierced of the field, a crescent for difference. These arms are still over the door of the house, and they accord exactly with those of Paslew, abbot of Whalley, formerly in the windows of the abbey, and now in my possession. From this circumstance I conclude, without hesitation, that he belonged to this family. In ascertaining the parentage of the monks we must almost always be content with circumstantial evidence, as they were persons dead in law, and therefore never occur in Inquisitions or other legal transactions, excepting in connection with the monastery to which they belonged. But the catalogue of those who belonged to this house shews that they were generally natives of the vicinity, and often, it is probable, sons of the principal tenants of the abbey; and, in the present instance, the identity of armorial bearings, even to the difference, nearly removes all doubt upon the subject. Tradition, indeed, is silent; but the family perhaps were not forward to record their alliance with a man, however dignified, whose intemperate zeal brought destruction upon himself and upon his house.

Of this family, I find



I suppose Elizabeth the second sister, who survived the rest, to have married a Thomlinson, for I find in the parish register, baptized 1701, Paslew, daughter of Thurstan Thomlinson, of Wiswall-hall, which is the last vestige of a name, to which the parish once looked up with reverence.

The word Paslew was of Norman origin (*Pass-le-eau*) and afforded a subject for some rhyming monkish verses, not devoid of ingenuity, which the curious reader may find in *Weever's Funeral Monuments*, p. 645.

From an old perambulation of this township, dated 1st Edward III. it appears that one of the meres, or landmarks, was called *Ieppe-knave Grave*, from one *Ieppe*, as saith the record, *ki fust decolle come laron*. This is a very curious circumstance, and deserves to be investigated. *Ieppe* is a monosyllabic Saxon name; and I should, for that reason, be inclined to assign this circumstance to a period anterior to the Conquest, could I find that decollation, for theft or robbery, was ever practised at that early period. But the Saxon laws, generally sparing of life, allowed of two subordinate punishments; banishment, and a pecuniary fine for this offence—and, even when death was the sentence, seem to have prescribed no specific mode of execution. In case of the *furtum manifestum*, say the laws of Withred.—(Leg. Sax. Ed. Wilk. p. 12), *Lif man f pigne man æt hæbbedne handa gefo. þænne peld re Cýningð þreoþa aner. oððe hyne man cpelle, oððe ofen ræ rælle, oððe hyne hir penzelde alere*.

Notwithstanding this latitude of punishment, Earl Waltheof, we are told, was the first person in England upon whom the sentence of decapitation was performed, A.D. 1075, *Anglorum omnium primus quod sciam capite mulctatus* *.—By which we are not to understand capital punishment in general.

This appears, therefore, to have been a French punishment, and was probably engrafted by the great Norman lords on the Outfangtheof and Infangtheof, already established in the manors of which they took possession; and it seems, as in the neighbouring jurisdiction of Halifax, to have been peculiarly applied to the case of *furtum manifestum*. We find, moreover, from a MS. quoted by Mr. Watson (*History of Halifax*, p. 227), that the right of beheading thieves, &c. apprehended in the fact, appertained to the earls of Chester, and that it was

* Townley MSS.

peculiarly denominated the Cheshire custom. Hence, therefore, it may be conjectured, that it was imported hither by the Halton branch of the Lacies, upon their succeeding to the fee of Clitheroe, and that this knave fell a victim (perhaps the only one, certainly the only one upon record amongst us), to that most humane, though now most detested mode of execution. The name of the man can scarcely be opposed with much plausibility to this conjecture, as Saxon names are known to have continued, especially in the lower ranks, to a period far beneath the Conquest.

In a grant of lands, in this township, to John Braddyll, late belonging to the Abbey of Whalley, I meet with a payment called *Le Workes Silver*. This was plainly a continuation of the old rent-charge of the inq. of 1311, *pro operibus remissis*, as that was a commutation for socage services in kind.

READ.

Separated from the township of Whalley, by the deep gully of Sabden, is the manor of Read, held of the honor of Clitheroe, not, as in most other instances, by military service, but in thanage, a tenure which has already been explained. The first orthography of the word was *Revecht*, then *Reved**, of which I have met with one instance as late as the year 1467. Were there any thing in the situation of the place to justify such an etymology, I should suppose it to have been Rieheved†, or Riverhead; but, as that is not the case, it must be left open to future and happier conjectures.

The number of persons apparently contemporary, who used the local name of Read, during the period of our earliest charters, proves the township to have been divided into many small and independent properties. In those charters appear Henry de Reved, Sewel de Reved, and Hugh his son; Henry, son of John de Reved; John, son of Simon; John, son of Henry; and Alexander, son of Henry; all calling themselves of Reved. For the same reason, I strongly suspect the manor never to have been granted out in form, but to have arisen out of connivance and usurpation, when the principal property became concentrated in the family de Clough, as the first mention of such a circumstance is contained in a charter dated 1342, in which John, son of Adam de Clough, grants to John de Topcliffe, vicar of Whalley, and Adam de Gristhwait, vicar of Blackburn (who, in their day, were uniformly trustees for the abbey), the tenth part of the manor of Reved.

Moreover, Geoffry, dean of Whalley, granted to one "Elias, his servant, all his demesne "lands lying on the East side of the way to Wiswall apud Revecht, with the new essart, and "all the land which he can essart from the aforesaid way in Garocloghes." He is said also to have given to one Lucas Citharista, the harper or minstrel, seven and a half acres in Revecht: both these grants were resumed by Peter de Cestria‡.

I have little doubt but that this Lucas and Elias were the same person, and that either the original charter, from which abbot Lindley, the excellent compiler of this Compendium, transcribed, was become obscure, or that injustice had been done to *him* by some later copier: for,

* In the *Status de Blackburnshire* it is spelt *Revard*, by an error of the transcriber.

† This is actually the orthography of the word, in the visitation of the Abbey of Whalley by the Abbots of Furnese and Salley, after the election of Abbot Whalley; and thus my conjecture is confirmed.

‡ *Status de Blackburnshire*.

in the charters which I have consulted, a person is expressly referred to called *Elias Citharista de Reved*, also *Elias de Stanlaw*, and, lastly, *Elias de Reved*; and the probability is, that this man was a minstrel sent by the abbey of Stanlaw for the amusement of dean Geoffry, who rewarded him in this liberal manner for his powers of entertainment. But he made other acquisitions here; for, by charter sans date, Alex. de Reved, John son of Symon de Reved, and Alex. son of Alan of the same, grant to Elias Citharista all their lands in Reved. These last, I apprehend, were the demesnes of Read Hall, for the lands granted by dean Geoffry were resumed (*vid. supra*) by Peter de Cestria; and by a subsequent charter, Adam, son of Elias de Stanlaw, grants to Adam del Clogh, and Alice his wife, all his tenements in Reved. Adam del Clogh had Richard, who had John, whose daughter and heiress, Johanna, married Sir Richard de Greenacres, who in 37th of Ed. III. gave a moiety of the manor of Read to Laurence Nowell, in exchange for the manor of Great Mearley (*vide MERLAY*).

Such was the first settlement, at Read, of a very flourishing family, who continued in possession of the seat which they had thus acquired, for the period of 409 years.

For the earlier descents of the Nowells, while they were seised of that manor, *vide MERLAY MAGNA*. From the time when they became possessed of Read, their pedigree is as here annexed.

After the death of the last possessor, the manor of Read, though settled by act of parliament upon the male line, was sold in Chancery, for the payment of debts, to J. Hilton, esq. and in 1799 was again disposed of to James Taylor, esq. and measures, in Lancashire acres, 862A. 3R. 14P. or, in statute acres, 1397A. 2R. 22P.—Here is still held a court-baron.

By inquisition after the death of Henry de Lacy, A.D. 1311, it was found that there were in Reved certain tenants in thanage, holding lands for the following renders; *viz.*

	£.	s.	d.
John del Holt, for 1 oxgang — — —	0	2	3
John (son of Simon), for 1½ oxgangs — — —	0	2	3
The same, for a place called Aisingland — — —	0	0	7
Adam de Clough (hall demesne) 3½ oxgangs — — —	0	4	6
William, son of Henry de Clyderhow, 1 oxgang in thanage — — — —	0	2	4
	<hr/>		
	0	11	11
	<hr/>		

The whole township, we see, at this period, fell rather short of a carucate of land, which is something less than the average proportion of townships, as anciently described, through the hundred. The great encrease of the present measure must, of course, have been produced by subsequent enclosures. It is probable that the whole of the township, above the highway to Whalley, at that time lay in common.

Read Hall was an extremely convenient and handsome old house, till the late unfortunate owner almost ruined it and his fortune together, in expensive and ill-judged alterations. The domestic chapel, in particular, a striking symptom, it may be said, of the decay of domestic piety, was converted into a drawing-room; and in this very apartment, raw, half finished, and

and almost unfurnished, it was observed, by the superstitious, that he drew his last breath in 1772.

To return:—In 1480, Roger Nowell founded a chantry at the altar of St. Peter, in the church of All Saints, Wakefield *, which I mention principally on account of a peculiarity in the licence of Mortmain, granted by Edward IV. enjoining the chantry priest to pray “pro salubri statu suo, et pro aña prædilectissimi in Christo patris et Dñi nostri Ricardi nuper ducis Ebor. et omn. fid. def.”—It was usual, in mortmains, for the grantor to stipulate for a portion of spiritual benefits on the behalf of himself and his friends; but there can be no doubt, in this instance, that the pointed and affectionate mention of Richard duke of York was suggested by a recollection of Wakefield, where he lost his life twenty years before, and where a beautiful chapel was erected for the same purpose.

The Nowells gradually appropriated the whole township, excepting one estate, which continued in the Holkers, a family of substantial yeomanry, down to our own times, from the year 1409, when Richard Holker, a Cheshire man, married Katherine, daughter of John del Holt of Read †.

This John del Holt, or his ancestor of the same name, granted licence to the abbot and convent of Whalley to dig for stone for the building of the abbey in Vasto de Read, 27 Edw. III. †.

About twenty years ago were found, in this township, several brass instruments of the kind which antiquaries have agreed to term Celts. These were from nine to twelve inches long, had a broad and narrow end, both edged alike, but had neither loops, grooves, or any contrivance, by which they could be fixed in a shaft, or indeed applied to any known use. One of them fell into the hands of the late Rev. Dr. Milles, President of the Society of Antiquaries; another was obtained by Charles Towneley, esq.; and a third, by much the worst specimen, is in my possession.

By Inquisition, held in consequence of a writ of *ad quod damnum*, previous to the granting of a *licentia imparcandi* to John Nowell, of Read, esq. 18 Henry VII. it appeared, that in enclosing his park at Read, “no hamlet, church, or chapel, had been laid down †. Parks were diminutive forests; and the same propensity which prompted an arbitrary sovereign to afforest a county, might, without these humane precautions, have tempted “the little tyrant of “his fields” to lay waste a village, or to desecrate a chapel.

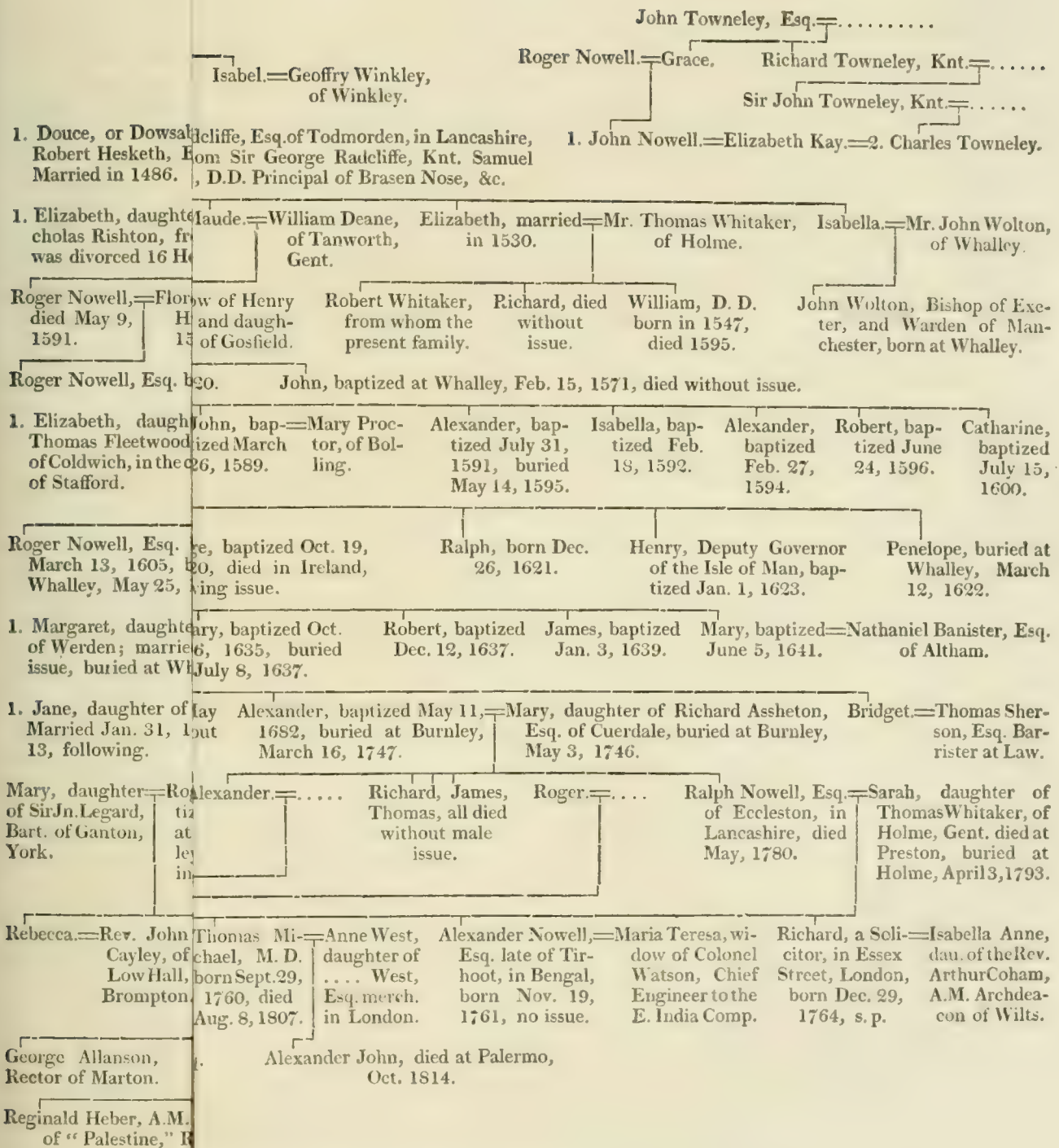
In the 10th Henry VIII. John Nowell, of Reved, esq. “pro devotione ad ecclesiam parochialem omnium sanctorum de Whalley, et ecclesiam sancti Petri de Brunley,” vests in Sir John Townley, knt. a rent-charge of 13s. 4d. issuing out of certain lands in Reved, in order to endow a chantry in each church, to pray for the soul of the said John, his parents, &c. †. But this seems not to have taken effect.

By deed sans date but in the time of Robert de Heppal, senescal, Henry de Holt grants to the abbey of Stanlaw ground on which to erect a tithe-barn in Reved †.

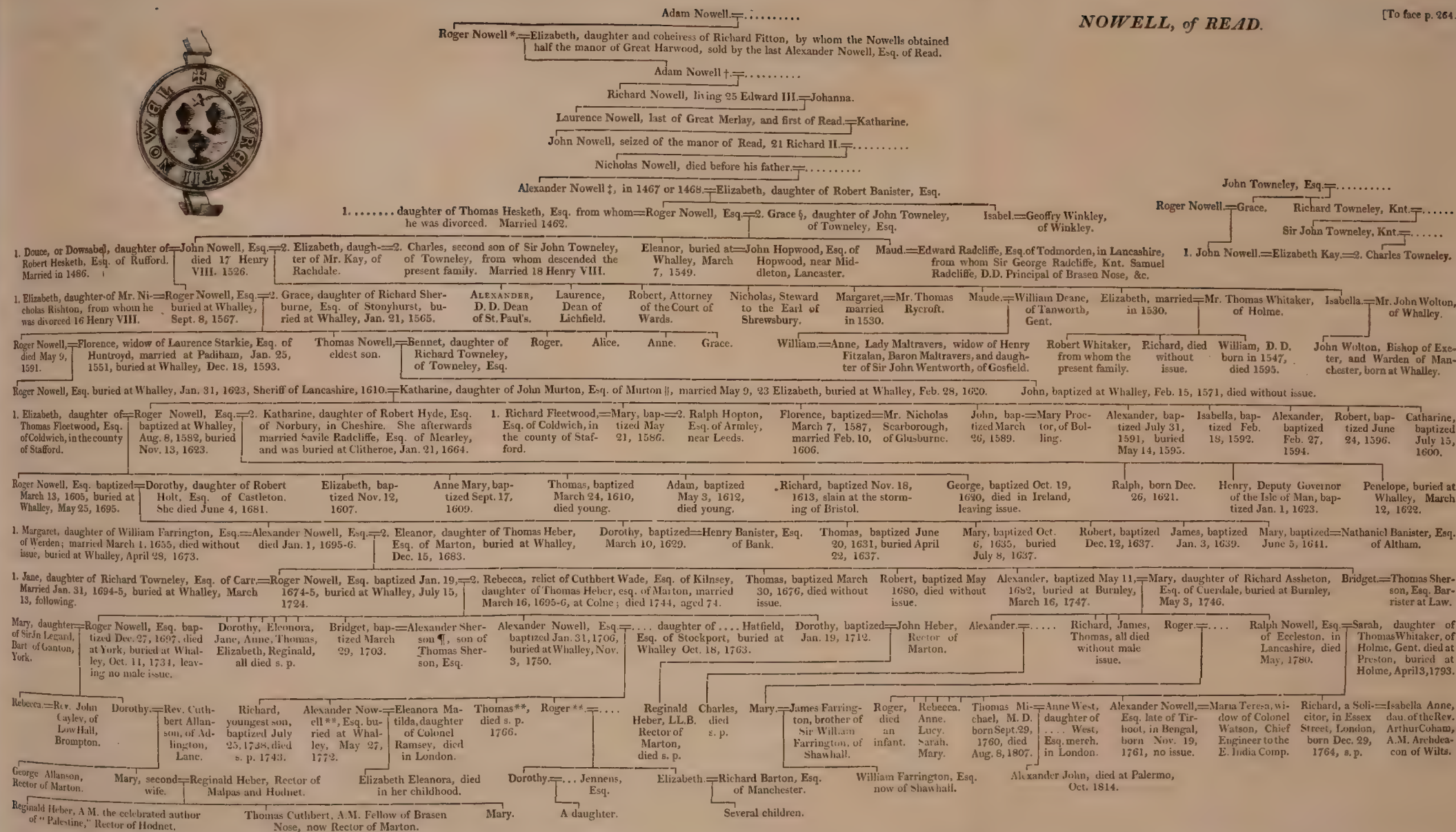
* The Nowells had considerable estates in the parish of Wakefield till the beginning of this century.

† Townley MSS.

‡ Assheton MSS.



* The grant of ant Read. Her fortune 100 marks.
Noell et Rogero fratres the family, when married before their father's decease, usually resided at Marton.
of an ancient charter, title, and Town Clerk of Lancaster, died Nov. 21, 1737, leaving a numerous issue. His son Robert
moration for the souls w (1809) of Bridge House, Surrey, has also a numerous progeny. Edward Robson, M. A. Vicar of
† Chace de Blac and has issue.
Sapiden et Penelton wee oldest sons, appear to have been born and baptized at Manchester, where their father resided as a
† Wardship of A
Towneley, 12 Henry V



* The grant of a corrody to Gilbert and John his son, from the abbat and convent of Whalley, 23 Edward I. is attested "Simone de Noell et Rogero fratre suo." The older brother probably died without issue; for the younger, "Roger Nowell, of Mereley," as appears by the abstract of an ancient charter, gave to the said convent of Whalley "19 acres of land, on condition that the priest saying mass, should daily make special commemoration for the soul of his family departed, as well as for the good estate of the living." The date, 1283, is certainly a mistake, probably for 1298.

† Chace de Blackburnsh. manerium de Magna Merlay olim Radulphi de Rous concess. Stephano Merlay proavo Ade Nowell de veteri bosco in Spiden et Poulton wode ad comburand MS. Dods-worth, 161. f. 57.

‡ Wardship of Alexander Nowell, and custody of the manor of Read, and half the manor of Great Harwood, granted to Richard Towneley, of Towneley, 12 Henry VI. Towneley MSS.

§ Her jointure was £8. sterling, issuing out Read. Her fortune 100 marks.

|| After which marriage, the oldest sons of the family, when married before their father's decease, usually resided at Marton.

¶ Alexander Sherson, Constable of the Castle, and Town Clerk of Lancaster, died Nov. 21, 1737, leaving a numerous issue. His son Robert Sherson, M. D. late of Great Ormond Street, now (1809) of Bridge House, Surrey, has also a numerous progeny. Edward Robson, M. A. Vicar of Orston, Notts, married a niece of Dr. Sherson, and has issue.

** Alexander, Thomas, and Roger, the three oldest sons, appear to have been born and baptized at Manchester, where their father resided as a merchant before his accession to the estate.

SIMONSTONE,

Contiguous to Read, on the East side, and like that, held in thanage. The earliest notice I have met with of this township is contained in a charter of John de Lacy, constable of Chester (who died 1240), in which he grants a fifth part of the vill of Symondstone to John del Thelwall, sans date.

Afterwards, but still without date, Wm. de Heys conveys the manor of Symondstone to Nicholas de Holden. How long the Holdens remained in possession of this manor I know not, saving that I find them here in 1361; after which, nothing appears upon the subject till 21 Elizabeth, when it was found, by inquisition, that John Braddyll, esq. of Braddyll and Brockhall, died seised of the manor of Symondstone*.

This township, like most others in the parish, gave name to a family, who, though never possessed of the manor, had the principal property in it, and whose descendants, through an heir female, still reside, in great opulence, upon their domain. Of these I meet with

Geoffry de Symondstone	- - - - -	}	1311, as per inq.
Ely de Symondstone	- - - - -		
John and John de Symondstone	- - -		
Thomas de Symondstone, and	}	who also held lands in Cliviger, in 1344 and 1350.	
Henry his son,			

Next appears a John de Symondstone, whose daughter and heiress, Elizabeth, married Edward, son of William Starkie, of Barnton, in Cheshire. For the earlier descents of this family, the Reader is referred to Sir Peter Leicester's "Antiquities of Bucklow Hundred," under Barnton, &c.; but, from the time they became incorporated with the Symondstones, their genealogy is as follows:

* Braddyll MSS.

By Inquisition *post mort.* Hen. Lacy, 1511, it was found that Rob. de Holden held in Simonstone,

			<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1 oxgang of land in thanage, for the render of	—	—	3	2½
Elena de Landia, 1 ditto in ditto	—	—	3	2½
Geoffry de Simonstone, half an oxgang	—	—	1	7½
Ely de Simonstone, ditto	—	—	1	7¼
John, son of John de Simonstone, do. and a pair of spurs	—	—	0	1½
			<hr/>	<hr/>
			9	9¼

In all, half a carucate.

Simonstone has long been the residence of a branch from High Whitaker, of whom I meet with Richard Whitaker and Margaret his wife, 12th Henry VI. but am not able to continue the descent to the present time.

In the Coucher Book of Whalley Abbey, I find a licence from Nicholas de Holden and John de Symondstone, granted to the abbot and convent “*accipiendi lapides pro fabrica monasterii sui, in Symondstone, dat. 1336.*”

PADIHAM.

I am compelled to cite my authority for the following etymology of this word, the home or habitation of *Paddi*, which would otherwise sound rather ludicrously in modern ears—Jordan and Alexander, “*fili Paddi cum sequela,*” from the catalogue of the *nativi* belonging to the Abbey of Cockersand, in the chartulary of that house.

This is a considerable village, advantageously situated on the elevated bank of the Calder, but ill built, and of no elegant appearance. The Chapel dedicated to St. Leonard is the oldest place of worship in the parish, of the new foundation, yet the name does not occur in the confirmation of Archbishop Arundel, in the year 1400; and the following memorandum, extracted from the Townley MSS. will very nearly ascertain its real date:—“Whereas Kynge Henry ye VI. did graunte unto one Mr. Joh. Maresheale a lycense, dated vii Feb. an. regni xxx°. to purchase certayne landes for ye use of a chauntrie priest at ye churche or chapel of Padyham, which sayde lycence of late tyme was in custody of Syr Jhon Townley, knt. ye sayde Syr Jhon hath putte ye sayde lycense into ye sure custodie of ye abbot and convente of Whalley for ever.” This benefactor was a person of considerable property in the place, which his descendants enjoyed nearly a century after. The following series of the Incumbents of this church is nearly complete:—

William Boothe, *Clericus de Padiom*, occurs in 1470, within 18 years after the date of the *Mortmain*, and was probably the first chantry-priest.

Oliver Hall, chantry-priest of Padyham, occurs in	—	—	—	1460
Sir Hugh Hargreave, chantry-priest of Padyham	—	—	—	1538
John Hey, <i>capellanus de Padiham</i>	—	—	—	1551
John Baxter occurs as curate in the beginning of the register, 1573, and died				1616

Walter

Walter Borset, who seems to have removed, as there is no account of his interment in the register.

Robert Hill occurs	—	—	—	—	—	—	1627
John Burtomwood occurs	—	—	—	—	—	—	1633
John Breres, A.M.	—	—	—	—	—	—	1644
Roger Barton occurs 1665, died	—	—	—	—	—	—	1667
Elisha Clarkson, died	—	—	—	—	—	—	1676
Robert Sheffield, died	—	—	—	—	—	—	1685
John Grundy occurs 1694, died	—	—	—	—	—	—	1735
John Holmes, born at Kildwick, Yorkshire, afterwards removed to Haslingden, where he died, and was interred.							
James Fishwick, died	—	—	—	—	—	—	1793
John Adamson, the present incumbent, to whom I am indebted for much of the preceding information.							

In the Computus of Fr. Laur. Forest, an. 1536, I find the following entry:—“Pro stipite Sci. Leonardi de Padyham, vis. vii*l*d.”—This was the annual amount of the offerings made at the shrine of St. Leonard.

On the dissolution of the chantries, the incumbents of the chapels, which were permitted to remain, had small pensions settled upon them, and made payable out of the duchy of Lancaster. The curate of Padiham, in particular, by virtue of an order made by Lord Paget, then chancellor of the duchy, dated Sept. 22d, 3d Edward VI. is entitled to a pension of 6*l*. 19*s*. 2*d*. of which he actually receives only 6*l*. 6*s*. 4*d*.

The patron of this church is L. P. Starkie, esq. of Huntroyd, as a benefactor under the Act of Geo. I.

In this church*, the tower and little choir, both of excellent masonry, alone remain of the original building. The body of the church having become ruinous, was rebuilt in the year 1766, with an attention to economy not very laudable, among so opulent a body of parishioners.

It has long been the burial-place of the families of Gawthorp and Huntroyd, but contains no monuments or inscriptions worthy of notice.

By the Inquisition of 1650 (Lambeth MSS.), it was found that the Chapel of Padiham was parochial; that the minister, John Breares, A.M. received a salary of 6*l*. 19*s*. 2*d*. paid by the receiver of the duchy, and 33*l*. from the commissioners of the county; that the chapelry consisted of the townships of Padiham, Simonstone, Hapton, and Higham Booth, consisting, together, of 232 families and 1106 souls, and that they desire to be made a parish.

The manor of Padiham has never been granted out; and, at the time of the Inquisition *post mort*. Henry de Lacy, or 1311, there were only two free tenants; *viz*.

* On a subsequent review of this church, I think there is reason to suppose that it was built and made parochial in the time of Henry VIII. Marshall's chantry was, probably, a very small and humble edifice: but the masonry of the present building appears too good for the year 1440; and the appearance of Abbot Paslew's arms upon the font, and in the East window, lead to a conjecture that it was rebuilt, and obtained the parochial rights of baptism and burial in his time.

			£.	s.	d.
John de Whitacre, 44 acres	—	—	—	1	5 0
And Richard, son of Mawe, for 25½	—	—	—	0	8 6

The basis of property, therefore, in the township, cannot have been more than half a carucate of land.

But at the same time here were, besides,

99 acres demised to tenants at will	—	—	—	1	13 2
24 oxgangs in bondage, demised to 25 customary tenants	—	—	—	7	4 0
Services remitted	—	—	—	0	8 0
One water-mill	—	—	—	2	0 0
				12	18 2

The town-fields of Padiham were divided, in the year 1529, Sir John Townley, knt. Nicholas Tempest, and Nicholas Banastre, Esqrs. being the commissioners for enclosure. The whole consisted of ten oxgangs of land; and the following distribution will show how extremely variable and irregular this ancient mode of admeasurement must have been:

For the two first oxgangs consisted of	—	—	—	XL acres.
The two next of	—	—	—	XXXII.
The third ditto	—	—	—	XXXII.
The fourth	—	—	—	XL.
The fifth and last, of	—	—	—	XLIX.

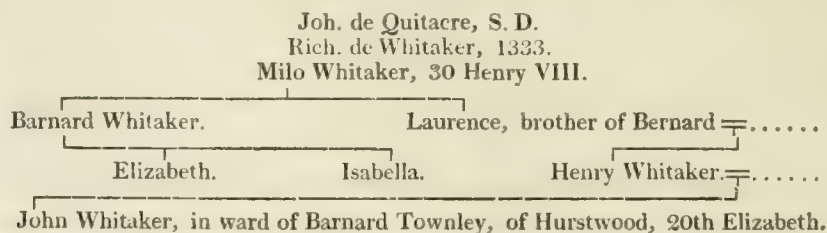
But, in determining the oxgang, quality as well as quantity appears to have been taken into the account.

The record of this enclosnre is farther valuable, as it affords the first hint of the working of a coal-mine within the parish. It may appear extraordinary, that the inhabitants of a country, abounding in inexhaustible beds of this valuable fossil, should have neglected so long to avail themselves of the benefit which Providence had placed within their reach. This fact, however, may be accounted for from several causes; such as want of money, want of skill*, want of gunpowder, and, lastly, a great but decreasing store of wood. Neither, indeed, is the fact strictly true, that the inflammable qualities of coal were absolutely unknown or unemployed till then. In the mortar of buildings considerably prior to the reign of Henry VIII. I have seen apparent specimens of coal-cinder mixed with wood, which had been employed in burning lime. Coal, indeed, could scarcely remain undiscovered in the woody cloughs of the parish, where pebble-limestone was collected. Washed down as it is, in fragments, by the torrents, or exhibiting whole strata on their broken sides, a kiln could scarcely be heated by wood; nay, a few savages could scarcely kindle a fire of sticks in such situations, without discovering the inflammable qualities of that black bituminous fossil, which would frequently mix itself with their vegetable fuel; and it was in fact pursued, as innumerable appearances testify, so far as was practicable, without pits or expensive levels. But these superficial attempts could only be made for the accommodation of a few neighbouring families; and the general position remains

* The art of blasting rocks has not been introduced here quite a century. It was unknown in Derbyshire and Staffordshire at the time Dr. Plot wrote his History of the latter, *ann.* 1685. The slow and awkward expedient for softening rocks, at that time, being nothing more than kindling fires upon their surface.

unquestionably established, that coal-mines for sale, and of any considerable extent, were not wrought before the period to which I have assigned their origin*.—For, 1st, in the foundation of the hermitage of Whalley, by Henry Duke of Lancaster, which contains a minute and curious detail of most of the necessities of life, abundant provision is made of vegetable fuel, but no mention made of fossil coal. 2dly. In the Computus of the abbey for the year 1521, just eight years before the mention of a coal-mine at Padiham, there appears the following entry on the side of disbursements, “pro carbonibus marinis, 0:0:0;” a proof that the use of coal was known and beginning to prevail, but had not yet been introduced into the abbey, whether because the monks were slow in admitting innovations, or that a carriage of five miles was thought too expensive. But, lastly, in the Computus of 1529, is a charge, “pro carbonibus marinis,” of 6:0:0;—a proof that in this last interval of eight years, the use of pit-coal had been fully established in the parish. I cannot return from this digression without noticing Mr. Whitaker’s interpretation (see Hist. of Manchester, b. 1, c. ix.) of the two Saxon words *ꝥræfan* and *ꝥearða*, which occur in a grant of the Abbey of Peterborough, by the former of which he understands pit-coal, and by the latter peat. Let the learned antiquary consider whether the verb *ꝥræfan fodere*, from which the substantive is derived, does not more properly express the act of digging peat than mining for coal; and whether, in consequence, that substance was not intended. For the latter word, I have no doubt that it was meant to express what he well knows are denominated in Lancashire *flahs*, or the swarth of peat, which is principally used in kindling fires: this interpretation is confirmed by the proportions of these substances, which are generally stipulated for; viz. 60 loads of wood, 12 of *ꝥræfan*, and six of *ꝥearða*. Peat is common in the fens; but in the unnavigable state of the Nen, the Welland, and the Ouse, which, in the ninth century, had probably no formed channel, but were diffused over the face of the adjoining country, how, it may be asked, should the tenants of the abbey of Peterborough have procured sea-coal to make their payments?

In this township are the remains of the house of High Whitaker, consisting only of one wing, strongly and respectably built, and apparently of the æra of Henry VIII. This was the parent-stock of a clan very numerous in Lancashire; and from which I have every thing but positive evidence to prove, that my own family was branched out in the person of Richard de Whitaker, in the reign of Edward III. Of the original stem, while they remained here, I have only been able to collect the following names and dates:



It was found, by inquisition, that the estate of High Whitaker consisted of 100 acres of land, 100 of pasture, 20 of meadow, 100 of moor and morass, in High Whitaker, Simondstone, and Padiham. It was afterwards sold to the Shuttleworths of Gawthorp, but at what period I cannot precisely ascertain.

* Yet it appears from one of the Computus’s of Bolton Priory that a Coal-mine was wrought at Colne in the latter end of the reign of Edward III.

HAPTON.

This is the most remote of the eight townships immediately dependent upon the Church of Whalley, though within the chapelry of Padiham, and a manor belonging to the Townley family. It is in all probability so called from the Anglo Saxon *þep acervus* and *tun villa*, meaning the high town*, an etymology which accords with the situation of the place; sloping, as it does, in a continued ascent of more than three miles from the bed of Calder to the summit of Hameldon.

The basis of this township was one carucate of land in Hapton, properly so called, and half a carucate in the dependent hamlet of Birdtwisell. Both these gave name to their respective possessors: one, in the age immediately following the Conquest. The first, however (that of Hapton) has long been extinct; the second, is no unusual surname at present†.

Cecilia, daughter of John de Hapton, grants to Richard son of William de Legh, her cousin (this family is entirely distinct from the De la Leghs of the next century), all her lands and services in Hapton, in free marriage, A.D. 1205; the earliest date, excepting one, which I have ever seen affixed to a charter. At an uncertain period, but prior to the year 1181, occurs a Nicholas, son of John de Hapton: which Nicholas I suppose to be father to the second John. On this supposition, the descent will be as follows:—

John de Hapton.
|
Nicholas de Hapton.
|
John de Hapton.
|
Cecilia = Rich. de Legh.

Allowing, therefore, this heiress to have been 20 years old at the time of her marriage, in 1205, and also 30 years each to the three foregoing generations, this computation will ascend to the year 1095, only 29 years after the Conquest.

At the same time, however, William de Arches seems to have held a portion of the manor; for Robert de Lacy the second, who died in 1193, grants to this William a confirmation of all the privileges which his ancestors had conferred upon the ancestors of the latter, particularly the venison caught (*venationem captam*) in Hapton and Wiswall; a proof that the range of deer was not then confined to the forests.

A descendant of this William de Arches, and of the same name, grants, I suppose in trust, to Reyner de Bridtwisle, all his rents, tenements, and services, in Hapton, as late as 3d Edward III.

In the year immediately preceding, I find the first mention of the *Manerium et Parcus de Hapton*.

* See an ingenious and probable account of this word in Watson's History of Halifax, p. 232.

† It is an instance at once of the tendency of the Heralds to pun on proper names, and of their ignorance of the true grounds of etymology, that they have assigned as arms to this family three *weasels*. The real sense of the word is, a boundary frequented by birds. Another example of the same sort is Shuttleworth, to which these ingenious persons have assigned three *shuttles*; whereas the name is Suttle or South Hill-worth. A third is Hamerton, the Town of Amer, distinguished by three *hammers*. Tun-tall, *qu. Locus Tonsoris*, has three *combs*: all equally erroneous.

Of the proprietors of Bridtwisell, the first who occurs is Reynier de B. who, by charter without date, granted three acres of land in Bridtwisell, to the abbot and convent* of Stanlaw, and the same quantity to God and St. Mary of Whalley. From this family it passed, by what means I have not learned, to the Lacys of Cromwellbothom, of whom Henry de Lacy (let him not be confounded with the great earl, his namesake, relation, and contemporary) grants to Gilbert De la Legh all the services, lands, and tenements, which had belonged to Adam de Bridtwisell, in loc. voc. Bridtwisell in Hapton, 30 Edw. I. And this was the first footing which the De la Leghs obtained in Lancashire.

Next follows a singular transaction, which cannot but give a striking idea of the oppression of the feudal law, when exercised in all its rigor. Two years after his settlement at Birdtwisell, that is, in 1303, or 32d Edw. I. the same Gilbert de Legh purchased the manor of Hapton itself from Thomas de Altaripa (Daltrey), lord of Carlton in Craven. The description of the premises conveyed in this transaction is so extraordinary, that I cannot forbear giving an abstract of the charter which records it :

“ Tho. de Altaripa, ded. conc. &c. Gilberto del Legh, manerium de Hapton in Blackburn-shire, cum pertinentiis excepta advocacione Ecclesiæ de Arnecliffe, et aliis tenementis in Craven, si quæ eidem manerio aliquo tempore fuerint pertinentia, A. D. 1303.”—This alienation unfortunately took place without licence from the superior lord; an irregularity of which Henry de Lacy failed not to take advantage, by seizing the manor, with all its appurtenances, into his own hands, and regranting them to Edmund Talbot, of Bashall, who, in the same year, obtained from Edward the First a charter of free warren within his manor of Hapton †.

Hard as such instances of feudal rigor may appear in these days of lenity and independence, they were at that time far from uncommon. However, in little more than 20 years from the date of this seizure, a similar instance of severity, upon a much larger scale, namely, the escheat of the barony of Gower, excited a civil war.

De la Legh, however, had no such means of redress, either against the chief lord, or his grantee; and the Talbots remained in quiet possession 26 years; after which, in the 2d Edw. III. 1328, it was regranted to De la Legh by Edward Talbot, and confirmed by John his son, in a charter dated at Hapton.

In the year following a receipt was given by John Talbot to Gilbert de la Legh, for the sum of 120 marks, in part of cccxx marks ‡, the purchase-money:—a fortunate circumstance, as the consideration seldom appears upon the face of ancient charters of feoffment.

During the possession of Sir Edmund Talbot, died Henry de Lacy, in the inquisition, after whose death, it was found that

Sir Edmund Talbot held one carucate of land in Hapton, by
the service of 1-8th part of a knight's fee, and the pay-
ment of — — — — — 1 1

* Test. to the former *Hen. Persona de Alnetham*.

† Dugdale's Baronage, under *Talbot*.

‡ Joh'es f. Edm. Talbot, recd. de Gilb. de la Legh cxxm leg. Mon. Ang. in p'tem solutionis cccxxm. in quibus mihi dict. Gilb. teneb. per lit'm. suam obligator. D. ap. Whalley die dom. in fest. S. Greg. Pap. A. R. R. Ed. à Conq. III.—Sig. Talb. 3 lions. Dodsw. MSS. V. 135. f. 52.

And Henry de Lacy, of Cromwellbothom, the hamlet of Brid-
twisell, consisting of half a carucate, by homage and service,
and the render of — — — — —

4	0
5	1

Of this distinguished family, the following anecdotes, referring chiefly to the period of their connection with Hapton, may not be unacceptable.

The Talbots of Bashall were descended from William, younger son of Geoffry Talbot, ancestor of the Shrewsbury family. (5 Steph.) Thomas, one of the descendants of this William, being related to the Lacies, was constituted governor of Clitheroe Castle, by Edmund Lacie, constable of Chester, *temp.* Hen. III. having, by his gift (37 Hen. III.) the manors of Bashall and Mitton granted to himself and his heirs in fee-farm, paying thereout 7*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.* *per annum* *.

Edmund, son of this Thomas, was constituted Steward of Blackburnshire, 28th Edw. I. by Henry de Lacy, then Earl of Lincoln†. In the 32d Edw. I. he was in the great expedition against Scotland, where, as a reward of his services, he obtained a charter‡ of free warren in his demesne lands of Bashall and Mitton, as also in those of Hapton, co. Lanc. bearing date at Striveling, 34th Edw. I.

In the same year he received the honour of knighthood, by bathing and other ceremonies, along with Prince Edward, afterwards Edward II. §

This Sir Edmund had two sons; Sir Thomas, from whom descended the later Talbots of Bashall (see *Bashall*, under MITTON); and John, constable of Lincoln Castle, 14th Edw. II. who sold the manor of Hapton to Gilbert de la Legh, 3d Edw. III. ||

The present interest of this family in the manor of Hapton, the obscurity of their early history, and the erroneous accounts which have been given of it, altogether render it of importance to ascertain from which of the numerous branches of the Leghs, or Leighs, they are originally descended — a fact, I believe, hitherto unknown.

Now it appears, from Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis*, p. 221, that in the 16th Edw. II. Sir John de Mereworth and Margery his wife, heiress of the Creepings, granted the manor of Middleton, near Leeds, to Gilbert de la Leigh, who was son of John de la Leigh, a second son, as he says, of the house of Baggiley in Cheshire. There was also, in Thoresby's time, upon the steeple of Rothwell Church, in which parish Middleton lies, and there is now lying in the church-yard of that place, a very fair and well-cut stone, with the following arms: quarterly, 1st. Arg. a bend Gules, over all two ¶ bars Sable; 2d. Argent, a fess, and three mullets in chief Sable; the third as the 2d; the 4th as the first. The 2d and 3d, Thoresby, who ought to have been better informed, conjectured to belong to the Crepings↓, whereas they are, in

* Ex chartis Thomæ Talbot, quondam de Bashall. Dugd. Bar. in *Talbot*.

† Reg. Whalley Abbey.

‡ Cart. 32 Edw. I.

§ Dugd. Bar. under *Talbot*.

|| Hopkinson's MS Pedigrees of Yorkshire Gentry, under *Talbot*.

¶ This is wrongly blazoned by Thoresby: the bend is over the bars; and for a very good reason, as will appear in the next page.

↓ The Crepings bore, Gules, a lion saliant Arg. between semes de billets Or.

fact, the paternal coats of the first line of the Towneleys; and therefore demonstrate, 1st, that the De la Leghs of Hapton and Middleton are the same; 2d, that the latter must have branched out from the former, after the marriage of John de la Legh and Cecilia de Towneley; and, 3dly, therefore, that the claim of the Middleton branch, to a descent from the Cheshire house, is derived to them through that of Hapton.

For this last intelligence concerning the family of Baggiley, though false, I am under some obligation to Thoresby, as it first suggested to me the idea of searching for the origin of this family in Cheshire; where, after a long investigation, and a careful comparison of Thoresby's account with Sir Peter Leycester's*, and the pedigree of the Towneley family, I trust that I have made it out. First, then, appears, by indubitable authorities, a John, son of Gilbert de la Legh, who married, probably about 1290, Cecilia, younger daughter, but at length heiress, of Richard de Towneley, and died some time before the 4th Edw. III. leaving a son, Gilbert, who inherited the estate. This John bore the very coat in question, which was first assumed by John de Legh, of Booths, who was son of William Venables and Agnes his second wife, daughter of Richard Legh, of High Legh. The æra of this John is ascertained by his having purchased Booths, 28 Edw. I. He is known to have had two sons; Sir John Legh, of Booths (who married, secondly, Isabel, daughter of Sir William Baggiley, and had Sir William Legh, of Baggiley, who did not marry till 1359, long posterior to the birth of this Gilbert, and moreover bore, for distinction, the bend, not Gules but Sable), and a second son, Robert, from whom descended the family of Adlington, and mediately that of Lyme; but there is no mention of Gilbert, whom, notwithstanding, as he was clearly contemporary with the other two, and bore that precise coat, which had never been assumed but by their father, I conclude, without hesitation, to have been a third son of the same house. This omission is the less extraordinary, as Sir Peter Leicester was left to gather his account of the Leghs, of Booths, from collateral sources, having been refused the perusal of the family evidences by the then possessor.

Next occurs another difficulty in the descent of the Towneley family, which at this period is a mass of confusion, crowding together no less than five generations within the compass of thirty years; or, to shew the absurdity more strongly, representing Cecilia de la Legh as having a great great grand-daughter married within about forty years of her own marriage. With such precipitancy and indolence have the original evidences of this period been abstracted, and with such heedlessness of obvious consequences have the pedigrees compiled from them been transcribed again and again.

This can only be remedied by cutting out one whole descent; that is, by removing Michael†, who probably was a younger brother. There is the less improbability in this, as nothing is known of the marriage of this person, and no superfluous number of wives remains to be accounted for.

Again, this Gilbert, say the Towneley pedigrees, had two sons, John and Thomas, and that Thomas held one third of Towneley, and died 46 Edward III.

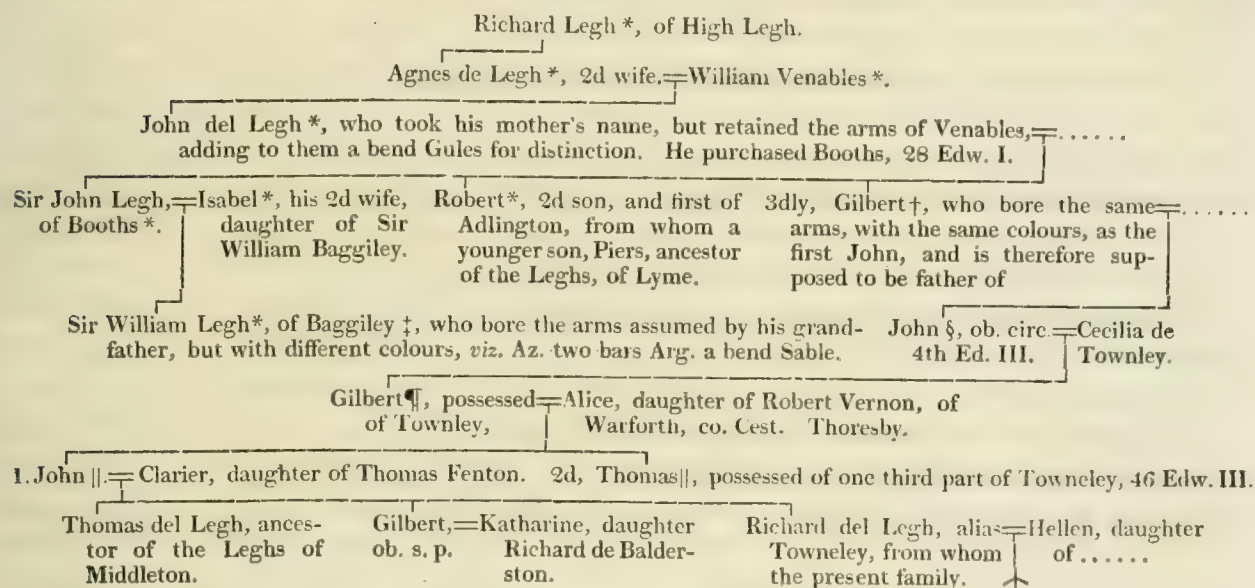
* Antiquities Breklow Hundred, *passim*.

† Michael De la Legh was uniformly supposed, by Christopher Towneley, to be father of the first Gilbert; but, in the charters to which he refers, the name of Michael is never mentioned: he was evidently a collateral.

Again, according to Thoresby, the oldest son of John was Thomas, from whom he traces the Leghs of Middleton; and, according to the evidences of the Towneley family, Gilbert and Richard were the sons of John. The fact seems to have been, that each party thought themselves concerned to insert in the descent their own immediate ancestors, or the actual possessors of their respective estates. If these conjectures are thought rash and improbable, let them not be dismissed at once and without examination: they are the result of much thought, working upon materials at once defective and confused, and they produce an arrangement which has at least nothing to contradict it, and is perfectly consistent with chronology.

The whole hypothesis, however, will be rendered much more intelligible by the following

PEDIGREE OF LEGH.



* Sir Peter Leycester.

† From conjecture.

‡ The reader of old English poetry may recollect, that this statement apparently contradicts the ballad of Scottish Field, quoted by Dr. Percy, vol. II. p. 278, where it is said of the writer, a Legh,

“ At Bagiley that bearne
His biding-place had
And his ancestors of old time
Have yearded ther long
Before William Conqueror
This cuntry did inhabit.”

As we have seen that the Leghs did not become possessed of Bagiley till near three centuries after the Conquest, it is not even true of his maternal ancestors, the Bagileys. The word *yearded* is supposed, by the learned Editor, to signify *buried*, which indeed it sometimes does; but the Saxon eapbe generally imported *to inhabit*. So John i. 38, hƿap eapbap þu—*ecce habes*;

§ Townl. MSS.

|| Thoresby's Duc. Leod. p. 221, and Hopk. MSS.

¶ Since the above was written, I have, after many researches, been enabled to confirm the whole hypothesis of the origin of the De la Leghs of Hapton, by positive evidence; with this single exception, that I had placed Gilbert, the elder, one generation lower than I ought to have done, in the line of descent, as he was in fact uncle, and not brother of Sir John Legh, the 2d of Booths. This circumstance is proved by the following charter, which I had the satisfaction of falling in with, in Randle Holme's Collections.—Harl. MSS. 2079, p. 62. “Ego Joh. fil. Joh. de Legh Miles quiet. clam. &c. &c. Testibus Dno. Wm. De Legh mil. Rob. de Legh, Petro de Legh, & Gilberto de Legh, avunculis meis.” 1338, 12th Ed. III. apud Norbury Booths.

On the verge of the Castle Clough, a deep and winding dingle, once shaded with venerable oaks, are the small remains of the Castle of Hapton, the seat of its ancient lords; and, till the erection of Hapton Tower, the occasional residence of the De la Leghs and Towneleys.

Besides the ancient park of Hapton, noticed above, here were two others of much later date, successively imparked by Sir John Towneley; the first, comparatively of small extent, consisting of old enclosed lands, for which the licence bears date 12th Henry VII.; but the second, which was almost a complete enclosure of the open fields and wastes of the township, did not take place till the year 1514 or 1515, as appears from the *Licentia imparcandi Campos de Hapton*, granted *Johanni Towneley, militi de corpore nostro*, 6th Henry VIII.

This consisted of no less than 1100 Lancashire acres; and, after Knowlesley, appears to have been the largest park in the county.

The deer of this park had been destroyed before the year 1615, though it was not divided into tenements before the beginning of the present century. To this active and long-lived knight, of whom there are more memorials than any of his family, is to be ascribed the building of Hapton Tower, where he spent his later days, and died in 1539 or 1540. Here, too, died Jane Assheton, relict of his descendant Richard Townley, Esq. in 1637. The tower was inhabited in 1667, but is now destroyed to the foundation*.

Within the contiguous demesne of Habergham, is an hollow in the ground, which tradition points out as a pit-fall, dug for impounding the stray deer when the two families of Towneley and Habergham lived upon terms of bad neighbourhood together.

This was an old and well-known contrivance for stealing deer; for, in the Court of Swainmote, (see Manwode's Forest Laws, p. 482,) the 27th article of enquiry was, "Item, whether any man have any great close within three miles of the forest that have any saltaries or great

The following evidences will shew that Gilbert had a son, John; and will, at the same time, afford strong grounds for supposing that their connection with the Abbey of Stanlaw led them to follow the steps of that Society when they were translated to Whalley; for I find that, in 1295, the year before the translation, G. (Gregory de Norbury), abbot of Stanlaw, grants to Gilbert de Legh, and John his son and heir, or the survivor of them—"Qualibet septimanâ 8 conventuales panes et totidem lagenas cervisiæ vel xiii. et garcioni suo xiv panes de tret.—Apud Stanlaw: test. Symone Nowell et Rogero frat. suo."

And in the next place (14 Edw. III. or 1341.) Robert de Topcliffe, Abbot of Whalley, confirms the above corrody to John, son of Gilbert del Legh, who was living, as we have seen above, in 1338; but was now, we may suppose, recently dead. He certainly lived to extreme old age.

This was the foundation of a friendly intercourse between the De la Leghs and the Abbey of Whalley, of which there are many traces upon the records of the latter. In one instance it appears, that they borrowed an hundred pounds sterling of Gilbert del Legh, in order to lend it again to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster. A Gilbert del Legh was among the number of the earlier monks; but the old connection was remembered to a much later period:—the chantry-house and garden at Burnley, founded by Sir John Townley, were leased for that purpose by Abbot Holden, at a trifling rent. I find Abbot Read upon a visit at Townley in 1480; and, upon the dissolution of the house, the family procured, as a token of respect, many of the sacred vestments for the use of their own chapel, where they still remain.

* I have conversed with two aged persons, who describe the ruins of Hapton Tower, as it stood about the year 1725, to have been about six yards high. It appeared to have been a large square building, and had on one side the remains of three cylindrical towers, with conical basements. There were then several dwellings, patched up out of the out-buildings, &c. It also appeared to have had two principal entrances, opposite to each other, with a thorough lobby between, and not to have surrounded a quadrangle. Rounders were certainly in use as late as the time of Sir John Townley, as *ex. gr.* in Henry VIIIth's clumsy fortifications on the South coast of England.

gaps,

“gaps, called deer lopes, to receive deer into them when they be in chasing, and when they are in them they cannot get out again.”

From a survey of the manor of Hapton, made by order of the Parliament Commissioners, when it was under sequestration after the death of Charles Townley, Esq. who was killed at Marston Moor, it appears, “That the whole number of acres within the manor is 1857: the rents £.218. 10s. 1d. besides fines and foregifts, as was mostly let upon lives.

“That the Lord had a right to keep a Court (Baron) twice a year; but that this right had not then been exercised for the last forty years.

“That by the custom of the manor, when a tenant dies, the rent is doubled, and paid to the lord as a relief.

“That the owner of High Shuttleworth pays to the Lord five broad arrow-heads, worth *xxd.* and *viii. xd.* in money.

“That the owner of the Green pays to the Lord *ivs.* and one pair of spurs one year, and *ivs. ix.* and no spurs the next*.”

Near the summit of the park, and where it declines to the South, are the remains of a large pool, through which tradition reports that the deer were driven by their keepers in the manner still practised in the park at Lyme. It is impossible not to be struck with a mixture of ancient simplicity and splendour, in this once favoured residence of the family, where, from the windows of their castellated mansion, high and bleak, with no eyes for landscape, and little feeling of cold, they could survey, with undiminished pleasure, vast herds of deer, sheep, and cattle, grazing in a park of ten miles in circumference, where, like the “old courtier, who never hunted but in his own grounds,” they could enjoy the pleasures of the chace without interruption or intrusion, and whence they derived inexhaustible supplies of that plain hospitality which never consumed a great estate. Modern eyes, however, will not wonder at the final desertion of Hapton for Townley.

* In order to save the trouble of perpetual references, let it be understood that nearly the whole account of this manor and township has been compiled from evidences in the possession of the family.

CHAPTER II.

PORTIONS OF THE PARISH

LYING BETWEEN

PENDLE AND RIBBLE.

WE now return to a beautiful and interesting tract of country, on which the eye, the memory, and the imagination repose with equal delight. It is a tract, the fertility of which rendered it one of the earliest objects of appropriation and culture, the residence of our first Norman lords, or the reward of their most favoured followers.

I do not often, or of choice, deviate into mineralogical investigations; but the distinct and peculiar character of this tract, seems to invite and to deserve inquiry.

It is well known, that the large tract of Lancashire to the South abounds with coals, iron, and other kindred minerals; and that its soil in general is only a decomposition of the minerals originally exposed upon the surface, and therefore accompanied with a set of native plants adapted to itself. Of these, bent grass is the most prevalent, and still clothes the uncultivated hills and commons with its own uniform and cheerless brown. But, upon the skirts of Pendle, and through the townships of Whalley, Read, Simonstone, and Padiham, a very singular phænomenon appears, which is this, that whereas the mineral beds of Lancashire preserve a general inclination nearly from East to West of one foot in five, and thence to one foot in seven; here on a sudden the crust of the earth appears to have undergone a violent disruption, in consequence of which the edges of the beds are thrown up into the air, and downward towards the centre of the earth. At an angle of no less than forty-five degrees to the horizon, immediately beyond this appearance, rises the huge mass of Pendle, which seems to have been thrown up by the same convulsion; and immediately to the North again, appears a surface of lime-stone, with its concomitant system of plants and minerals, which, had the strata to the South maintained their natural position, must have lain at a vast depth beneath. The effect of this convulsion is felt over a tract of forty miles to the North, scarcely a seam of coal being found before we arrive at Burton in Lonsdale. Whatever may be thought of this theory, the fact at least is certain; and it serves also to shew how much more the character of a country is determined by soil, than by climate, since, on the North of Pendle, and even on a declivity to the North, we see wheat, peas, beans, and other the usual productions of a more southern husbandry,

husbandry, ripening at least in favourable seasons; while, on the South, upon a declivity also, the hardy black oat itself is often indebted to the frosts of November for all that resembles maturity about it.

This portion of the parish will be treated of under the heads of CLITHEROE and DOWNHAM, with their respective dependencies.

CLITHEROE,

Distinguished by its bold and insulated rock of limestone, crowned with the keep of its ancient castle, is a borough by prescription, of considerable but uncertain antiquity. It is an hybrid word, of that species which so often occurs in the composition of proper names where a final syllable is frequently added to describe a place, of which the original appellation is become unintelligible from change of language. Great and strongly-marked natural objects frequently retain some portion of their aboriginal names; and of this we have an instance in the word Cliderhow, Cled-dwr *, *the hill or rock by the water*, being pure British, and *how*, the explanatory syllable, importing an hill also, in the Saxon language.

It is not probable that a situation so well adapted to the Saxon mode of defence, would remain unoccupied in those early times; of this fact, however, there is no positive evidence; but there *is* evidence the most direct and incontrovertible to prove the Castle and Chapel of St. Michael within it, of much higher antiquity † than that which is usually assigned to it on the authority of MS. G. 9, Cant. in the Bodleian Library, namely, the year 1179, in the time of Rob. de Lacy the second; for, in the charter of Hugh Delaval, express mention is made *Capellæ Castri de Cliderhow*. Now Ilbert de Lacy the second, who was uncle of Robert, re-obtained his inheritance from Delaval in the beginning of the reign of Stephen. I should therefore incline to assign the building of the Castle to Rob. de Lacy the first, in the reign of Rufus, and to suppose a mistake in the æra, rather than in the name of the founder ‡.

It is evident, however, that Henry de Lacy the first, who died some time after the year 1147, granted the first charter to the burgesses of Clitheroe; and from a *quo warranto*, brought against the last Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, 20th Edward I. it appears that he prescribed for a market 'at Clitheroe from the Conquest, and claimed a fair at Maudlin-day, by grant of the 4th of John.

The following charter of the said earl not being extant in the records of the borough, is given from an inspeximus and confirmation in the Tower records, 1st Henry V.

“Henricus de Lacy, &c. Noveritis nos concessisse et hoc præsentī scripto confirmasse liberis Burgensibus nostris de Clyderhow omnia burgagia sua, terras suas, tenementa sua cum omnibus

* Perhaps it may be derived with greater probability from Isl. (which is the Old Danish) *Klettur rupes, cautes, et howe collis*. Vide Runolp. Ionam. Gramm. Isl. in voce *Klettur*.

† I am now enabled to prove that it was erected before the Lacies became possessed of Blackburnshire. For, in the Domesday Survey, Bernoldswick is said to be “in Castellatu Rogeri Pictaviensis.” And long after this, it was a matter of dispute whether Bernoldswick were or were not within Blackburnshire. The word can refer to nothing but the Castle of Clitheroe, for at this time Lancaster did not belong to Roger of Poitou, neither was the Castle of that place yet founded.

‡ Vide p. 184.

pertinentiis suis, infra villam de Clyderhow et extra, cum omnibus suis libertatibus commoditatibus et aisiamentis, &c. excepto bosco nostro de Salthill in quo nullum habebunt commeatum nec ingressum. Ita tamen quod dictum boscum sepe vel fossa includant, ita quod animalia dictorum burgensium in eo ingredi non possint. Et si per defectum clausuræ ingrediantur sine imparcamento foris mittantur. Concessimus etiam et confirmavimus dictis burgensibus omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines quas habent ex dono et concessione Henrici de Lacy antecessoris nostri, illas scilicet quas liberi burgenses Cestriæ habent, &c. Concessimus etiam et confirmavimus dictis Burgensibus firmam villæ de Clyderhow, et placita curiæ ejus villæ, cum exitibus et amerciamentis, &c. Excepto quocunque Thelonio quod ad opus nostrum et heredum nostrorum retinimus, et salvis nobis et heredibus nostris querelis et transgressionibus factis familiaribus nostris per eosdem Burgenses vel aliquos in dicta villa, scilicet in eorum corporibus. Qui deliquerint facient emendam coram senescallo vel Ballivo nostro secundum leges terræ. Dedimus etiam et concessimus dictis burgensibus turbariam ad turbas capiendas et ardendas in Backsholfe, &c.”

By Inquisition taken A.D. 1240, after the death of Edmund de Lacy, the last earl but one, it was found that there were in Clitheroe sixty-six free burgesses: a very considerable number in those days of slender population. And, after the death of Henry, the last earl, A.D. 1311, was found as follows:

Castle mote et foss val. nihil.

	£.	s.	d.
Orchard - - - - -	0	2	0
20 acres demised to tenants at will - - - - -	0	6	8
4½ acres of meadow - - - - -	0	3	0
Water mill - - - - -	6	13	4
Toll of the fair on Mary Magdalen's day - - - - -	4	13	4
One tenement 20 A. 3 R. demised to a tenant for life - - - - -	1	0	3
Advowson of the Chapel (St. Michael in Castro) * - - - - -	13	6	8
Free court - - - - -	5	0	6
Burgesses for all the burgage houses, and the rest of the town in fee farm - - - - -	6	13	4
Sum, besides the Chapel - - - - -	24	12	5
In Standen a capital messuage val. nih. 80 acres in demesne - - - - -	1	6	8
36 acres of meadow - - - - -	1	4	0
An enclosed pasture - - - - -	0	5	0

In the archives of the town are letters patent of Henry IV. A. R. 11º, annulling a fair held in the church-yard of Whalley, (a practice hardly abolished after the reformation), which, as it gave offence to the Abbot and Convent, was by other letters patent, transferred to Clitheroe, and appointed to be held on the eve, day, and morrow of the Annunciation.

* Afterwards recovered by the Abbot and Convent of Whalley.

In charters without date, I have met with the following names, some not much posterior to the Conquest, which merit preservation for their antiquity:—*Lambertus medicus de Clyderhow*, which shews the importance of the place, as affording practice to a physician at a very early period; probably, from circumstances, in the time of Henry I.; *Hugh * fil. Thomæ*, *Hugh fil. Karnewath*, *prætores* or *bailiffs*, *Gospatric Mercenarius*, *Magister Peter Receptor*, *Alan Pistor*. The town had probably a common oven, with a *soke*, as was usual in ancient times.

At the northern extremity of the town is an ancient mansion called the Alleys, which was the manor house of the family of Cliderhow, and afterwards, by marriage with an heiress of that family, of the Radcliffes of Wimborsley†, at least as early as 1332. It appears to have been a strong tower-built house, of which some remains exist at present, and more are remembered; and the whole, together with a large enclosure behind, has been surrounded by a deep moat. The demesne appertaining to this mansion consisted of sixty-four Lancashire acres, including a small park of fourteen acres, called Salthill-hey Park, and was sometimes conveyed as the manor of Cliderhow. The Ratcliffes of Wimborsley, and of this place, who bore in addition to the paternal coat, an escallop shell Gules, by way of difference, were undoubtedly descended from the house of Ratcliffe, as they were last remainder men in the entail of the manors of Ratcliffe and Oswaldtwisle‡, A. D. 1502, in failure of the lines of Fitzwalter and Farndon; and, from a younger son of a younger son of this branch, sprung a third family of Ratcliffes§, who, by marriage with the heiress of Derwentwater, in the time of Henry V. became progenitors of another noble but unfortunate house. Thus the two illustrious branches of Sussex and Derwentwater are for the first time connected together. To this house also belongs the South choir in the church of Clitheroe, where, till within the last thirty years, were remaining two cumbent statues of a knight and lady in alabaster, always said by tradition to belong to the Ratcliffes, and most probably intended to represent Sir Richard Radcliffe, who died 19th Henry VI. and Catherine, his wife, daughter of Booth, of Barton. There was a Sir Richard Radcliffe near a century before, (and these were the only persons of the family who attained to knightly rank), but the armour on this statue was entirely of plate, whereas a figure of the earlier part of the 14th century would have been clad in linked mail.

A certain insigne of Knighthood on the statue was a large hood upon the shoulders, which belonged to that rank as well as the Doctorate, a literary knighthood. The reader of Chaucer will recollect,

“ And, for he was a knight auntrous,
He nonulde sleepen in none house,
But liggen in his hode.”

Rhyme of Sir Thopas.

* I have seen a very ancient charter relating to Clitheroe, without date, but neglected at the time to make a memorandum of the parties names, in which a son having changed his purpose, invests in the purchase of an estate one mark which his father had given him to defray his expences on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

† “*Raudeclif of Wimmerlaw*, a mile from Garston, hath his place at Wimmerlaw.” Leland, vol. IV. p. 92.

‡ *Vide Oswaldtwisle.*

§ For this information I am indebted to an anonymous writer in the *European Magazine*, from whom I hope for farther particulars.

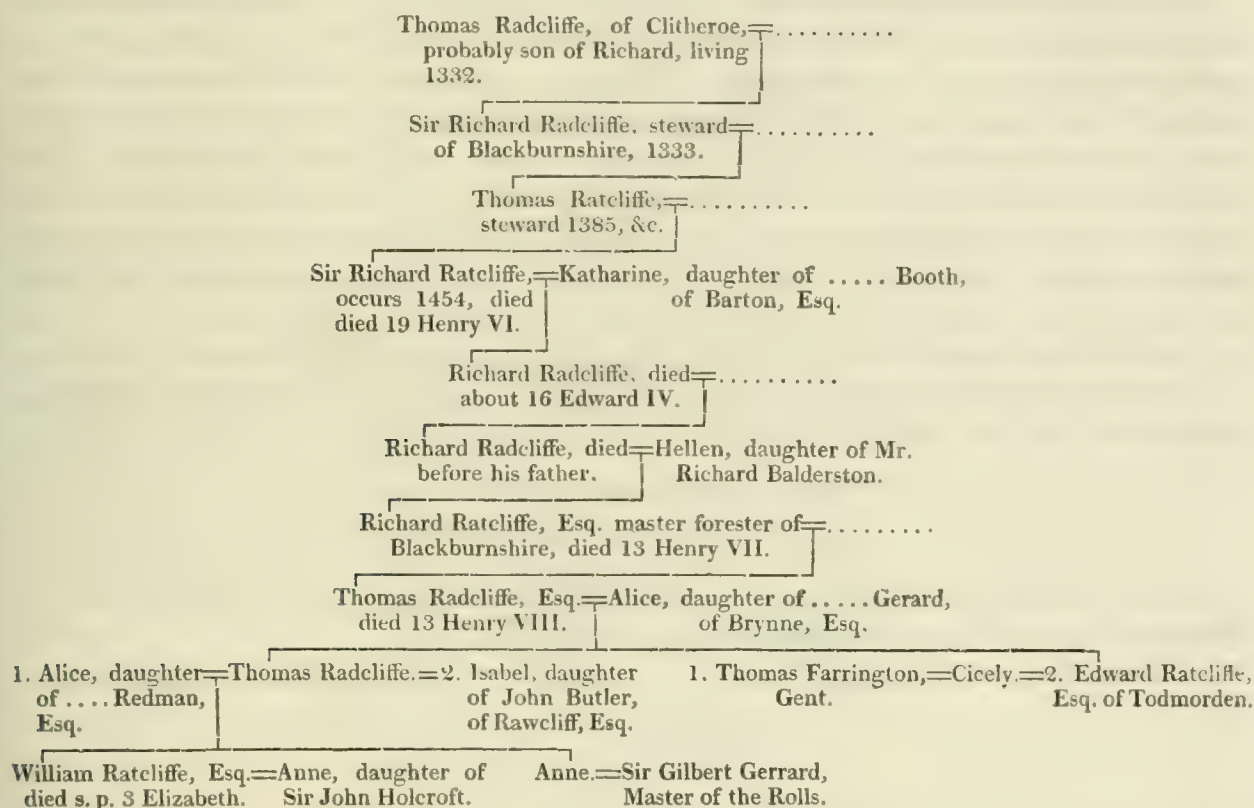
But the ground which this monument covered being wanted for a modern pew, the two statues were barbarously interred, with their faces downward, beneath the floor, and are now inaccessible to the draughtsman. Of the ancient family de Cliderhow, who, as principal burgesses, resided here from the earliest times, and seem to have fled for independence to the opposite extremity of the borough from the castle, after the use which the compilers of the Lancashire pedigrees have made of their evidences, it were in vain without access to these archives, even to attempt an account. Their representation of the Ratcliffes in their different branches is sufficiently perplexed; but that of the Clitheroes is “confusion worse confounded.” To crowd eight generations into the space of ninety years, and, after much investigation, to leave it uncertain whether a man were younger than his great grandfather, was reserved for the acumen of these compilers, whose anachronisms have been transcribed again and again in all that unsuspecting repose of mind which belongs to laborious dulness. Thus much, however, is certain, that a Radcliffe, of Wimmersley, became possessed of this estate by marriage with an heiress of the Clitheroes. A Thomas de Radcliffe, of Clitheroe, appears in the Assheton MSS. A. D. 1332, and our compilers have given to Rich. Radcliffe, of Ordsall, in the time of Edward III. a second wife Sibyl, daughter of Rob. de Clitheroe: if we transfer this lady to Richard de Radcliffe, of Wimmersley, who appears to have been father of the above Thomas, chronology will be somewhat violated, but his residence at Clitheroe will be accounted for; if we assign her to Sir Richard, the grandson, the times accord; but no reason appears for the latter circumstance. There can, however, be little doubt, that the marriage of this Sibyl was the connecting link between the two families; and, for the earlier part of the genealogy, I abandon it in despair*.

* On reviewing this strange compilation, with some mirth and more spleen, I am convinced that here are *eight* buckram men grown out of *three*! for my unerring guide, the Coucher Book, furnishes only three names, and in the following order:

Hugh de Cliderhow.
|
Sir Adam.
|
Robert.

The intermarriages of these are known, and the wives of the two last were named Cicely and Sibil; but in this descent, another Sir Adam and another Sir Robert occur, who married respectively a Cicely and Sibil also; and of four intermediate generations, there is only one whose wife's name is even guessed at, and she was Cicely too; again, of these insidious generations, three are Hughs. Lastly, from this account, Sir Adam Clitheroe the first, lived in the time of Edward I.; and Hugh, who is placed fifth in descent from him, had a widow married to Sir Adam de Blackburn, who lived in the reign of Edward I. also. For these reasons, I conclude the first and second Adam and Robert to have been the same; and the three intermediate Hughs to have grown out of one, by finding the same name in different charters, and perhaps at intervals which one long life will allow.

The following is a descent of this family, taken from the Lancashire pedigrees, but with several additions and corrections :



In the 3d of Elizabeth, William Ratcliffe, of Astley, Esq. * settled his manors of Astley, Wimbersley, and Clitheroe, upon the issue of Anne his niece, wife of Sir Gilbert Gerrard, whose son, Sir Thomas Gerrard, first baron of Gerrards Bromley, sold the manor house called Alleys, to Hesketh, of Martholme, Gent. 44th Elizabeth, since which time it has frequently changed masters. †

In the 36th Edward III. the burgesses of Clitheroe vested fourteen burgage houses in John de Gristhwaite, vicar of Blackburn, in trust for the abbey and convent of Whalley, to find an additional monk.

The use of these burgage houses, with their large accretions, in later days, has been not to find a monk at Whalley, but a member at Westminster.

The manor house of the Dineleys, at this place, was, in 1454, called Le Wyverres; but the name and site are now alike forgotten.

* Assheton MSS.

† The elaborate pedigree, drawn by my friend William Radclyffe, esq. Rouge Croix, and annexed to this account, will almost supersede all remarks on the subject.

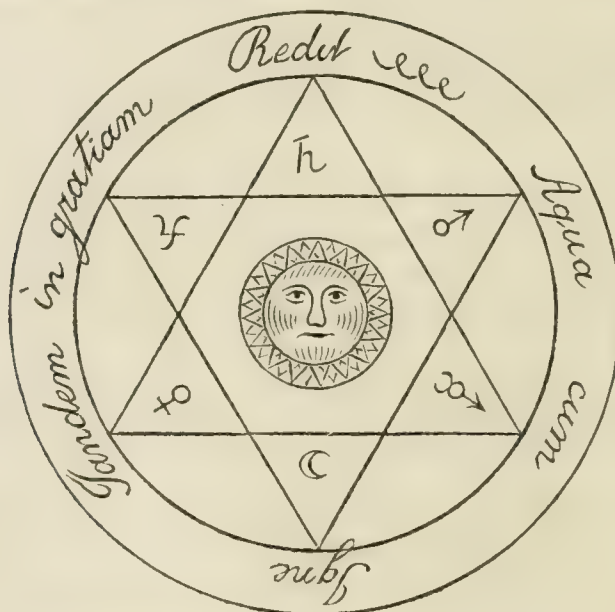
CHAPEL OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN,

In the town, as contradistinguished from that of St. Michael in the Castle, a foundation of very high antiquity, and expressly mentioned in Delaval's charter. It is parochial; and, as the Castle Chapel never had a cæmety, was the place of interment for all the ancient inhabitants of the forests, some of whom were compelled to bring their dead almost twenty miles, a very serious inconvenience in such a climate, and with roads almost impassable*. The building has nothing remarkable, excepting the fine Saxon arch betwixt the nave and quire, one of the oldest remains of architecture in the parish, and a complete specimen of the style which prevailed till the time of Henry I. The North Chapel was appropriated to Great Mearley; but has no memorials of the Radcliffes, many of whom were interred there.

The following inscription upon a brass plate against the South wall of the nave, commemorates the learned and judicious Webster, who, though he had sagacity to detect the absurdities of witchcraft, was yet a dupe to the follies of judicial astrology: †

“ Qui hanc figuram intelligunt
Me etiam intellexisse, intelligent.”

[I am not one of the intelligent, and must therefore be content to give this mysterious diagram as I received it, for the edification of true adepts.]



* See the petition for the foundation of Newchurch in Rossendale.

† Webster, though a practitioner in physic, was in holy orders. He published, 1st, *The History of Metallurgy, i. e. of the Signs of Minerals, of their Vegetability, of the Philosopher's Gold, Mercury, Alcahest, &c.* 4to. London, 1671. 2d, *A Display of supposed Witchcraft.* In the register of this place is the following entry: “ Dr. John Webster, of Clitherow, buried June 21st, 1682.”

“ *Hic jacet ignotus mundo, mersusque tumultu
Invidiæ, semper mens tamen æqua fuit,
Multa tulit veterum ut sciret secreta sophorum,
Ac tandem vires noverit ignis aquæ.*

“ *Johannes Hyphantes sive Webster,
In villa Spinosa supermontana, in *
Parochia silvæ cuculataæ, in agro
Eboracensi, natus 1610 Feb. 3,
Ergastulum animæ deposuit 1682, Junii 18,
Annoq. ætatis suæ 72 currente.*

*Sicq. peroravit moriens mundo huic valedicens,
Aurea pax vivis, requies æterna sepultis.”*

A mural monument, near the altar, records that upright lawyer and amiable man, Mr. Serjeant Aspinall, in the following lines :

“ Near this place are deposited the remains of Jno. Aspinall, Esq. of Standen, Serjeant at Law, and in the Commission of the Peace for the Counties of York and Lancaster. He married Maria, daughter of Maghull Yates, Esq. by Elizabeth, daughter of Humphrey Trafford, Esq. of Trafford, and died March 1, 1784, aged 68.

“ Mildness and candor dwelt within his mind,
He lov'd the good, and felt for all mankind ;
Tho' vice still found him a determin'd foe,
Yet pity wept, 'ere justice gave the blow ;
When poverty complain'd, by pride oppress'd,
Her cries he heard, her injuries redress'd ;
'Mongst other cares, religion found a part,
And claim'd a secret interest in his heart ;
He own'd its solemn truths, and fill'd with awe,
Let Christian meekness smooth the front of law,
And 'midst the clamours of forensic war,
His mind would muse on heaven's impartial bar :
At heaven's last judgment may his actions plead,
And meet that mercy which the best will need ;
Nor wealth, nor art, can there evade the laws,
Where God is judge, and truth shall plead the cause.

“ Mortal ! attend, and let this friendly stone,
Record his death, and warn thee of thy own ;
Let not his virtues with his ashes rest,
Transplant them hence, and wear them in thy breast.

“ His widow, out of regard to his memory, erected this monument.”

Opposite to this is about to be erected a mural monument (by Westmacott) to the late Mr. Wilson, the expence of which the affection of his pupils contributed to defray. At their

* That is, I suppose, at Thornton on the Hill, in the parish of Cuxwold.

request the talents and virtues of Mr. Wilson are attempted to be recorded in the following inscription, by the Author of this Work.

A . \mathfrak{P} . Ω .

THOMÆ WILSON, S. T. B.

ECCLESIAE DE CLAUGHTON RECTORI,

SACELLORUM DE CLITHEROE ET DOWNHAM MINISTRO,

ET IN VICINO GYMNASIO

PER ANNOS FERME DUO DE QUADRAGINTA

LITERARUM HUMANIORUM MAGISTRO,

ABSQUE FUCO AUT FASTO ERUDITO,

JUVENTUTI SINE PLAGIS REGENDÆ NATO,

ET INTER DOCENDUM MALE DICERE, AUT SÆVIRE NESCIO,

(VOCE, VULTU, INDOLE PLACIDISSIMIS)

QUI, PLURIMIS IN ECCLESIAM INQUE R. P. DISCIPULIS EMISSIS,

NEMINEM NON SIBI SODALEM ALLEXERAT,

NEMINE NON USUS EST AMICO,

AB IISDEM UNDEQUAQUE CONGREGATIS

GRATO QUOTANNIS EXCEPTUS CONVIVIO

(HEU! NUNQUAM REDITURO)

CONVICTOR IPSE JUCUNDISSIMUS,

SERMONE COMPTO, FACETO, VERBORUM LUSIBUS CEU SCINTILLULIS NITENTI,

INNOCUO TAMEN, COMI, PIO.

ANNOS NATO LXV DENATO

V NON. MART. A. D. MDCCCXIII.

SEPULTO BOLTONÆ JUXTA BOWLAND

PROPE CONJUGEM PRÆREPTAM,

CÆNOTAPHIUM,

UBI VIVUS FLORUERAT,

L. L. M. P. P.

DISCIPULI.

Near the North West corner of the nave is a mural monument, with this inscription :

D. O. M.

Hic situs est

THOMAS ARTHUR SOUTHWELL, VICECOMES SOUTHWELL, &c.

de Regno Hiberniæ.

Nobilis natu, et virtutibus clarus,

fervidam fidem ornavit eximiâ morum suavitate,

et effusâ liberalitate in pauperes :

Desiderium prægressæ ad Christum conjugis

non ferens ; paucis post diebus extinctus est

Idibus Feb. An. Dom. MDCCXCVI: ætatis LIV.

Hoc in tumulo pariter conditur

tam digni viri optima conjux

SOPHIA MARIA JOSEPHA WALSH,
 filia FRANCISCI JAC. WALSH, comitatus de Serrant,
 in regno Franciæ.
 Obiit prid. Id. Januarii, cum vixisset annos xxxix.
Decori, et amabiles in vita sud,
In morte quoque, non sunt divisi.
 R. R. I. P.*

CHAPLAINS OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN'S, IN CLITHEROE.

Hugo Capellanus de Clyderhow, } by deeds without date, but contemporary with
 Petrus Caps. de Clyderhow, } Geoffry, dean of Whalley, or Henry II.

Henricus Clericus de Clyderhow.

Dns. Johannes, fil. Hen. Cap. de Clyderhow, Capellanus 13 Edward III.

Henry de Mitton Capel. Paroch de Clyderhow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1379
William Slater Capellanus de Cliderhow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1551
Sir William Caton †, of Clitheroe, priest, ob. circ.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1558
Edward Lawson	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1569
Martyn Dyckson	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1588
William Richardson	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	uncertain
Robert Marsden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1657
William Banckes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1672
Stephen More	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1696
Thomas Taylor occurs 1701, buried	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1737
James Cowgill	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1743
James King, D. D. afterwards dean of Raphoe, entered ‡	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1743
Thomas Wilson, B. D.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1775

— Johnson.

Robert Heath, A. M.

Sir Nathanael Curzon, bart. about the year 1720, augmented this parochial chapel, as well as Downham, Newchurch in Pendle, Altham, and Church, with benefactions of £.200 each, in consequence of which the advowson and right of presentation to all those churches or chapels, is vested in the guardian of the Hon. Penn Assheton Curzon.

Adjoining to the church-yard is the Grammar School, endowed by king Philip and Queen Mary, and of which the statutes were given by Bishop Bridgeman. This is one of the few foundations, which, in the present rage of commercial innovation, has been able in any degree to preserve its original character as a classical seminary.

* These amiable persons lived for some time, and died, at Standen. They were interred opposite to the monument in the south-west corner of the church.

† I am not quite certain whether Caton was chaplain of St. Michael in the Castle, or St. Magdalen in the Town. His will, in which he bequeaths his effects to a natural child, by name, without a symptom either of shame or sorrow, though he declares himself to be then sick and weak in body, bears date 1558. The consciences of priests appear to have been at rest in concubinage.

‡ During his incumbency was born at Clitheroe, in the house now the Brownlow's Arms, Dr. Walker King, his son, the present Bishop of Rochester.

The following is an Abstract of the Foundation Charter of this School, which contains some curious particulars :

“ Philip and Mary. &c. To all to whom these our present Letters Patent shall come, health.

“ Know ye that we, at the humble petition, as well of the inhabitants of the towne of Clitherow and parish of Whalley, in the county of Lancaster, as others very many more of our subjects of the whole countrey neighbouring there, for a Grammar School in Clitherow, within the parish of Whalley, to be erected and established, for teaching, bringing up, and instructing of boys and young men, of our special grace, &c. grant and ordain, that from henceforth there shall be one grammar-school of Mary Queene of England; and that school we erect, create, ordain, and by these presents found, of one Teacher or Master, and one Under Master or substitute, for ever. And that our intention aforesaid may take effect, we will and ordain that lands, tenements, rents, and reversions, to the upholding and sustaining of the said school, shall be granted, assigned, and appointed: and for the better continuing and governing of the same school, that there be, and shall be, six of the most discrete and approved inhabitants of the towne of Clitherow and parish of Whalley aforesaid, from time to time, who shall be, and shall be called, Governors of the Possessions and Revenues of the said School.

“ Know ye, therefore, that we have assigned, elected, named, and constituted, our well-beloved, Richard Greenacres, Alexander Houghton, Gyles Parker, Edward Radcliffe, Thomas Greenacres, and James Aspden, inhabitants within the town of Clitherow and parish of Whalley, to be the first rulers and governors of the possessions, revenues, and goods, of the said school. And we will and ordain, that whenever it shall happen any governors of the said free-school to die, or elsewhere out of the said towne of Clitherow and parish of Whalley to departe, it shall be lawful for the rest, or the greater part of them, another fit person, or other fit persons, successively to elect and name.

“ And we have given and granted, and by these presents do give and grant, to the governors aforesaid, all our whole Rectory of Almonbury, in the county of Yorke, lately belonging and appropriated to Jesus College in Rotherham, and all and singular messuages, burgages, lands, &c. situate, lying, and being, in Thornton, Draghton, Easby, Skipton, and in the county of Yorke, late belonging to the late dissolved chantry of St. Nicholas, in the county of Yorke. Excepting, however, out of the present grant, all tenths, parcel of the rectory aforesaid, issuing and to issue within the townes of Woodsome and Ferneley, in the said parish, now or late in the occupation of Arthur Kaye, in as ample manner and forme as any warden, governor, or master, of the said College, or incumbent of the said late Chantry, or any of them, had held or enjoyed the same. Which said rents, messuages, lands, &c. are now extended to the clear yearly value of xx*l.* and xx*d.*

“ Witness ourselves, at Hampton Courte, the xxix day of August, in the 1st and 2d yeare of our reign.”

Within this borough, though beyond the Ribble, and of the foundation of its earliest burgesses, was an Hospital of Lepers, dedicated to St. Nicholas, and unnoticed by any writer on monastic antiquities: this was the

DOMUS LEPROSORUM DE EDISFORTH.

Whatever may have been the origin of that loathsome disease, the Elephantiasis in England, whether it were contracted by some of the earlier crusaders, or, which is more probable, arose from want of cleanliness, and the exclusive use of salted animal food, during great part of the year,

it

it seems to have been confounded by our ancestors with the unclean leprosy of the Mosaic law, and to have condemned the unhappy subjects of it to all the inconveniences of a legal separation. In this view retreats were charitably provided for lepers in various parts of the kingdom. And as the hospital of Edisforth was founded exclusively for the use of the borough of Clitheroe, and the state of population in those early times can never have been very considerable, it seems to prove the complaint to have been extremely common.

The first memorial of this foundation is a charter without date*, which implies the prior existence of the hospital, and in which John, son of Ralph de Cliderhow, grants three acres of land in Sidhill “*Leprosis de Edisforth.*”

Perhaps, however, the next charter, equally without date, may contest the claim of antiquity with the former, and will ascertain a very early warden nowhere mentioned besides: Orme de Hammerton grants “*Deo, S. Nich. Domui de Edisforth et fratribus leprosis ibim conversantibus cum Reginaldo, duas acras super Schetill.*”

In the next place Roger de Lacy, Const. Cest. who died in 1211*, for the health of his soul and those of his ancestors, gives to the same four acres of land in Baldwinhill. Walter de Grimshaw, warden, appears to have died about the 10th of Edward II. when Ric. de Edisforth* was presented by the earl of Lancaster. In his time there were no lepers, a proof that the complaint was on the decline, and he was sued for dilapidation and waste. Whether any other warden was presented after him I know not; but in 24th Edward III. the house having now neither warden nor brethren, Hugh de Clitheroe*, bailiff, entreated the abbot and convent of Whalley to take possession of the hospital and lands thereunto belonging, subject only to the condition of finding a chantry priest to celebrate in the chapel: this proposal was accepted, and the last memorial which I find of the place is that in 1508* John Paslew, abbot of Whalley, and the burgesses of Clitheroe, present Sir William Heerd†, to the Chapel of St. Nicholas, of Edisforth, vacant by the death of Sir John Dineley, “*secundum mortificationem ‡ ejusdem.*” The site of this ancient hospital was on the Yorkshire side of the Ribble, near the road to Mitton, and on the spot where now stands a farm-house. Some remains of strong and ancient masonry are remembered there.

Among the hereditary dependents of the house of Lancaster, at Clitheroe, the unfortunate Henry VI. sought a temporary refuge from his enemies; but his confidence was abused, and his person betrayed to Edward the Fourth by the Talbots of Bashall and Salisbury, for which good service there are no fewer than four patents from Edward and Richard III. extant, settling pensions on different persons of this family, all expressed nearly in the same terms, “*pro bono servicio suo in captura magni nostri adversarii Henrici nuper de facto et non de jure Regis Angliæ §.*” The particular circumstances of this affair shall be related in Leland’s words, in order to afford an opportunity of correcting the orthography of his proper names: “In A. D. 1464, king Henry was taken in Clitherwoode (Clitheroe wood) by side Bungerley hipping

* All these charters are in the Coucher Book at Whalley, and have been transcribed into the Townley MSS.

† I suspect this person to be the same who inscribed the singular verses on the wall of the Church at Colne. See under that place.

‡ The only instance I have met with of this use of the word on the South side of the Tweed. In Scotland it is universal.

§ Townley MS. One of this is given by Sir Peter Leycester.

“stones in Lancastershyre, by Tho. Talbot sunne and heir to Sir Edmund de Talbot of Bashall, and John Talbot his cousin, of Colebry, (Salesbury), which deceived him, being at his dyner in Wadyngton Haul, and brought him to London with his legges bounde to the sterropes.” *Lel. Col. vol. II. p. 500.*

The ancient seal of this borough, which I have found appendant to a charter of the year 1335, has the single lion rampant of Lacy, circumscribed S. B. CMS. DE CLIDERHOW. The modern seal now in use seems to be posterior to the restoration.

MERLAY MAGNA,

Now Mereley, on the northern skirts of Pendle, so called probably from the lands belonging to it having extended to the meres or boundaries of the forest upon the summit of the hill. This manor, however obscure in itself, is memorable for the clear and connected chain of evidence which exists of its several passages and descents from the earliest times, an advantage of which the compilers of the Lancashire pedigrees have so little availed themselves, that as the following account will differ very widely from anything which has hitherto appeared on the subject, I shall think it incumbent upon me to cite my authorities, and to assign the grounds of my conclusions with the greater care.

1st, Then, appears the following charter: “Sciانت, &c. quod ego Robertus de Lacy, dedi, &c. Radulpho le Rus, Magnam Merlay cum pert. et Tuisleton cum pert. et 2 bov. in Cliderhow cum pert. et nominatim Mess^s. illas quæ fuerunt Orme le Engleis infra le Baille et deorsum, et Magnam Mittun cum pert. et Aiton cum pert. libere, &c. pro dim. feodo unius Militis, et Bailliam et Custodiam terre mee de Watersdeles usque ad Routhesit ultra Graget, et de Rumedene usq Temepull: et hæc carta facta fuit 3^{to} anno post coronamentum Henrici Regis in Cur. de Pontefr. ad Fest. S. Clem.”

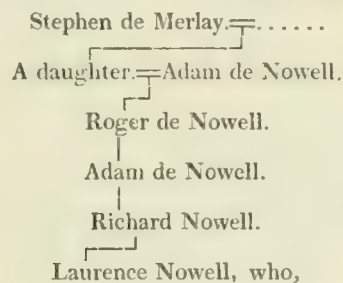
“Sciانت, &c. quod ego Ilbertus de Lacy dedi concessi et incartavi Radulpho le Rouse et heredibus suis in perpetuum Magn. Merlay, Mitton, Halghton, Twisleton, &c. per serv. dim. feud. mil. una concessi quod Aufray ei dedit in Dounom, scil. VI. partem unius feudi mil. et dedi eidem Radulpho fratri meo totum boscum et siccum capiendum in Bowland, Sapeden et Peneltonwode, sine deliberatione forestariorum ad comburendum et edificandum cum communi chacea omnium animalium selvagiorum inter le Grane Gate et le Richihilles, et le Witterichedeles (qu. Watershields, so Watershield’s Cross), et le Imyngpell* (qu. Imings in Pendle?), prædicto Radulpho fratri meo. Teste La^{to} Med. de Cliderhow.”

Next follows a confirmation of this charter, purporting to be of Robert, brother of Ilbert. And here a difficulty occurs, as neither of the Ilberts, for there were two, grandfather and grandson, are known to have had a brother of the name of Robert, the only Robert de Lacy of that period having been son of the former and father of the latter Ilbert. The probability therefore is, that the transcriber of these charters (for the originals are no longer extant) mistook the word “patris” for “fratris;” and that Ilbert the younger holding the lordship of Blackburnshire, a confirmation of his grants was necessary from the father, as superior lord. Even upon this hypothesis, which will take away perhaps forty years from the antiquity of these evidences, they will still maintain a priority of more than half a century above all our ancient

* Perhaps Wyming Houses in Pendleton.

records; for Robert de Lacy and Ilbert his son were driven from their estates in the year 1102, by the vengeance of Henry I. The charters before us, therefore, cannot be ascribed to a later period than the 3d of Henry I. and as Ilbert, the grandfather and first grantee of the fee of Pontefract, has already been proved to have had no concern in that of Clitheroe, they cannot be carried up higher than his death, which was in the beginning of the reign of Rufus.

Again, Ralph le Rous, the grantee under these charters, had Jordan, who granted the manor of Merlay to one Stephen, afterwards called de Merlay, and he had a daughter who married Adam de Nowell. The facts are proved by the following abstract of an Inquisition in the same collection *: “Stephanus de Merlay proavus Adæ Nowell (the second; he is elsewhere called father in law of the first) seizitus fuit in feodo de et in manerio de Merlay (not by descent, as the Lancashire pedigrees have it, but) ex dono et feoffamento Jordani f. Rad. le Rous, habuit etiam Chaceam infra Sapeden Broke et Rimington Broke exceptis dominicis Haiis et ad feras in dicta chaceà sequendas infra haias prædictas sine arcubus et sagittis longum jactationis unius teli.” This was the origin of the Nowells in the parish of Whalley, of whom there is no evidence to prove where they were settled before this alliance. Their descent will be more fully traced under Read, and it will suffice for the present to exhibit the following genealogy, which relates to the time of their residence at Merlay :



about 38th Edward III. exchanged the chace and manor of Merlay for a moiety of the manor of Read, with Sir Richard de Greenacres, (vide READ), whose younger daughter and coheir Agnes, marrying William de Radcliffe, of Todmorden, brought the estate into that family, in which it continued, by uninterrupted descent, till the death of Joshua Radcliffe, Esq. in 1676.

The ancient family of Radcliffe, which spread from the parent stock of Radcliffe tower, in this county, into the branches of Ordsal, Smethells with Edgeworth, Wimmersley, and Todmorden, with Mearley, after having risen nearly to the summit of English nobility in the earls of Sussex of that name, is now almost extinct in Lancashire.

Of the branch now before us I am enabled to speak with more precision, as the original evidences of the family, from the æra of deeds without date, to the last of Elizabeth, have fallen into my hands. That the Radcliffes of Todmorden were a branch immediately from Ratcliffe, is proved by a dispensation* from Cardinal of Santa Susanna, ann. Pont. Bonif. VIII. 8^{vo}. or 1311, to Robert de Ratcliffe, of Todmorden, to marry Johanna, daughter of John de Ratcliffe.

* Townley MSS.

Roger Mainwaring, who married Elizabeth, sole issue and heir of Joshua Radcliffe of Todmorden, Esq. wasted all the estates of the family; and, in 1700, sold the manor of Mereley to John Harrison, Esq.; after the death of whose son, Allan Harrison, it was once more sold in chancery, A.D. 1757, to Piers Starkie, of Huntroyd, Esq. in whose representative it still remains.

Of this ancient family, several are interred in their own choir at Clitheroe, but the greater part have tombs in the church-yard of Todmorden, now abandoned to dilapidation and decay. I have * a very magnificent old bed of massy oak, purchased from Todmorden Hall, and dated 1615, with a profusion of rude carving and armorial bearings; 1st. upon the head, the royal arms, with the cypher I. R. 1615; 2d. Radcliffe, of Todmorden, Argent, a bend dexter engrailed Sable, a mullet for difference; 3d. Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex, 4th. Stanley, Earl of Derby, both within the garter; on each side a rude statue, one bearing on a shield Ratcliffe of Todmorden, the other Gules a chevron between three garbs Or, Greenacres; under the tester, Radcliffe of Todmorden quartering Greenacres, crest Sable, a bull's head erased ducally collared Or.

By inquisition after the death of Henry de Lacy the last, it was found that Roger Nowell held two carucates of land in Great Merlay.

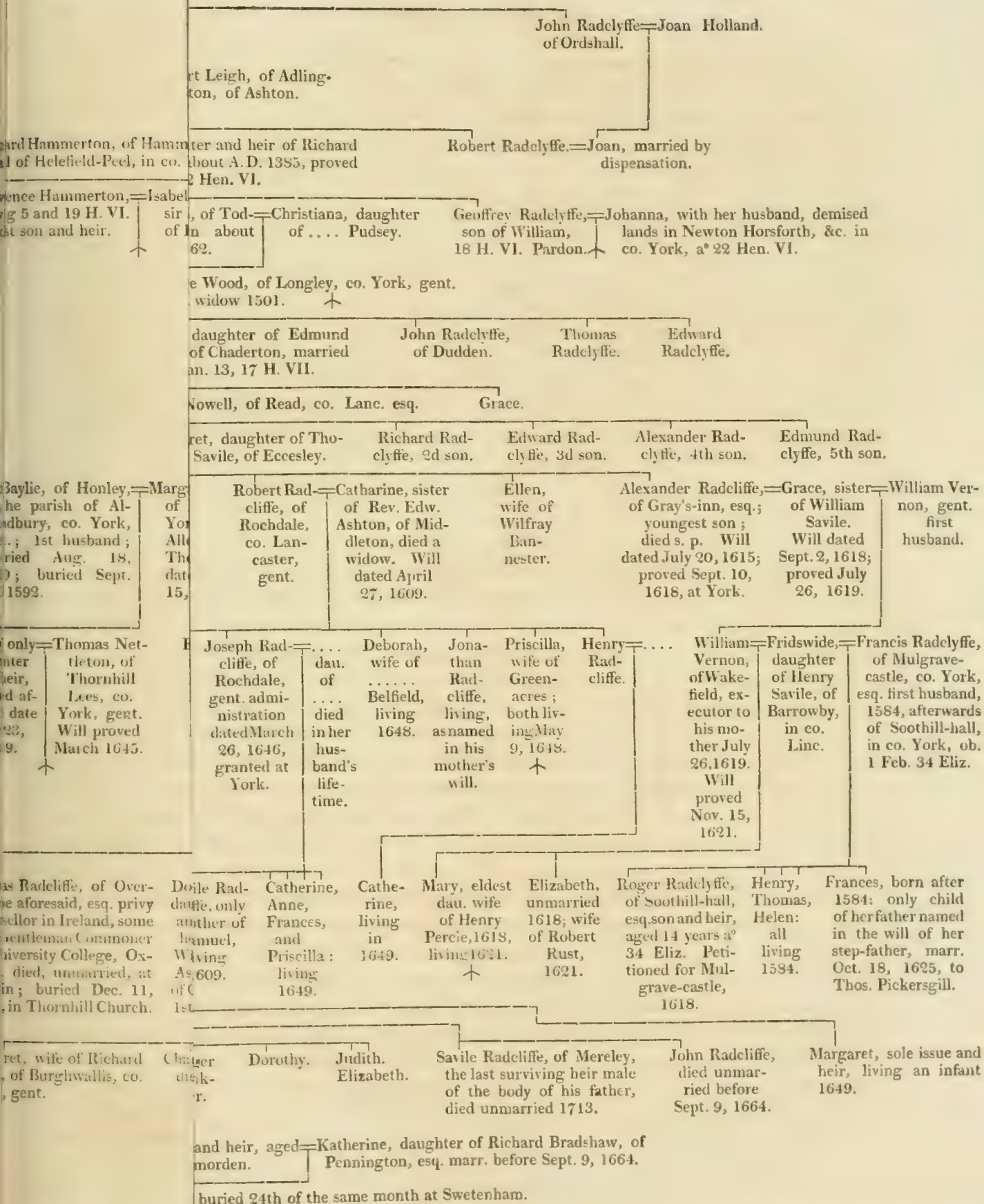
MERLAY PARVA,

An hamlet and manor contiguous to the former, on the North-East, which still remains in the descendants of William Nowell, the first grantee under John de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, who died A.D. 1240, 24th Henry III. For by deed † *sans* date, that earl grants to the said William Nowell and his heirs, *totam parvam Merlay pro servitio XII partis feodi militis salva foresta sua et venatione sua*. After the first possessor, of whom it is not known how he was related to the family of Great Mearlay, or whether at all, is a long chasm in the descent, till the time of Henry Nowell, who, with Johanna his wife, in the year 1472, were enrolled, according to the superstition of the times, in the college or hospital of the poor brethren of Walsoken, near Wisbeach, by an instrument, of which the following is an abridgement. After reciting the indulgences of divers popes, &c. Thomas Jackson, chaplain and warden of the college or hospital of the Holy Trinity of Walsoken, in the diocese of Norwich, grants as follows:—"Dilectis nobis in Christo Henrico Nowell et Johannæ uxori ejus. Cum pietatis suæ caritativa subsidia nobis donaverint, in dictam nostram fraternitatem eos assumimus et inter nostros confratres et pauperes annumeramus, eosque quantum in Deo possumus omnium bonorum spiritualium inter confratres et pauperes nostros participes esse volumus. Dat. Ap. 2d. 1472." This man, however, was not one of those, "who, to be sure of paradise, dying, put on the weeds of Dominic‡," for he enjoyed his spiritual privileges no less than forty-five years; as I find by the inquisition after his death, that he died 8th Henry VIII. What I have been able to collect of him and his descendants, from inquisitions and other evidences, is as follows:—

* It is now at Towneley.

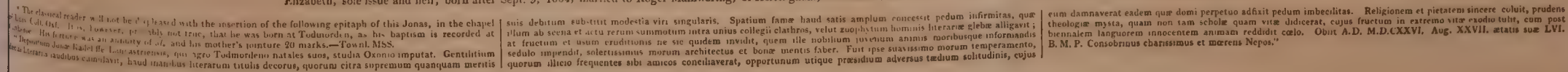
† Townley MSS. G. 13.

‡ Paradise Lost, b. iii. 479.



The classical reader will not be
Coll. Oxf. It is, however, p
oe. His fortune was an annu
positum Jona Radcliffe Lanc
lterariis laudibus canebat, h
julus

cum damnaverat eadem quæ domi perpetuo adfixit pedum imbecilitas. Religionem et pietatem sincere coluit, prudens
theologiæ mystæ, quam non tam scholæ quam vitæ didicerat, cujus fructum in extremo vitæ exodiotulit, cum post
biennalem languorem innocentem animam reddidit cælo. Obiit A.D. M.D.CXXVI, Aug. XXVII. ætatis suæ LVI.
B. M. P. Consobrinus charissimus et mærens Nepos."



John Radclyffe, of Ordshall, = Margaret, cous
aforesaid, esq. eldest son of Clementin
and heir apparent, died ter and heir
without issue. Chedel.

Sir John Radclyffe, of Ordshall, knt. son and
died anno 9 Henry V. A. D. 1421. Inquisit

Elizabeth Radclyffe, widow of Sir Richard
Venables, Baron of Kinderton, in the
county of Chester, knt. 16 Henry VI.
Had issue.

Alexander Radclyffe, of Ordshall, esq. eldest
ancestor of the Radclyffes of Ordshall, F.
others, died July 10, 15 Edward IV. anno

y. Catharine.

Henry.
Alexander.
Christopher.
Anne.

of Read, esq.
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z held one

Re

Elizabeth Radcliffe, married to John Field, of
to Queen Elizabeth.

William Radcliffe, of Mellor, aforesaid, esq. =
eldest son and heir, living anno 1611.

Gillert Radcliffe, of Mellor, Robert Radcliffe,
aforesaid, died without without issue.
issue, before 1611. fore 1611.

Margaret, daughter of Lau = Peter Radcliffe,
rence Wright, of Offerton, aforesaid, esq.
in the county of Chester, and heir, aged
esq. 1st wife. years anno 16

Anne Radcliffe, Peter Radcliffe, of Mellor, a
eldest daugh- eldest son and heir, bapti-
ter. March 27, 1638, and buri-
13, 1662.

John Horsefall, of Malsis = Anne Radcliffe, on
Hall, in Craven, in the baptized at Mell
county of York, gent. living Jan. 21,
married before Jan. 21, joined with her
1636. sale of Mellor.

Edmund Radcliffe, o
and bap

The Rev. Edmund Strin
cler

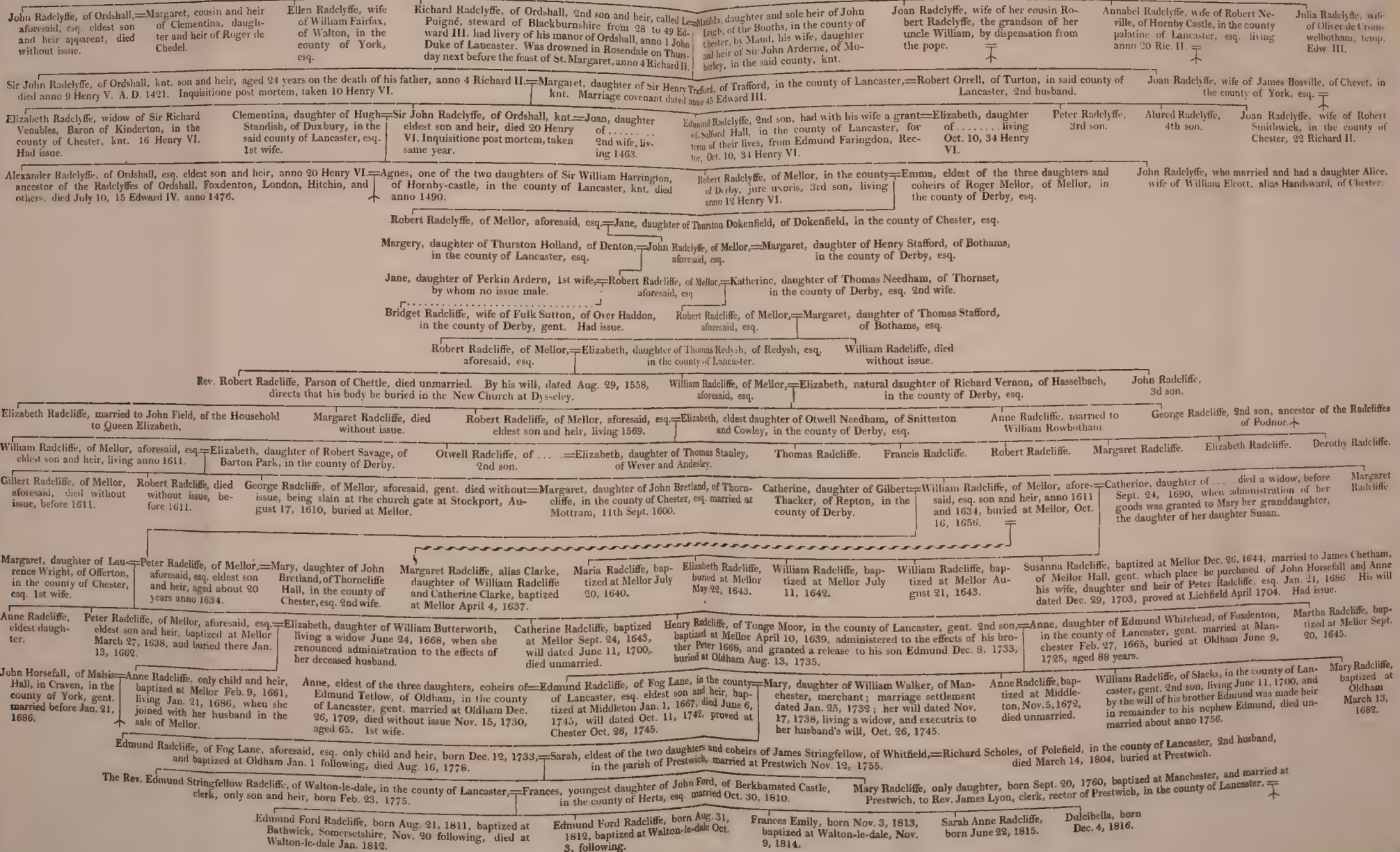
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PEDIGREE OF RADCLIFFE, No. 2.

[To follow the Pedigree Dr R. RADCLIFFE]

John Radclyffe, of Ordshall, in the county of Lancaster, anno 20 Edward III. knight of the shire for the said county the 14th of that king's reign, died anno 1357. — Joan, eldest daughter of Sir Robert Holland, knt. and sister of Sir Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, one of the founders of the most noble order of the garter, married to her third husband Sir Edmund Talbot, of Bashall. Had issue. — Sir Hugh Dutton, of Dutton, in the county of Chester, knt. 1st husband, born Dec. 8, 5 Edward I. steward of Hatton Dec. 24, 20 Edward II. died anno 1 Edward III.



er of Sir Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, one of—Sir Hugh Dutton
 died to her third husband Sir Edmund Talbot, of born Dec. 8,
 died anno 1 E

daughter and sole heir of John Joan Radclyffe, wife of her cousin
 of the Booths, in the county of bert Radclyffe, the grandson
 by Maud, his wife, daughter uncle William, by dispensation
 of Sir John Arderne, of Mo the pope.
 in the said county, knt.

Trafford, in the county of Lancaster,=Robert Orrell, of Turton, in
 ward III. Lancaster, 2nd hus

lyffe, 2nd son, had with his wife a grant=Elizabeth, daughter
 Hall, in the county of Lancaster, for of living
 Sir lives, from Edmund Faringdon, Rec- Oct. 10, 34 Henry
 , 34 Henry VI. VI.

adcllyffe, of Mellor, in the county=Emma, eldest of the three da
 y, jure uxoris, 3rd son, living coheirs of Roger Mellor, of
 2 Henry VI. the county of Derby, esq.

okenfield, of Dokenfield, in the county of Chester, esq.

llor,=Margaret, daughter of Henry Stafford, of Bothams,
 in the county of Derby, esq.

Katherine, daughter of Thomas Needham, of Thornset,
 in the county of Derby, esq. 2nd wife.

e, of Mellor,=Margaret, daughter of Thomas Stafford,
 , esq. of Bothams, esq.

sh, of Redysh, esq. William Radcliffe, died
 aster. without issue.

of Mellor,=Elizabeth, natural daughter of Richard Vernon, of Ha
 esq. in the county of Derby, esq.

est daughter of Otwell Needham, of Snitteston Anne Radcliffe,
 Cowley, in the county of Derby, esq. William Row

ey, Thomas Radcliffe. Francis Radcliffe. Robert Radcliffe

orn- Catherine, daughter of Gilbert=William Radcliffe, of Mellor,
 d at Thacker, of Repton, in the said, esq. son and heir, anno
 county of Derby. and 1634, buried at Mellor,
 16, 1656.

Radcliffe, William Radcliffe, bap- William Radcliffe, bap- Susanna
 Mellor tized at Mellor July tized at Mellor Au- of Mel
 1643. 11, 1642. gust 21, 1643. his wife
 dated I

of Tonge Moor, in the county of Lancaster, gent. 2nd son,=Anne, da
 llor April 10, 1639, administered to the effects of his bro- in the
 8, and granted a release to his son Edmund Dec. 8, 1733, chester
 m Aug. 13, 1735. 1725,

nty=Mary, daughter of William Walker, of Man- Anne Radcliffe, bap
 pap- chester, merchant; marriage settlement tized at Midd
 e 6, dated Jan. 25, 1732; her will dated Nov. ton, Nov. 5, 167
 d at 17, 1738, living a widow, and executrix to died unmarried.
 her husband's will, Oct. 26, 1745.

heirs of James Stringfellow, of Whitfield,=Richard Scholes, of Polefield
 ed at Prestwich Nov. 12, 1755. died March 1

Berkhamsted Castle, Mary Radcliffe, only daughter, born Sept. 20,
 t. 30, 1810. Prestwich, to Rev. James Lyon, clerk, rector

Frances Emily, born Nov. 3, 1813,
 baptized at Walton-le-dale, Nov.

Sarah Anne Radcliffe,
 born June 22, 1815.

y. Catharine.

Henry.
 Alexander.
 Christopher.
 Anne.

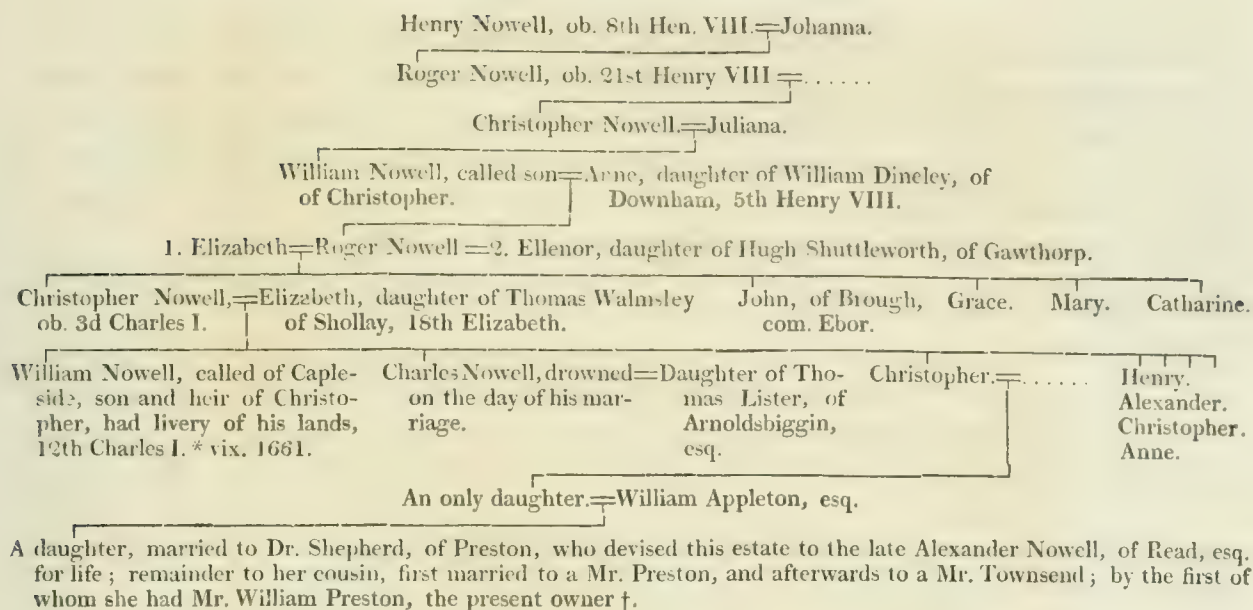
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PEDIGREE OF NOWELL.



By inquisition *post mortem* Henry de Lacy, it was found that William de Heriz held one carucate in Little Merlay, by the service of the eighth part of a knight's fee.

The old manor-house of Little Merlay stands in a very singular situation, on a lingula of land, formed by the rocky channels of two torrents, rapidly descending from Pendle; the great bulk of which, to the South, it directly fronts. To the North and West is a widely-extended view of Ribblesdale, from Waddington Fell nearly to Preston. Over the hall-door are the arms of Nowell, with a crescent for difference, quartering a pelican vulning itself, which I suppose to have been the bearing of Merlay, with the cyphers C. N. (Christopher Nowell), the rebuilder of this part and E. N. (Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Thomas Walmsley, of Showley.) The West wing is built with strong grout-work, and of much higher antiquity. To the North of the hall is a very curious bay-window, which was probably brought by Christopher Nowell, when he rebuilt the hall, from Salley Abbey; for on the dado, beneath the lights, are three shields of arms: 1st. five fusils in fess; 2d. a lion rampant; 3d. a crescent. In all probability, this had been the embayed window of the refectory.

* By this inquisition, the manor of Merley Parva is found to consist of 60 acres *terra*, 30 *prati*, 80 *pastura*, 5 *bosci*, 100 *jampnorum et brueræ*, 150 *moræ*, et 20 *moss*.; that it was held by the twelfth part of a knight's fee, and was worth 40s. *per annum*.

† The above is the best account which I can collect of these last descents.

WORSTON AND CHATBURN.

Though these are now two distinct townships, yet as the latter is absorbed in the former in the inquisition so often referred to, and to which we are indebted beyond every other record, for an accurate representation of the ancient state of property, I have judged it expedient to consider them together, especially as the manors have never been alienated from the honor of Clitheroe, as their halmote-courts are the same*, and as they partake of the same natural characters, great fertility of soil, and considerable beauty of situation.

By inquisition *post mort.* Henry de Lacy, it was found, that in Worston (including Chatburn) were:—

					£.	s.	d.
	30 acres in demesne, demised to divers tenants at will				0	15	0
	5 acres of meadow	—	—	—	—	0	5 0
	13 oxgangs in bondage	—	—	—	—	1	6 0
	6 cottages	—	—	—	—	0	3 0
	48 acres of arable land, demised to tenants at will				—	0	16 0
	1 water-mill	—	—	—	—	0	13 4
Free tenants.	William le Heriz, for 18 acres†	—	—	—	—	0	2 0
	Thomas del Clough, 1 oxgang	—	—	—	—	0	2 0
	Adam, son of Wyot, for 1 oxgang, 2 harriers' collars, &c.				0	0	1
	William, son of Thomas, for 1 oxgang	—	—	—	—	0	2 0
	Hugh, son of Ralph, for ditto	—	—	—	—	0	2 0
	Ditto for ditto	—	—	—	—	0	3 6
	Hugh, son of Thomas	—	—	—	—	0	1 6
	Adam de Craven, 1 oxgang, <i>per servitium</i> ‡				—	0	0 1
					<hr/>		
					£. 4 11 6		

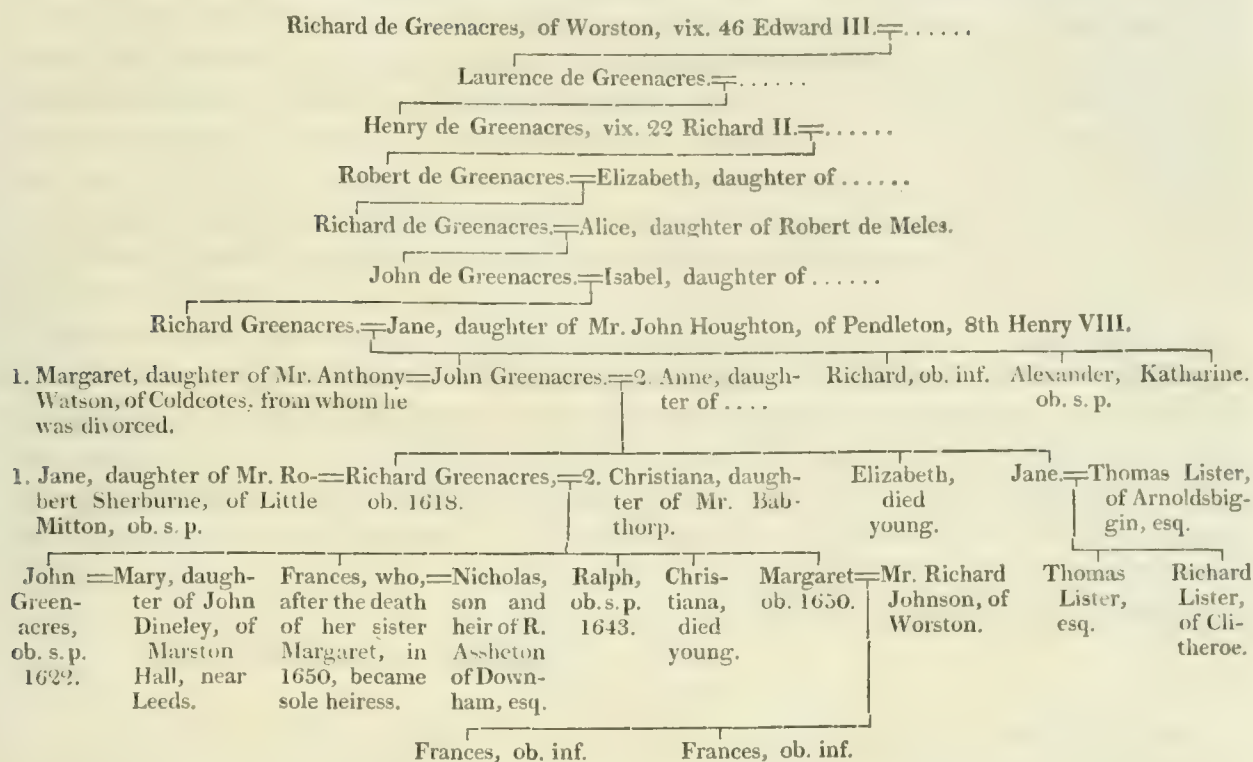
Worston was long the residence of a branch of the ancient family de Greenacres, of whom the first upon record was Richard de Greenacres, carefully to be distinguished from the knight of that name, his contemporary and neighbour.

* The halmote-courts for the manors of Pendleton, Worston, and Chatburn, have been, for time immemorial, held together, and the claim of the Hoghtons upon the first, in the 15th century, was a mere usurpation.

† The freehold was evidently a carucate.

‡ *Qu.* Whether military service?

PEDIGREE OF GREENACRES.



Next is Chatburn, so called from its shady stream, once probably dedicated to St. Ceadda, the patron saint of the diocese, commanding, on the North side, a beautiful view of one of the most fertile tracts of Ribblesdale, from Salley to Bolton.

From an ancient survey of this manor, I find, that in the reign of queen Elizabeth it consisted of 365 acres of copyhold land, divided into oxgang land, which paid an ancient rent of 4*d.* per acre; of rood or essart land, at 5*d.* and of hall demesne, at 1*s.* In the same survey, these are asserted to have been ancient prescriptive payments from the time of Edward I. which the foregoing inquisition, so far as it relates to Chatburn, will prove to be untrue; for the hall demesne was then demised to tenants at will, at a rent of 6*d.* per acre, which may therefore be considered as the rack-rent of the time. The ancient oxgang land, held in bondage, which is the old copyhold tenure, did indeed pay 4*d.*; but the essart lands did not then exist:—a circumstance which can alone account for their being burdened with an heavier rent than the oxgang land, as their quality was generally inferior to that of the other, the first planters and improvers of the country having usually, in the Saxon times, skill to choose the lowest and most fertile tracts of ground for the site of their villages, and for the first efforts of cultivation. The trifling consideration paid by the freeholders for their lands, scarcely 1*d. ob.* per acre, demonstrates the superior antiquity of the tenure. From a comparison of the lands held by Thomas del Clough and William le Heriz, in those two villages, the oxgang here will appear to have amounted to 18 acres; and the whole of the freehold-lands within the manor will fall rather short of eight oxgangs, or one carucate, which was beneath the average rate of the manors at the Domesday Survey, when 40 carucates of land, in the hundred of Blackburne, were

were held for 28 manors. Here was anciently a Chapel, dedicated to St. Martin*, which survived the dissolution of chantries, though the site is only now remembered by the name of the chapel croft; for, in the Assheton MSS. at Whalley, is a petition of the inhabitants of Chatburn to the House of Commons, while Lenthall was Speaker, shewing that one Mr. Green-acres, steward of the manor, had sold the lands and defaced the chapel of St. Martin, and praying a venue for inquiry and restitution of the same. This, however, appears to have had no effect.

About twenty-five years ago, a noble discovery of Roman medals was made in this village. They were all denarii, in the finest preservation, of the Upper Empire, and with a very great variety of reverses. The whole number must, according to all accounts, have been at least 1000: about forty of them are in my possession. Among them was a small lamp of bronze.

These townships, together with Heyhouses†, which last properly belong to the chapel of St. Michael in the Castle, form the parochial chapelry of Clitheroe; and, in the inquisition of 1650, in Lambeth MSS. it was found that the chapelry of Clitheroe, consisting of the foregoing townships, contained above 400 families; that their minister was Mr. Robert Marsden, an able divine, who received a salary of 11*l.* 10*s.* out of the duchy rents, together with 25*l.* from the commissioners of the county, and that the inhabitants of the aforesaid townships desire to be erected into a parish.

DOWNHAM.

At the Northern extremity of this favoured tract is the beautiful village of Downham, with its dependent hamlet and mesne manor of Twiston. The various manners in which this word has been anciently written, exceed the ordinary laxity of old English orthography; *Donnom*, *Donnum*, *Dounom*, *Dounum*, *Downom*, and, lastly, *Downham*. Of the etymology of the word there can be little doubt: *dun*, an *hill*, and *ham*, an *habitation*, exactly according either with the elevation on which the village stands, or with the green and swelling hill which rises in front of the manor-house. This is the only instance in which I have been able to trace the history of property to a period anterior to the Conquest; for, by the inestimable charter of Ilbert de Lacy (*vide* MERLAY MAGNA and Townley MSS. g. 14), the said Ilbert confirms to Ralph le Rous, his brother, the sixth part of a knight's fee, which Aufray had granted to him in Downom. It has been observed before, upon the authority of Domesday Book, and of the Status de Blackburnshire, that, previous to the Norman conquest, every village had its lord, holding only of the crown *in capite*; and, it may be inferred from this conveyance, that, after the kingdom was cantoned out by the Conqueror among his principal followers, the independent Saxon lords were not totally displaced from their possessions; but, though reduced to the condition of mesne lords, and subjected to the rigours of feudal law, yet they were permitted to hold, or by licence to alienate, their manors at pleasure. Aufray (like Olfrey in the old song, see Dr. Percy's Collection, vol. II. p. 308) is nothing more than a corruption of the venerable name of Alfred; and the discovery is so far of importance, as it stands single in the civil history of the parish, and affords to the curious mind a glimpse into the æra of Saxon independence and simplicity.

* "Pro stipite sc. Martini de Chatburn" occurs in all the later Computuses of Whalley Abbey.

† Lamb MS. *ut infra*.

The manor-house, the centre and one wing of which were rebuilt in the earlier years of the present possessor, and the second very lately, merits all the attention which his taste has bestowed upon it. In point of situation it has certainly no equal in the parish of Whalley. On a lime-stone soil, and with a fore-ground diversified by all that soft and swelling inequality of surface which distinguish the face of Craven, it commands a long and beautiful sweep of Ribblesdale to the West; and, by a small alteration in the disposition of the apartments, might command another, perhaps more striking, Northward, almost to the source of the Ribble and to Penigent. The great mass of Pendle, to the South, is not too near to exclude any portion of light and sunshine, and yet near enough to exhibit, with distinctness, a form more majestic than it assumes from any other point.

The manor of Downham, by some means or other, reverted to the chief lords of the fee; and, in the 35th Henry III.* Edmund de Lacy obtained a charter of free warren within his manors of Cliderho, Chatteburne, Dounum, &c. And thus it continued till the year 1353; when Henry duke of Lancaster granted it, with its appurtenances, to John de Dyneley, of a family lately settled at Clitheroe, and who had probably recommended themselves by their services, but originally from Dyneley in Cliviger. They bore: Argent, a fess, and three mullets in chief Sable; the middlemost pierced of the field.

Previously, however, to this grant, and at the time of the general inquisition *post mortem* Hen. de Lacy, the state of landed property here was as follows:—

				£.	s.	d.
Dounom, 117 acres of arable land, demised to						
tenants at will — — — —				2	19	0
10 acres of meadow — — — —				1	0	0
Certain <i>nativi</i> , holding 10 oxgangs in bondage —				1	10	0
The same for a certain customary rent —				0	3	0
Certain <i>cotarii</i> , for 9 tofts — — — —				0	4	6
Free tenants.	Walter de Waddyngton, for 3 oxgangs, and 20					
	acres of land — — — —			0	1	0
The ancient free- hold land was here about 1 carucate and 1-4th, which is very near the average.— <i>Vide</i> WORSTON.	Henry de Dounom, clerk, for 2 oxgangs and					
	3 tofts — — — —			0	2	9½
	Henry, son of Henry, 2 oxgangs — — — —			0	2	8
	Alan, son of Robert, for an essart — — — —			0	2	6
	Thomas de Chatburne, for a toft † — — — —			0	1	6
	Hugh de Dounom, for 1½ oxgang — — — —			0	2	0
	The heirs of Richard the clerk — — — —			0	5	2½
	Henry de Downom for a toft, 1 acre of land, 1 of					
	meadow — — — —			0	0	1
	Halmotes of Penelton, Worston, and Downom —			1	0	0
				£.7	14	3

* Dugdale's Bar. vol. I. p. 103.

† A toft was a messuage inferior to a farm-house, and superior to a mere cottage; or, in other words, a cottage, with a croft, or other small portion of land annexed to it.

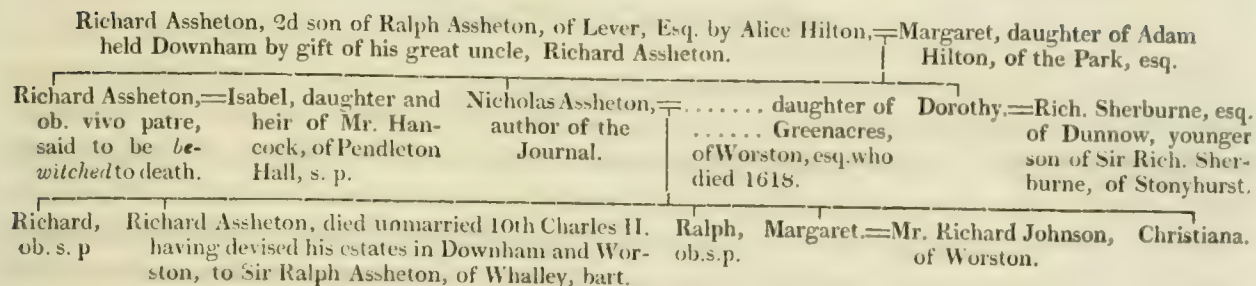
But to return.—The Assheton MSS. at Whalley Abbey enable me to trace the several descents and passages of this manor with unusual exactness.—1st, then, John, son of Adam de Dineley, married (as per deed dated 1308) Margaret, daughter of Henry de Downham, and so probably became possessed of a considerable estate here before he obtained the manor. He had Richard, who by his first wife, Alice de Kighley, had Henry, who married Alice, daughter of John Malhom, of Craven, and died in 1384, leaving only an illegitimate daughter, married to Richard Ratcliffe, of Todmorden. By his second wife, Alice Franke, Richard Dineley had issue John, the inquisition after whose death bears date 1416, who had another John, living 27th Henry VI. and married —, daughter of — Tempest, of Broughton, by whom he had Richard, who married a daughter of Sir Ralph Pudsey, of Bolton. The inquisition after his death is dated 3d Henry VIII. He had John, who died before his father, leaving William, the inquisition after whose death bears date 27th Henry VIII. leaving Henry Dineley*, who, by Grace, daughter of Nic. Tempest, of Bracewell, had William, who lived in the end of Elizabeth's reign, at Leake, near Boston, his father having sold the manor of Downham, Aug. 13, 1545, to Richard Greenacres and Nicholas Hancock; which three parties afterwards sold it again to Ralph Greenacres; who by deed, dated Aug. 2, 1558, sold it to Richard Assheton, the purchaser of Whalley Abbey. Again, in 1566, Richard Assheton granted the manor of Downham as a consideration for the assignment of a lease of the rectory of Whalley to Edward Dantzey, Esq. Dantzey, however, reconveyed, but for what consideration does not appear. Shortly after, Richard Assheton, the elder, appears to have devised it to Richard Assheton, brother of Ralph the younger; whose grandson, another Richard, dying unmarried, left it once more to Sir Ralph Assheton, of Whalley, bart. and thus terminated the first line of the Asshetons of Downham. But Sir Ralph Assheton, jun. bart. having no issue, by deed dated 1678, settled the manor of Downham upon his cousin, Richard Assheton, of Cuerdale, Esq. grandson of Radcliffe Assheton, Esq. second son of Ralph Assheton, of Lever; a settlement which Sir Edmund Assheton, his brother, attempted in vain to shake. Thus it became separated once more from the elder branch of Whalley; and, from this Richard, lineally descended to William Assheton, Esq. his great great grandson, and present lord of the manor of Downham †.

The descent of the two branches which have successively held this manor as distinct from the older branch, are as follows:—

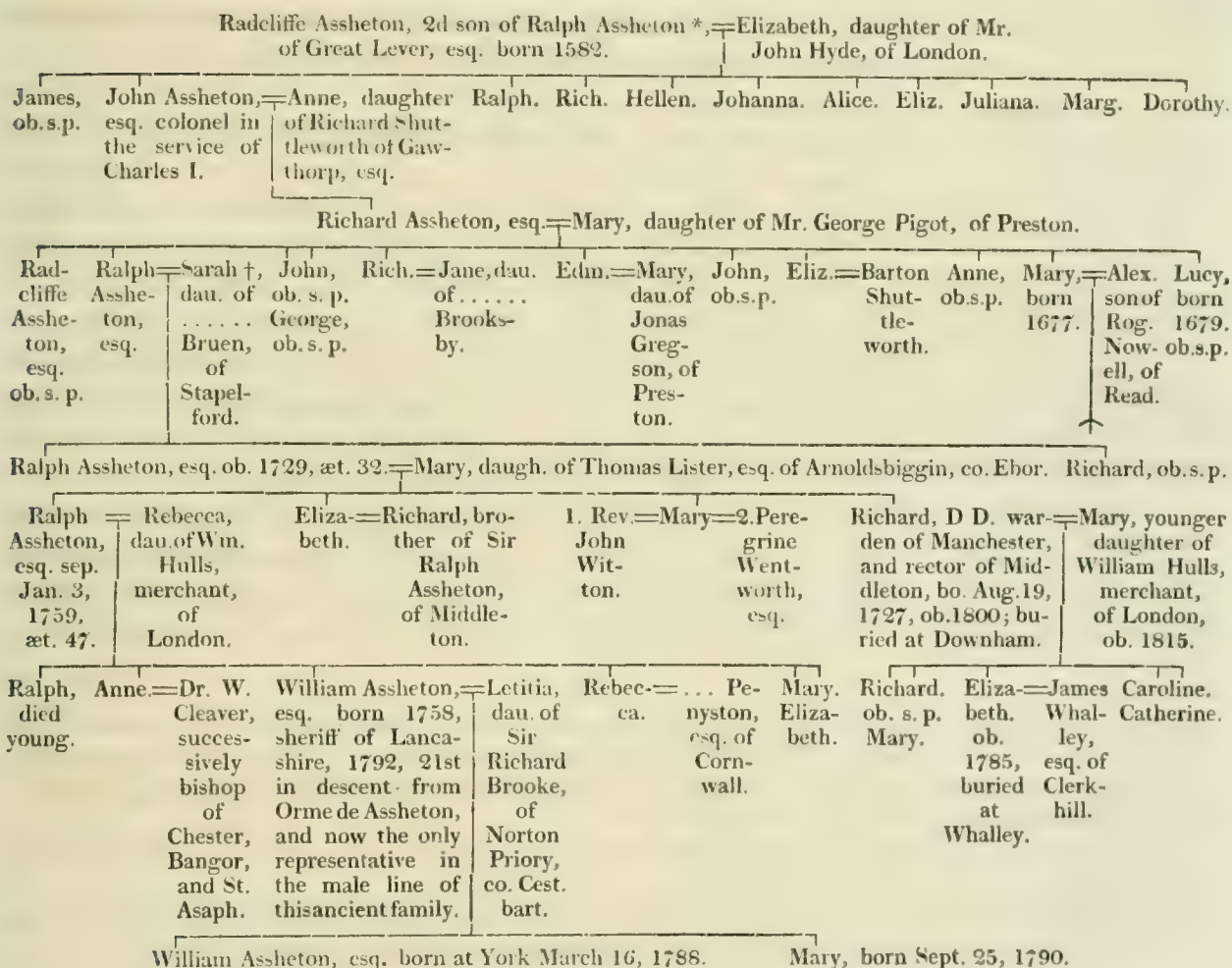
* A ring was lately found, behind the manor-house at Downham, bearing the arms of Dineley, together with an additional charge in base, resembling a grasshopper; but too indistinct to be made out. It was of silver, but thickly plated with gold; an instance of economy, in the fabrication of rings, which I never observed before.

† For the descent of this ancient and respectable family from Orme de Assheton, through the line of Middleton, see Thoresby's "Ducatus Leodiensis;" and, for the branch of Great Lever and Whalley, see this History, under that title.

PEDIGREE of ASSHETON of Downham—first descent.



ASSHETON, of Downham and Cuerdale—present descent.



* There is now, at Downham, a good portrait of this gentleman, with the arms and quarterings of the family. and another Richard Assheton, esq. his great grandson, both removed from Cuerdale.

† Interred at Walton, with this distich on a brass plate:—

“Nunc obiit, cohibe lachrymas, nec credito lector
“ Vitam, quæ fuerat non nisi sancta, brevem.”

The Bruens, of Stapelford, were celebrated for their piety.

The JOURNAL of NICHOLAS ASSHETON, of Downham, Esq. for Part of the Year 1617
and Part of the Year following.

To enliven the dry detail of Pedigrees, which are very uninteresting, excepting to the descendants of the families so recorded, or to a few thorough-paced Antiquaries, I have added the following original narrative, which tallies most exactly with the subject of this work; and shews our ancestors of the parish of Whalley not merely in the universal circumstances of birth, marriage, and death, but acting and suffering in their individual characters; their businesses, sports, bickerings, carousings, and, such as it was, religion. The Journal is the more valuable, as it is the work of a man strongly inclined to Puritanism; because it will shew how consistent a zeal for sermons, exercises, &c. was then accounted with a lax and dissipated course of life. A comparison of the manners of the parish, among the higher ranks, at the distance of two centuries and at present, I am happy to say, is clearly in favour of the latter.

“1617.—May 2d. Hunting the otter: killed one: taken another, quick, at Salley. Sp. * *vid.*

May 12th. Father Greenacres, mother, aunt Besse, John, wyffe, self, at ale †. Sp. *ivd.*

Do. 13th. Went to Whytewell ‡ to Mr. Steward, keipping the swainemote; sp. *vid.* then away.

Do. 18th § (Sunday), to church. Pſon preached. Text, 1st Ps. 3. Alsoe in aft. pr. 1st Ps. 5, 6. Sp. Wyne, all alone, *xind.* so home. First tyme I wore my assehe-cullord close.

Do. 19. Wee all to Brandlesome; Mr. Greenhalgh || and his wyffe at Middleton. Sir Ric. Assheton had beene verie dangerously sicke, but somewhat better. Some little unkyndeness twixt Mr. Watmough and Mr. Greenhalgh, cause Mr. Watmoughe nor his curate went meete ye dead corps of Mr. Green: child at ye church steele, or some such matter.

1st June (Sunday). Mr. C. P. moved my brother Sherborne ¶ from Sir Richard Houghton, to do him such fav^r, countenance, grace, curtesie, as to weare his clothe, and attend him at Houghton, at ye kings comming in August, as divers other gentlemen were moved and would. He likewise moved mee. I answered I would bee willing and redie to doe S^r Ric. anie ſvice.

* *i. e.* spent.

† *Ale*, in old English, is the alehouse; *atten ale*, at the ale-house. The first singularity, in the habits of the gentry at this period is, that males and females alike frequented the public-houses; and that, after dining at home, it was the practice to adjourn thither with their company. Father Greenacres is Richard Greenacres, esq. of Worston, whose daughter, Dorothy, Mr. N. Assheton had married.

‡ This beautiful place had long been the court-house of the forest of Bowland. In 1461, one of the inquisitions after the death of John lord Clifford, killed at Towton, was held at Whitewell.

§ Mr. Assheton at this time principally resided at Dunnoe, near Sladeburne. The rector was Abdias Assheton, son of Abdias, son of John, both rectors of Middleton, as the last was son of Sir Rich. Assheton, of that place. After evening-service the Journalist took his bottle alone, at the inn.

|| These were the Greenhalghs of Brandlesome, near Bury. The name became extinct about 80 years ago; but the estate was sold by the present Earl of Landaff, about the year 1770, for 25,000*l.* The large old family-house is, I believe, yet remaining. Mr. Watmough was Rector of Bury, and seems to have incurred the displeasure of Mr. G. by some want of attention at the funeral of his child.

¶ Brotnor Sherborne is Richard Sherborne of Dunnor, near Sladeburne, Esq. (second son of Sir Richard Sherborne of Stonyhurst,) who married Dorothy Assheton, the writer's sister. The King was now expected at Hoghton Tower; and Sir Richard Hoghton was naturally desirous to make a splendid display of his friends and connexions.

June

June 2d. Tried for a fox, but found none.

June 4th. This * evening came Sir Tho. Medcalfe wth 40 menn, or thereabouts, at sun-sett or after, to Raydall House, in Wensladale, wth gunns, abt half a score bills, picks, swords, and other warlike p^vision, and besett the house, where was my aunt Robinson and 3 of her little children, w^{ch} went forth shutting ye dore. My aunt left ye children, and went to Sir Tho. desyring to know the meaning of that force; if for possession of the house and land, and by what authoritie; and if better than her husband's, whoe was now at London, she would avoyde wth all hers quietlie. Hee answered, that hee would not soe much satisfie her: his will was his law, or authoritie for that tyme: soe they would not suffer her to goe into the house for her stockings and head-dressing and shoes, w^{ch} shee wanted, but shee was forced to goe a long myle, wth her little children, to a towne called Buske, and thence a foote to Morton, two miles thence.—This nyght was the house shott at manie tymes and entered, but rescued.

June 5. To Mr. Midlom's and S^r Arthur Daykins? 2 justices, shee could get no reamedie; but went to York, duple-horsed, to ye Councell. Shee left in Raydall House 3 of her sonnes, Jo., Wm., & Rob. Robinson, and 7 servants and retaynors; one Thom. Yorke, of Knaresbor', a boy newly come wth a l^{re}, and 2 šving maydes. These, wth great currage, mayntayned ye possession, in great danger, against a lawless, rude, and unrulie companie, des-ŕrate and graceless in their actions and intents.

A mess^r came to me with let^{res} from Morton: found me at Downham; and my aunt desired mee to come to assist her in that ac^{on}; soe we resolv. to goe ye next Moñ.

June 6. To Gisburne, Newsham, Hellifield, Swinden, Otterburne, Kirkby Malghdale; ther we drunk. Kettlewell, then dyned; so to Tarbotte (Sharbotton), Buckden Rake; first house in Morton: ther light and enquired, and resolved to goe to S^r Tho. to Buske, to move him forbear further violence. Soe to Buske: my ladie ther, but not hee: gone to Marrett†. Found him drunk; and some half a score, or therabouts, of his followers likewise. Ther met us one George Scarr, his mann, wth divers well furnished with weepons. This fellow being in drinke, gave us manie insolent respectless speeches; such as, if hee or his companie had been sober, or wee anie whit equall in numbers and p^vision, we had not with such patience.

Neither colde we be suffered to goe to ye house to spake wth them; therefore we went back to Morton, quickening, to see S^r Tho. in the morning.

This even^g, abt sunsett or after, was shooting at ye house, and one Jas Hodgson, one of the rash barbarians of Sir Tho. coming upon ye house, was shott and slayne.

* This is a most extraordinary story. The origin of this petty war is not explained. Sir Thomas Metcalfe, who seems to have been a man brutal and ferocious, was of Nappay, in Wensleydale, and might probably have some colour of right to the house and estate of Raydale, which he chose to assert by force.

Raydale is an estate and manor of more than 3000 acres, abounding with game, on the banks of the beautiful little lake of Semerwater, in a remote valley, which forks off from the upper part of Wensleydale, at Bainbridge. A primitive simplicity of manners still prevails among the inhabitants; though changed, in some degree, within the last half century. For on the demise of the late king, so little had newspapers, or other vehicles of modern information, found their way into these retirements, that the people really believed the crown of England to be elective; and that the Lord of Raydale, from his wealth and consequence, was likely to be put in nomination.

† Probably Marsede, a village in the neighbourhood.

June 7. Noe speche to be had wth Sir Tho.; but my aunt came. Shee gave very few speeches to us; but onl. that the Sergeaunt of Mace and Pursuivant were coming from Yorke, and shee went to Raydall House; but in ye waye shee was stayed, and unmercifully used. Presently the Serj. and Purs. and Mr. Midlome, the justice of peace, came to Raydall; and ther thos officers took Sir Tho. wth some five or six of his companie; the rest dispersed, ev^{ry} one a sundry waye, and went to the house and sett them at libtie.

Whitsunday, 8. We four to Kettlewell, to Kirkby Malghdale; dyned—to Gisburne; drunk wyne. Sp. in this journey, *vis.*

June 11th. Tryed for a fox, found none; rayne; wet thorough. Home agayne.

June 15. Sunday Trin. P^{son} preached; to church. Aft. sermon; sp. *vid.* Home. To church; p^{son} preached.

June 16. Foxhunting.

Do. 17. I and brother Greenacres* to Portfield (rayne), then to Whalley; foxhunting. To the pond: a duck and dogg. To the abbey: drunk there. Home.

June 20. At home. A. W. and young Mr. B. shot at Bodkin†, at Sladeborn; and, at 22 roodes, A. W. wone.

Sunday, 22. P^{son} preached, morn. and aft. Rad. Assheton‡ christened; young Mr. Sherborne, of Stonylhurst, Mr. Talbot, Salesbury, godf: cooz. Braddyll, Portfield, godmother.

June 23. Downham. Ther one came to us in the strete, and asked if we heare nothing of a bay gelding, stolen from Mr. Holte's, Castleton, by the miller ther, and one silver bowle and 18 silver spoones. I took him to thalehouse, and spent *xiiid.* on him. I lent him *iiis.* Hee was a cheate.

June 24. To Worston Woode. Tryed for ye foxe; found nothing. Towler lay at a rabbitt, and wee stayed and wrought and took her. Home to Downham. A foote-race.

June 25. To the foxhunting. Found in the warren. I hounded and killed a bitch-fox. Wee to Salthill; ther wee had a bowson§: wee wrought him out and killed him.

June 26. Tryed for fox in Worston Wood; found none. I to Bolton, in Bowland. Ther p^{son}||, patron, &c. To Sladeborne. Ther we found about the p^{son}age cous. J. Assheton, of Middleton¶.

June 27. Cooz. J. Assheton, self, father, brother Sherborne, fyshed wth two waydes up to ye bridge; sent some fysh to ye p^{son}age. Dyned at p^{son}age. Spent *vid.*

June 28. Easinton woods, for a fox; found nothing. Jo. Assheton and I to Brunghill, to fynd a hare. To Sladeborne; ther brother Sherborne gave Jo. wyne. Sp. *xiiiiid.*

June 29. St. Peter. To church; p^{son} preached. Dyned at p^{son}age. Aftⁿ, p^{son} preached.

* John Greenacres, who died s. p. five years after this time. Portfield, near Whalley, was then the residence of the wealthy family of the Braddylls.

† The same mark, I suppose, as pricks.

‡ This was the baptism of Ralph, son of Sir Ralph Assheton, of Whalley Abbey, bart. and afterwards the second baronet of that name. As "young Mr. Sherborne" was a sponsor on that occasion, the family must then have been Protestants. Of the two sons of Richard Sherborne, Esq. Henry and Richard, the first is said to have died in 1612; the second in 1667, aged 55.—In this account there is evidently some mistake, as neither a dead man nor an infant could have been sponsor. Mrs. Braddyll was Millicent, daughter of John Talbot, of Bashall, Esq. Mr. Talbot, of Salesbury, was John Talbot, born 1582, and probably knighted after this time, as in the pedigree he is styled Sir John Talbot.

§ A badger.

|| Parson and patron. Alexander Emott was then rector, and . . . Pudsay, Esq. patron of Bolton.

¶ A younger son of Richard Assheton, of Middleton, Esq. who died s. p.

June 30. Self, father, p̄son, Jo. Assheton, *cum aliis*, a fox-hunting to Harden, up to Scout Stones; sett ye greyhounds; found fox; a fyne ; lost him in the holds.

July 1st. Hunting fox to Stirrop; found none.

July 3d. I and Ric. Sherborne to Sladeborne. It rayned; so wee stayed and tipled most of the day, *and were too foolish*. Sp^t. iis.

July 4. Hunting fox.—July 7. Father, mother, and coz. Radcliffe's wyfe, to Whalley, a p̄senting my coz. Assheton's wyfe, that lay in*. Coming from Sladeborne, met Mr. Talbot, of Bashall. To Sladeborne; back again: here tipled till afternoon: left them.

July 9. To the ale all: Goffe Whitacre sent for me late to him, and presently back. When I laide me downe, I was sicke wth drinke.

10. Home. P'son, &c. fyshed with great netts; gott some 47 fishes, and layde away.

July 11. Two little drafts, with scamel† only, above Newton. Got ab^t 65 fish, and no samon; so home.

July 12 (Sunday). To church.

July 14th. I to Dunkenhalgh. To Blackburn, to meete old Sir Ric. Molyneaux and Mr. Bradshaw, and wyves and two sons: then we went past the *Bund*, and mett Sir Tho. Gerrard and his lady; Sir Ric. Molyneaux, jun.; his lady and hee came p̄sently after, with young Mr. Walmsley‡, whose wyfe, Sir Ric. Molyneaux's daughter§, was her first tyme of coming to Dunkenhalgh. Supped, and so to Ric. Ryshton's, to bed.

July 15. To Dunkenhalgh. Dyned. Preston; musick; dancing.

July 16. Sir Ric. with all the rest of the gen^{ts}, to Whalley Abbey; ther wee had a banquet. Sir Ric. Molyneaux, jun. coz. Assheton, self, *cum aliis*, to John Lawes||; back to th' abbey. All but two ould knights to Salburie; then had one course, and missed. East Bradford. Ther Mr. Townley, Carr, *cum al.* from London; made merrie.

July 18. Sir Ric. and Mr. Assheton made a match, dunn gelding agst. a dunn nagg of Sir Ric. at Lirple, for 20 pieces a side; Sir Ric. and my Cooz. to ride light as they can, so as Sir Ric. be ten stone.

July 19. I heare, that as wheras ther was an Exercise¶ granted to be at Downham, by ye byshopp, it was upon contrarie l^res stayed.

July 20 (Sunday).—To church: p̄son preached, 28 Matt. 18, to end; but handled 18 only. Afternoon, to church; Mr. Leigh preached of the Creed: first time he preached.

July 22. Maudlin Day. To Broxholme** to dinner. Father, brother, p̄son, to Clitheroe Fair. Cos. Assheton there; coz. Ralph Assheton, of Middleton. Sp. xviii^d. To Worston to supper; so to Downham. Late to our beds.

* The custom of making presents to women in childbed is yet called p̄sēting, in Craven. Mrs. Ratcliff was Dorothy Assheton, first wife of Savile Radcliffe, of Todmorden and Great Mealey, Esq. Mr. Talbot was soon afterwards knighted.

† *Scamel*, a catch-net; from *scamble*, "catch that catch may." Cotgrave.—Salmon was then caught as high as Sladeburn.

‡ Thomas Wamsley, of *St. Andrew's* knighted. § Juliana, daughter of Sir Richard Molyneaux, of Sephton.

|| That is, from the Abbey the company adjourned to the inn.

¶ This Journal is a strange medley. Immediately after an horse-race comes an account of the stoppage of the "Exercise," or lecture, at Downham. Yet Bishop Morton was thought to be favourable to the Puritans.

** This appears to be the true name of Browsholme, the holme or meadow of the Brock. Dianer, at that time, inferred no stay afterwards, as it was usual to dine at one place and drink at another. And here are all the first people of the neighbourhood flocking to a common fair.

July 23. To Harrop Fell: met Mr. Parker*, *cum aliis*, a fox-hunting.

July 24. To Whalley, at former request of cooz. Assheton. Bought† some things fo. my apparel at Abbey.

July 25. St. James Day‡. At Whalley: ther a rushbearing, but much less solemnitie then formerlie. Sp. xiiid. This night was Laun. Ward somewhat pleasant. Extreame heate.

Sunday. Pson preached; after dinner, Mr. Leigh. To Worston. Spent xiiid. ther merrie.

Aug. 11th. My brother Sherborne§ his taylor brought him a suit of aḡpall, and us two others, and a livey cloake, from Sir Ric. Houghton, that we should attend him at the King's coming, rather for his grace and reputⁿ shoeing his neibors love, then anie exacting of mean service.

Aug. 12. Coz. Townley|| came and broke his fast at Dunnoe, and went away. To Mirescough. Sir Ric. gone to meet the King; we aft^r him to Ther the King slipt into the forest¶ another way, and we after and overtook him, and went past to the Yate; then Sir Ric. light; and when the king came in his coach, Sir Ric. stept to his side, and tould him ther his Maj^s forrest began; and went some ten roodes to the left, and then to the lodge. The King hunted, and killed a buck.

Aug. 13. To Mirescough; the court. Cooz. Assheton** came w^h his gentlemanlie servants as anie was ther, and himself excellently well appointed. The King killed five bucks. The Kinges speche abt liſtie to pipeing and honest recreation††. We that were in Sir Ric^s liv^y had nothing to do but riding upp and downe.

Aug. 14. Us three to Preston: ther prepⁿ made for Sir Gilbert Hoghton and other knights. Wee were desyred to be merrie, and at nyght were soe. Steeven Hamerton‡‡ and wyffe, and Mrs. Doll. Lyster, supped with us att our lodg^e. All Preston full.

Aug. 15. The King came to Preston: ther, at the crosse, Mr. Breares, the lawyer, made a speche, and the corporⁿ presented him with a bowle; and then the King went to a banquet in the town-hall, and soe away to Houghton: ther a speche made. Hunted, and killed a stagg. Wee attend §§ on the Lord's table.

* Thomas Parker, of Browsholme, Esq. who appears to have been the builder of that house.

† Another feature of manners very dissimilar to the present.

‡ This was an high festival at Whalley. In the old churchwardens' accounts there are annual charges for dressing and cleaning the church, church-yard, &c. for this occasion. It is curious, however, to observe, that even in 1617 the old festivities were beginning to decline.

§ Such were the gradations of society then, that the gentry of England disdained not, on occasions like the present, to wear the livery of the rank immediately above them. Yet there is an evident anxiety in Mr. Assheton's mind to have it understood that his appearing in Sir Richard Assheton's livery was merely a token of good-will.

|| Richard Towneley, of Towneley, Esq. who married Jane Assheton, of Lever. He, too, must have been on his way to wait upon the King.

¶ Myerscough Forest, near Garstang, then and long after well stocked with deer.

** Of Whalley Abbey. Mr. Assheton seems proud of his cousin's equipage and appearance. The spirit of clanship, it might have been supposed, would have led him to have made part of that "gentlemanlie train."

†† The King was little aware of the effects which this ill-judged licence was likely to produce on the common people: the relics of it are hardly worn out to this day; and there is scarcely a Sunday evening, in any village of the county of Lancaster, which does not exhibit symptoms of obedience to this injunction of "honest recreation."

‡‡ Stephen Hammerton, of Hellyfield Peel, Esq. and Mary Lister, of Midhope, his wife, who was probably sister of Mrs. Doll. Lister.

§§ A relic of old feudal manners, under which every rank served at the tables of their immediate superiors.

Aug. 16. Houghton. The King hunting: a great companie: killed affore dinner a brace of staggs. Verie hott: soe hee went in to dinner. Wee attend the lords' table; and abt 4 o'clock the King went downe to the Allome mynes*, and was ther an hower, and viewed them p̄ciselie, and then went and shott at a stag, and missed. Then my Lord Compton had lodged two brace. The King shott again, and brake the thigh-bone. A dogg long in coming, and my Lo. Compton shott agⁿ and killed him. Late in to supper.

Aug. 17. Houghton. Wee served the lords with biskett, wyne, and jellie. The Bushopp of Chester, Dr. Morton, p̄ched before the King. To dinner. Abt 4 o'clock, ther was a rush-bearing† and pipeing afore them, affore the King in the middle court; then to supp. Then, abt ten or eleven o'clock, a maske of noblemen, knights, gentlemen, and courtiers, afore the King, in the middle round, in the garden. Some speeches: of the rest, dancing the Huckler, Tom Bedlo, and the Cowp Justice of Peace‡.

Aug. 18. The King went away abt 12 to Lathome. Ther was a man almost slayne wth fighting §. Wee back with Sir Ric. Hee to seller|| and drunk with us, and used us kindlie in all man^r of friendlie speche. Preston: as merrie as Robin Hoode and all his fellowes.—Aug. 19. All this morning wee plaid the bacchanalians.

Aug. 21. I to Boulton, to p̄son Emmot. Would have borrowed 30*l*. but hee had it not, or would not have itt. Sp. *ivd.* with hym.

Aug. 22. A faire day: all to hay: got all wee had in ¶.

Aug. 23. Downham. Hunting fox on Worsoe: killed one. Another to Pendle. Killed another fox, and earthed another, after^d killed in the hole.

Aug. 24 (Sunday). Word came, as I was going to church, that cooz. Thomas Starkie's wyffe was dead this morning, abt two o'clock, and hee desired mee to come to him, and my father and mother, to ye burial **. Soe to church: p̄son preached. Father, mother, self, Fogg, and Carryer, to Downham. I to Twiston: a heavie house. Back to Downham.

Aug. 25. Assize at Lancaster, Sir Edward Bromley, S^r. the Baron Judges. To Twiston. Tom Starkie, Mills his father-in-lawe, coz. Gyles Parker, and my self,

* The alum-mines, at no great distance from Hoghton Tower. Webster says: "Sir Richard Houghton set up a very profitable mine of allum nigh unto Hoghton Tower, in the hundred of Blackburn, within these few years (his book was published in 1672, but probably written long before), where store of very good alome was made and sold." *Hist. of Metals*, p. 24.—It appears to have been held by the family, under a lease from the Crown.

† A Lancashire specimen of "honest recreation," suited, no doubt, to the taste of James. The whole scene, to a feeling or a serious mind, is disgusting: a strange medley of dancing, drinking, piping, "rushbearing," and preaching, heightened by the unfeeling mention of the King's maiming a noble animal for his sport. I cannot conceive that Bishop Morton would find himself quite at ease, in the midst of such a scene.

‡ These, I suppose, were ancient dances, the history of which I have little either of will or skill to investigate.

§ "Honest Lancashire recreation" again.

|| We are indebted to the French (and it is no small obligation) for the temperate elegance of modern tables, and particularly for the practice of drinking wine at dinner. At that time they were almost wholly divorced. It is not above 60 years since the Lancashire gentry, were in the habit of adjourning after dinner to the cellars of inns, and drinking themselves drunk with wine immediately drawn from the pipe.

¶ Six weeks later (allowing for the Old Style) than at present. This can only be accounted for, by supposing that the meadows were depastured till "Grass-day."

** This is characteristic. Mr. A. would not visit a friend in distress, before he had attended church. The friend was Mr. Thomas Starkie, of Twiston, ancestor of the present possessor.

carried forth the corppes*; soe to church. Mr. Raufhe preached; text, Rom. viii. 12, 13. Soe shee was buried, and dinner 40 mess. provided for. Dyned in the hall †.

Aug. 26. Hunting fox‡ to Worsoe: found nothing. The 2d tyme of the Exerccyse: Mr. Maurice should have come, but did not. My fathér stayed to have mett hym. Mr. Peele pched in forenoon, and Mr. Brooke in the after: Dyned. With my father to the warren. They stacke ther deare hay. Sent Fogg to Burnley, abt borrowing of money §.

Aug. 27. Downham. Fogg came wth answer from Mr. Tho. Whittaker and Royle Townley. Noe lending of money. Began to leade first of our corne-wheat.

Aug. 28. Fogg to R. H. to procure money: not at home. Rainie day.

Aug. 29. I to Whalley. Had fall off my horse, in Horrobin Lane.

Aug. 30. Went forth with Gregson, but light of nothing. To the keeper's: hee with us betwixt Crosdale|| and top of Burne, and into Whitendale, to have killed a stag with peece, but found none.

Aug. 31 (Sunday). To church. P'son preached. Aft. Mr. Leigh.

Sept. 1. To Totteridge. Ralph Anderton shott a stag, at topp of the East end of Totteridge. The keeper's two hounds cast off: brave sport: killed him in the Fence. Soe to Thom. Parker's ¶. Broke him up: eat the chine and the liver.

Sept. 4. Worston: thither came Sir John Talbot: 1st tyme I saw him after his knightd at Lathom. Hee came to kill a buck, which was sent to Whalley to my cooz. Assheton**. To Whalley. Next, with my cooz. Tho. Braddyll, lately come into the countree. Mr. Chauncellor of the Dutchie, Sir Jo. Dacombe ††, and Sir Edw. Mosley the atty, Mr. Wm. Fanshaw, auditor; Sir Ric. Molyneaux, with divers other countree gentlemen, came to Whalley: light at the Abbey, and p'sently after went to church, wher Mr. Chancellor wished the copyholders to elect, out of evy manor, 2 or 3 senceable menn, and they should to-morrow heare what manner of composition the King would accept.

Sept. 5. After supper, a motion made to hunt in Bolland next day, which the Chancellor and all the companie resolved to do ‡‡.

Sept. 6. All but Mr. Chancellor into Bolland. At Stable, Oak. A stag killed at Harden,

* An ancient usage. The nearest relations always took up the corpse at the door; and once more, if the distance was considerable, at the church-gates. By forty messes, I suppose, are to be understood so many dishes of meat.

† At Downham.

‡ Fox-hunting and church-exercise on the same day!

§ Thirty pounds was the sum wanted. To procure which, the borrower and his confidential servant had to ride many miles.—Royle Townley was Nicholas Townley of Royle, I suppose, who died a rich man in 1645.—Mr. Thomas Whitaker was, I suppose, my ancestor, of Holme, who died in 1630.

|| Crosdale, Whitendale, Batterise, topp of Burne, Totteridge, Fence, Staple Oak, Harden, and Brennan; all memorable names in the annals of Bowland.

¶ Adjourned to Browsholme: broke up the stag, and ate the chine and liver the same day on which he was killed!

** At Worston, Mr. Greenacres had a warren, or paddock, stocked with 28 deer. It still retains the name.

†† So in MS. but it is Duncombe.

‡‡ This was a busy year. The occasion of this great resort to Whalley was to settle with the copyholders of Blackburnshire, the compositions for perfecting their titles. Men of rank were then men of business. An agent or two would now have transacted the whole. But these great men did not forget their pleasures; for, on the second day, all but the Chancellor betook themselves to hunting in Bowland. It was extremely indecorous, and uncanonical, to hold a meeting on business purely secular, in the Church.

and another a little above, which made excellent sport. I with Mr. Auditor, and the rest, to Broxholme, soe to Whalley, and supped; then to the Portfield, late.

Sept. 7 (Sunday). All to church: Mr. Leigh, of Standish, preached*. Afternoon, copyhold business in hand. Divers gent's went into the towne wth S^r John Talbot. My father lay in the abbey. I to Portfield again.

Sept. 13. All hunt in James Whitendale's office †: a stag from above Brennan.

Sept. 14 (Sunday). P'son preached.

Sept. 15. To Batterise: ther met our old companie of hunters, overrun out of Brennan Stones again.

Sept. 17. To Batterise: to Burnside and Whitendale, overrun with good deare. A knubb was killed, and a calfe. To Broxholme, and soe to Portfield.

Sept. 18. To Whalley: a while pleasant. Home. Sp. xiii.

Sept. 22. I to Portfield: ther paid up and made merrie. Mr. Alexander Nowell ‡, jun. Tables § slurring almost all night. Some conceyted unkindness between Abbey and Portfield ||, but Mr. Assheton the angrie man.

Sept. 28 (Sunday). Word came to me that a stag was at the spring: Walbank took his peece, and Miller his, but hee was not to be found ¶. Miller shot with Walbank at a mark, and won.

Sept. 30. Manchester. Cooz. Assheton, of Whalley, ther. Mr. Hart, my Lord of Canterburie's gent. was sicke, which hindered the commissⁿ ** for business of Canterburie, concerning p'sonage of Blakeburne, Whalley, and Rachdale.

Oct. 4. Brother Sherborne, with cooz. Bannester ††, to Calwedg, to Sir Rich. Fleetwood, ab^t some money owing by Sir R's father to my Ladye.

Sunday, 5. Church: p'son preached. Mr. Tho. Houghton, ten days since, gave up stewardship in Bolland. Mr. Chr. Parkinson chosen steward, and Mr. Wm. Houghton had charge of ye game as is bruted ††.

Oct. 6. Clitheroe. Steward Nutter §§ kept Leet, Hallmot, and Wapontake, all of a day. Not soe kept in man's memory affore.

Oct. 10. Hunted in the forest. Mr. Wm. Houghton gave friendlie entertainment and contentment.

Oct. 22. My bro. Anderton was at Houghton upon a commⁿ from the Kynge to view the Allome-mynes.

Oct. 27. A hunting. Found no fox: killed a hare.

Oct. 29. Riding to Worston. Bro. Houghton and coz. Henry hauking; lost ther hauke.

* Parson of Standish, a man memorable in his day. He was one of the tutors of Prince Henry; and was great grandfather of Dr. Leigh, author of the History of Lancashire.

† Office is, here, a keeper's walk. I find a vestige of this sense of the word in Du Cange, voce *officium*.

‡ Younger son of Roger Nowell, of Read, Esq.

§ Shuffleboard, very fashionable now.

|| Abbey and Portfield seldom were upon cordial terms.

¶ No objection to kill a stray stag on a Sunday.

** This was a commission issued by the Archbishop to enquire into the value of the three rectories, previous to the renewal of a lease.

†† I suppose this to have been Bannister of Altham. Colwick, the seat of this branch of the Fleetwoods, was in Staffordshire.

‡‡ That is, the deputy stewardship. Sir Richard Molineaux was, at this time, the principal.

§§ Nutter, of Pendle Forest, was deputy many years.

Nov.

Nov. 1. Clitheroe. Ther Talbot, Bashal, and Rob. Radclif, of Preston. Staid with them awhile. Sp. *ixd.*—Nov. 2. Sunday. Pson preached. To Ev^s Prayer. Sp. *iid.*—Nov. 3. Pson cam to dynner, and Mr. Leigh, Mr. Fetherston, Pson of Bentham.—Nov. 4. Downe to the water: Dick killed a mallard and a duck at one shoote; Sherborne killed a water ousle, 2 pigeons, and a thrush.—Nov. 5. Gunpowder Treason, twelve years since, should have beene; but God's mercie and goodness delivered us from the snare of divelish invention. To church; pson preached: dyned at psonage.—Nov. 9. Sunday. To church. Pson preached excellently. Home. Afternoon, church.—Nov. 12. Martin, Ryley, and Carr, cam into the hall to us with ale.—Nov. 14. Bro. Sherborne went to th' Arrope and Skelfshaw Fells with gunnes; shott at a morecock *, struck feathers off, and missed.—Nov. 15. On hill above Walloper Well, shott two young hinds; p^sently comes the keeper and broke the other deere, had the skin and a shoulder, and vs. and *said hee would take noe notice*†.—Nov. 18. Downham; had a faire course wth a haire.—Nov. 19. Worston. To the Warren wth my father; sawe ye deare, 28 in all.—Nov. 23. Sunday. To church; Pson preached.—Nov. 24. To Downham, by Harropwell. Had some sport at Moorgame with my piece, but killed not.—Nov. 25. St. Katharine's Day ‡. To Downham. Ther an exercise. To Worston. Tom. Starkie, &c. verie merry, and well all. All at supper. Wee were all temperately pleasant, as in the nature of a festivall day.—Nov. 29. Clitheroe, Ad. Wh. shot with W. Walbank at x score in the long bowe for xxs. shold have shott with steel bowes, but Walbank had broke his string.—Nov. 30. St. Andrew. Church. Pson preached.

Dec. 3. Went to the steward, Mr. Pkinson. Somewhat to busie wth drink.—Dec. 7. To church. Pson preached. To Downham. Met P.; borrowed xxxl. of him, and mad a bargain wth him to have cl. and pay him xl. a year for x years, and if his two children die w^{thin} that tyme goe away wth the cl.—Dec. 23. To Rowe Moore, and killed ther 3 heath cockes.—Dec. 24. I, my wyffe, and Fogg, to Whalley, to kepe Christmas with my Cooz. Assheton.—Dec. 25. Festus nativitis Chariss. . . . mei. At Whalley; the vicker, Mr. Ormerod, preached §. —St. Steven. Word came that Sir Ric. Assheton was verie dangerously sicke.—Dec. 27. St. John's Day. I with my Cooz. Assheton to Midleton. Sir Ric. had lefte his speche, and did not knowe a man. Had not spoken since morning. His extremities began two or three days since. Hee de^pted verie calmly ab^t eight at night. No extraordinary sorrow, 'cause his death was soe apparent in his sickness. Presently upon his death ther was enquiring after his Will, which was shewed by Mr. John Greenhalgh, of Brandlesome, and Sir Ric^s second son Ralph Assheton, who, with my lady, were Exōrs, and Cooz. Assheton, of Whalley, Su^pvisor. My now Cooz. Assheton, of Midleton, Ric. began to demand the keyes of the gates||, and of the studie for the evidence, and to call for the plate, uppon cause his brother John had some part in them. Ther were some likeliness of present falling out of him and the e^xors, which certainly

* No shooting flying till many years after.

† That is, dispersed the deer. The skin, shoulder, and five shillings, were the price of the keeper's conscience.

‡ It is very singular that a Puritan should sometimes refuse the title of Saint to the Apostles, and bestow it upon St. Katharine; and still more so, that he should think some degree of temperate festivity due to her day.

§ Mr. Peter Ormerod, Vicar of Whalley, probably of the family of Ormerod. He died in 1630, very suddenly, as his interment is entered in the Register on the fifth day after two entries in his own hand.

|| The old house was a quadrangle, and might be completely locked up. This is a very curious family scene.

had bene had not my Cooz. Assheton, of Whalley, soe as was litel or noe discord. The reason was former unkindness between Sir Ric. and his sonn, to w^{ch} Sir Ric. was moved by my lady, and thos that were of her faccon: but nowe all well, praysed be God, which I praye God to continue.—Dec. 28. Sunday. Innocents. To Church. P^s of Midleton preached: Text, 1 Thess. i. 9. To Chatterton * to dinner wth my aunt Assheton.—Dec. 29. E^xors, Heire and my Cooz. Assheton in the studie all daye, and ther well all things sett straight. Walbank and Adam shott in long bowe.—Dec. 30. To Whalley ward. Had young Mr. Holden's † company to Haslingden. Staid all night at Abbey: verie merrie all wth dancing ‡.—Dec. 31. To the shoteing.

Jan. 1. At Whalley. P^{son} Abdy Assheton p^{ched}.—Jan. 2. A foule ranie day: noe stur-
ring.—Jan. 3. A hunting wth Cooz. Assheton, Ric. Sherborne, &c. With Cooz. Braddyll
to Portfield; eat, drunk wine, and was merrie, and to the field again. Walbank and Adam shot
in the Florentine §. Adam's string broke.—Jan. 5. Clitheroe. Dyned at Adams; Mr.
Michael Lister, Mr. Lambert, and divers from Waddow ||.—Jan. 6. Twelfth-day. At night
some companie from Reead came a Mumming ¶; was kindly taken: but they were but
Mummers.—Jan. 7. Pack, rag, all away.—Jan. 9. Henry Dudley, the imbroyderer, came to
work and teach.—Jan. 14. I to Whalley. The Parson of Sladeborne was gone affore. I overtook
him at Accrinton, and wee to Midleton wth Cooz. Assheton came (sic) from Leaver. I with
him to aunt Assheton to Chatterton.—Jan. 15. I had a black sent from Midleton, but because
I heard my Cooz. Assheton had none, I sent word to Mr. Greenhalgh that they should give
mine to Cousin Radcliffe **. Sir Ric. Assheton's funeral: a great company: I a mourner, in
my own old cloke. P^{son} of Midleton, Mr. Assheton, preached, text 90 P^s. 12. Divers
knights †† and many gentlemen ther. All the gent^s to Midleton to dinner.—Jan. 22. Cooz.
Assheton went on foot, ther being a frost, to see Sir Peter Midleton ‡‡.—Jan. 23. Justice
Houlden §§, Huthersal, and Mr. Sudall, the physical pothecar, came wth us to the Holt ||||, ther
staid and made merrie.—Jan. 25. Sunday. To Portfield. Cooz. Braddyll and I to Whalley.
Cooz. Assheton gone before us to meet Sir John Talbot at Blakeborne, and so to Curedale,
thence to Waerden ¶¶. Ther Mr. Farringdon.—Jan. 26. Self, Jo. Braddyll, Cooz. Assheton

* Which then belonged to another branch of the Asshetons.

† Of Holden Hall, near Haslingden.

‡ While the corpse of their near relation, Sir Rich. Assheton, lay unburied!

§ Qu. Whether the Florentine were a species of cross-bow?

|| Then the property and occasional residence of the Tempests of Bracewell.

¶ We hear so little of the Nowells in this Journal, that I suspect them to have been on no intimate terms with the Asshetons. These mummings were rude masquerades, in which I remember the young people of respectable families to have gone about at Christmas. They were mere pantomimes, whence the name.

** I suppose Radcliffe Assheton, first of Cuerdale.

†† The order of knighthood was then very common; but the Knights Bachelors have been eaten out by the Bar-
nets; and even of these, such is the scarcity of titles in this county, it would be impossible to assemble four in Lan-
cashire, at present.

‡‡ Of Midleton and Stokald.

§§ Of Holden, near Haslingden. The second of these personages is probably the same whom the writer after-
wards calls "shuffling Jo. Huthersall." He was of Hothersall, near Ribchester.

|||| On the confines of the parishes of Whalley and Blackburn.

¶¶ The old house of the Farringdons.

wth others went to Walton to see Sir Ric. horses that stode ther. (Here follows a long account of an horse-race.)—Jan. 28. From Litherland to Talk oth Hill*, think^s ther to have drunk and parted; but my Lord of Darbie was ther a hauking, and soe after some talk they fell to the dice, My Lord, Sir John Talbot, Mr. Charnock, *cum aliis*. Sir John wonne a litel.—Jan. 29. Wee to Blakeborne. Ther Sir John went home: I to Worston. Ther Mr. Radcliffe wth Mr. Greene, who should be Schoolmaster at Clitheroe.—Jan. 30. Sent Clement with grey gelding to Cooz. Assheton, w^{ch} I had sold for xli.

Feb. 1. To Church. P^{son} preached. A Communion.—Feb. 14. Downham. Grafted some stone fruit, which came from Holker.—Feb. 16. My wife in labour of childbirth. Her delivery was with such violence, as the child dyed w^{thin} half an hour, and, but for God's wonderful mercie, more than human reason could expect, shee had dyed; but hee spared her a while longer to mee, and tooke the child to his mercie; for which, as for one of his great mercies bestowed on mee, I render all submissive, heartie thanks and prayse to the onlie good and gracious God of Israell †. Divers mett, and went with us to Downham: and ther the child was buried ‡ by Sir James Whalley, in oure own pue, and the companie such as of a sudden could be provided at Mich. Brownes. A few dayes after I gave to the pore of Twyston, Downham, Worston, Chadburn, and Clitheroe, according as their seʋall needs required. My mother wth mee laid the child in the grave.—Feb. 19. Downham.—Feb. 20. Snowe: traced a fox from Hartill to the warren, and soe from want of doggs came home. Some wyves of Clitheroe heer this day. Fooled this day worse.—Feb. 24. The midwyfe went from my wyffe to Cooz. Braddyll's wyffe. Shee had given by my wyffe xxs. and by mee vs.

March 1. Sunday. Downham to s'vice.—Mar. 4. Downham. Sett some apple-trees. My Cooz. Assheton's wyffe came a p^{senting}, verie merrie. I with Goffe Whittacre § this nyght in the house verie merrie.—Mar. 5. In the orchard most of the day.—Mar. 8. Sunday. Downham wyves and Worston wyves p^{sented} my wyfe.—Mar. 9. Early to Downham. The study over y^e porch begun and fynished this week.—Mar. 15. I early to Portfield. There was Cooz. Mellicent Braddyll deliv^d of a sonne and heir ab^t 4 or 5 o'clock in the morning. Mr. Ric. Shuttleworth, of Gawthorp, came bye, and Cooz. Braddyll and I went with him to Whalley. Ther light at the abbey. Coz. Assheton went wth us. All to Wyne: then all to Lancaster. Charges to much: idle expences: in all xxxs. Judge Bromley, Judge Denham. xi Executed. Cooz. Edward Braddyll ||, the priest, came to the barr, and was indict for seducing the king's subjects: but had not judgment. Lister and Westbie ¶ made friends. Coz. Assheton, Coz.

* In Lancashire. This was William, Earl of Derby, father of James, the great Earl, who was beheaded at Bolton.

† These reflexions are highly becoming: but the writer wanted something serious and solemn to recal his mind from that continued state of dissipation in which he lived. The impression, however, lasted not long: within four days, to use his own word, he "fooled" again.

‡ A solemn funeral for a child which lived half an hour. It must have been baptized by the midwife. This curate of Downham is here called Sir James, and afterwards Sir James or Mr. Whalley. He was no preacher, and from his style, proves that this title was retained for a considerable space of time, by those who were ordained, after the Reformation.

§ Who Goff Whittacre was, I cannot tell.

|| There was an Edward Braddyll, brother of John, who is said in the pedigree to have died unmarried at Oxford, but the priest must have been an older man, whose name does not appear.

¶ Too near neighbours to be good friends — Westby and Arnoldsbiggin are scarcely two hundred yards from each other.

Braddyll,

Braddyll, Mr. Radcliffe, *cum aliis*, to Longridge Bottom. Mr. Radcliffe to Mearley. I to Worston.—Mar. 22. *Sunday*. This evening, *being somewhat, &c.* Ric. Sherborne coming from Sladeborne did fall at a little bridge affore his own house, and struck his left shoulder out of joynt.—Mar. 24. Downham. Graffed some graffs from Whalley. Teeth lanced. Tooth ache. Head ache. Cold and Rheume.—Mar. 27. I towards Downham. Saw one of my father in lawe's deare dead; but 24 left. Tom Starkie came, and had been at it.—Mar. 29. *Sunday*. To Sladeborne. Pson preached. To Dunnoe. My bro's shoulder indifferently well.

April 3. Good Friday. Received the Holy Sacrament at our minister, Mr. James Whalley.—Ap. 5. Easter Daye. To Downham, to church. After dinner some argument * abt Mr. Leigh's ministring y^e Sacrament with^t the Cirploise, betw. my bro. Sherborne and my father. They differed soe far as that my father came to Downham, and wolde goe noe more back to Dunnoe to remayne. Coz. Assheton went wth Cooz. Ralph Assheton towards Leavers †.—Ap. 10. Maide more than merrie.—April 12. *Sunday*. John Greenacres to bee godfather to Ric. Sherborne's child. Parson of Sladeborne was asked to bee the other; but by reason of my sister's popish disposition would not; and soe, in want of one, I was taken.—Ap. 18. Jo. Swing-lehurst buried: he dyed distract: hee was a great follower of Brierley ‡.—Ap. 20. About 4 aft. Cooz. Susan Assheton dyed at Brandlesome.—Ap. 25. Selling a peice of land §. Ask xviii^l. an acre; offered xviii^l.—Ap. 28. Wee wth many others to Midleton wth the corps and hearse of Cooz. Susan Assheton. Cooz. Assheton of Sladeborne preached: 1 Thess. iv. 13, 14. To Chatterton. My housing-cloth stolen out of the stable.—Ap. 29. Wth Coz. Raph to Ratchdalle. Saw Mr. Tillson ||, not well.

May 3. To church: pson preached.—May 4. With father hunting: home at night.—May 5. Removed to my studie.—May 11. Hunting fox: killed nothing.—May 12. To topp of Pendle, abt Moss Ground.—May 14. Ascension Day. To Towneley. Cooz. Jane and Rich^d ther: home agⁿ.—May 17. With my father to Sladeborne. Pson preached. To Parsonage. Mr. Leigh aftⁿ.—May 18. To Worston. Coming home on Worsoe. Fogg called Fire in the Warren House. Cuthbert Hearon, the warrener, wth drying of gunpowder had fired the house.—May 20. Hunted fox at Holden, Fouden, and Salley; found none: killed brace of haires.—May 26. To Whalley, a hunting. I to the abbey. Divers from Dunkenhagh. Sir Jo. Talbot bowling. Cooz. Townley and his wyffe. Home, sp. ivd.—May 29. *My Grene doublet made*.—May 30. Blackborne. Talk with Mr. Morrice ¶ abt the exercise.—May 31. Trin. *Sunday*. Mr. Turner preached, text Shuffling Jo. Huthersall and I had some wordes.

* This is human nature. Here we have a man quarrelling about the circumstantialia of religion who had just before dislocated his shoulder in consequence of having got drunk on a Sunday. The case appears to have been thus: Mr. Leigh, the curate of Sladeburne, and a Puritan, had administered the holy communion without a surplice. This conduct was approved by the Greenacres, and condemned by the Sherburnes; for Mrs. Sherborne is soon afterwards said to be so popishly inclined, that the rector Abdias refused to be sponsor for her child.

† Near Kendal, then the seat of the Bellinghams.

‡ Some frantic enthusiast of that time, who turned the heads of his followers.

§ A very high price for land, when it was sold for ten years purchase. It were to have been wished that we had been told where the estate was situated.

|| Henry Tilson, then Vicar of Rochdale, afterwards Bishop of Elphin.

¶ John Maurice, or Morres, Vicar of Blackburn. It appears that Mr. Ormerod, the Vicar of Whalley, though a preacher, bore no part in these exercises within his own parish.

June 2. Wee all to Prescod to a cocking. Sir Ric. Cooz. Assheton to Leaver. Sir Jo. Talbot, of Bashall, Cooz. Braddyll, &c. very pleasant. *Tabled* all night.—June 5. To Clitheroe, wth two Pudsays; made merrie, and run races, Bro. Pudsay, Tom. Starkie, &c.—June 23. A fishing. Parson of Sladeborne, &c. to Ribble.—June 24. St. Jo. Baptist. Pson of Sladeborne preached. To Fareoke house.—June 25. Divers gentlewomen from Stonyhurst called ther, and soe to a pigg eating * at Newlands; made merrie.—June 28. Mr. Ormerod preached: I to Clitheroe wth him. Home. Peter's-day. Walt. Leigh came and brought word that Pson of Middleton, Mr. Assheton †, was dead, and Pson of Sladeborne like to succeed.—June 30. The exercise. Mr. Maurice preached: text, "Beware of the leaven," &c. Mr. Dugdale preached in aft. text, i. Rev. 9.

July 5. Sunday. Wth my Cooz. Assheton and Cooz. Braddyll, to Mr. Sheriff his house Gawthorp ‡.—July 6. Removed wanscot in great chamber, and other work. Bedposts in great chamber new.—July 19. Sunday §. Sherborne, Starkee, &c. to Clitheroe: staid drinking some wyne: soe to a summer game: Sherburne's mare run, and lost the bell: made merrie: staid until, &c. 2 o'clock at Downham.—July 20. Ric. Lister fell out wth his bro. or rather hee wth him, and came from Arlebuggin.

Oct. 17. Mrs. Christian Greenacres, my mother-in-law, dyed at York, under the Physicians hands, Dr. Wadko ||, Polonian.—Oct. 19. I to Worston, where I found a sorrowful house.

Dec. 24. My father, mother Sherborne, wth our servants, to Whalley, to spend Christmas.—Dec. 28. Monday. To Whalley, wth Cooz. Braddyll, &c. My father-in-law feared himself, as I thought, but that few or none can judge truly of his purposes (hee is soe privatt), and unwilling to dye from Worston; went to Worston, and his familie wth hym ¶.

Jan. 1. I to Extwisle, to Mr. Jo. Pker **, to bee of Commission for my Cooz. Robinson agst Sir Thomas Metcalfe ††. Wth much ado, and some money I got him.—Jan. 7. Wth Cooz. Assheton home. Maskeing, gameing, oth. friendlie sports. All away, pack ragg, all day.—Jan. 12. Mr. Barrow's Commission for old Nowell's will ††. Nowell and that p^{tie} though much att me.

Nov. 4. Towards London, ab^t the hearing agst Middleton, in Cur. Ward. for the tenure of his land §§. To Portfield for To. Braddyll, who went our journey. To Manchester, Bull's

* What was this?

† Abdias Assheton, the elder, Fellow of St. John's College, and supposed to have been the author of Dr. Whitaker's "Life."

‡ Richard Shuttleworth, Esq. Sheriff of Lancashire.

§ Horse-racing for a wager, followed by hard drinking on Sunday evening, an "honest recreation"!

|| I never heard before or since of this Polish Physician.

¶ Richard Greenacres died the year following; but I am unable to ascertain the day or month.

** John Parker, Esq. died 1633.

†† I fear that there are no Records extant of the Court of Starchamber to prove what was the event of this suit. There can, however, be little doubt that an heavy fine would be imposed on the knight for so outrageous a breach of the peace.

‡‡ Of Little Mearley.

§§ I do not know where these lands were; but the dispute evidently was, whether they were held in chivalry or socage, a point which materially affected the right of wardship. From Manchester to London the distance is 187 miles, according to the old computation 143, and took up six days; but observe, the party halted on Sunday, and went to church.

Head, Helliwells.—Nov. 5. Tom Braddyll, Jo. Greenacres, Henry Hamond, and self, towards London. To Castle: Mr. Shaw's, Eagle and Child: Sir Cuthbert Halsey * ther: 28 myles.—Nov. 6. Sir Cuth. gone affore us: wee overtook him, and left him at Litchfield. Wee to Midleton, Mr. Bartlet's, the Saracen's Head, 30 miles.—Nov. 7. To Coventrie, and Dayntrie xxvi myles. The Bushop of Bangor ther, Dr. Baylie. A verie foule, raynie, stormie daye. This daye my Cooz. Assheton, of Midleton, dyed.—Nov. 8. Sunday. Went to the church: my Lord Bushop preached: t. Prov. xxviii. 13. Hee preached in thaft'noone. Wee away to Stonie Stratforde, Mr. Greenes, the Cocke, xv myles.—Nov. 9. Wee to Barnet, the Rose and Crowne, Mr. Lennoy, 34 myles.—Nov. 10. To London, the Chequer in Holborne, x myles.—Nov. 15. Sunday. St. Pulchar's: Dr. Kyng, Bishop of London, preached, 77 Ps. x.—Nov. 19. Reteyned my counsell Mr. Shierfield †.—Nov. 20. This day the cause in the Court of Wards should have been heard, but was not: deferred by the attorney's favour, and Shierfield's slowness.—Nov. 23. Mr. Henr. Hamond ‡ away to Lanc^{re}. Attended and reteyned Serj. Crue.—Nov. 26. To my Lord Wallingford's § house, about getting a day of hearing next tearme.

Dec. 1. Sworne in the Star Chamber. Robinson's occasions staid me in the towne. Examined in the Starr Chamber ab^t Raydale business.—Dec. 2. This evening, to Barnet, the Antelope.—Dec. 3. To Mimms. Wee on the way shott at thrushes. Came to Dunstable, 29 miles, the White Horse. Ther was Mr. Edw. Rawsthorne, younger. Thither afterwards came Coz. Standish, of Standish.—Dec 4. Toster, Mr. Blands, the Rayne Deere; 20 miles. To Coventrie, 24, the Starr, Mr. Forrells.—Sunday. To Litchfield, 20, the George, Mr. Jodrell. To Talk oth Hill, 28, the Swann, Mr. Shawes.—Dec. 8. Capt. Rawsthorne, to the Bull's Head, Manch^r, 24 myles.—Dec. 9. To Burie, to Eatenfield, p^{ted} with Captⁿ R||. To Worston, 22 myles.—Dec. 14. Worston. Tom. Starkie and his wyffe.

Jan^y. 22. (London again). To the Bell, in Gray's-inn-lane. Sander ¶ and George supped wth mee.—Jan. 23. Sir Lionell Cranfield **, Mr. of the Wardes, first tyme of his sitting.—Jan. 27. The King sate in the Star Chamber, and the Prince, about the great cause twixt Exeter, La. Cecill, and Leake, Sir Tho. and Lady Rosse.—Jan. 29. King late in the Starr Chamber.—Jan. 31. St. Andrews. D^r. Ducket.

Feb. 2. Candlemas-day. To Westm^r. ther Sander and I sawe a gentlewoman, a grocers d^r. as a suter to her.—Feb. 8. The business for Yeamond Robinson, for cutting off his hand, was heard in Geild-hall: hee recov^d. 52*l*. and 4 m^{cs}. costs ††.—Feb. 10. Our cause was

* Sir Cuthbert Halsall, of Halsall.

† The notorious Sherfield, who made six fraudulent conveyances of his estate, and after all, left it to pious uses. See *Strafford's Letters*, vol. I. p. 206.

‡ One of the Hamonds of Whalley, nearly allied to Dean Nowell and to Dr. Henry Hamond.

§ William Viscount Wallingford, Master of the Wards. the filiation of whose issue, or rather that of his lady, is yet undecided.

|| Of Newhall, in Tottington.

¶ Who Sander is I know not; but have little doubt that by George is meant George afterwards the celebrated Sir George Radcliffe, then a young lawyer of Gray's Inn.

** Afterwards Earl of Middlesex, who had just succeeded Lord Banbury (Wallingford) in the Wards.

†† This is explained by a former article. "Peter's day. Yeamond Robinson (I suppose of the Raydale family) cutt dangerously and wounded, in danger of deathe: self to Boulton to him." Also, "July 7, Mr. More came to helpe John Lawe at the cutting off of Yeamond Robinson's hand." Why was the action tried at Guildhall when the cause originated in Lancashire?

called and Mr. Wainesford * alledg. that Mr. Downes was of counsell wth his client. He was more fully instructed. Cause deferred.—Feb. 11. The cause in Court of Wardes heard twixt Midleton compl. in a bill of traverse, and Ric. Assheton and W^m. Walbank def'ts. Full evidence on Midleton's side: depositions: 2 olde deedes: and Blackborne Assize: Mr. Downes and Mr. Wandesford his counsell; and Sherfield and my Cooz. Banester ours. Wee shewed Ireland's Office, and red depositions, long in heereing, and ordered against Midleton. The land to be holden in knight's service.—Feb. 14. Sunday. Frances Assheton deliv^d of a girle, at Downham.—Feb. 18. Marg^t Assheton christened. Ellenor Assheton, Cooz. Assheton's wyffe of Whalley, and my Cooz. Braddyll's wyffe Mellicent, godmoth^{rs}. Sir James, al^s Mr. Whalley, christened it.

March 1, 2, 3, Staid for Mr. Assheton. Queene Anne, Queene of England, dyed at Hampton Court, ab^t 4 of the clock in the morning.—March 5. To Ware, and so to Puckeridge, 25 m.—Mar. 6. To Royston, 8 m. to Huntingdon, 16, to Stilton, the Angell, 9 m.: 33 miles.—Mar. 7. Sunday. To Gunn Ferrie, Deeping, Burne, Fauldingham, ther bayted, I wearie, and soe to Nocton: my Cooz. Towneley his wyff and familie ther †. Ther first tould mee my wyff was delivered, and had a girl. 38 miles.—Mar. 9. Went all away and my Cooz. Towneley wth us to Lincolne. Dyned wth Mr. Docter Parker, Deane of Lincolne ‡. Ther we pted with Mr. Towneley, and wee to § Ferrie, 9 miles, and so to Bautrie, 9 more, 18 myles.—Mar. 10. Al to Doncast^r, and staid and made merrie, and then 4 myles further to Robin Hood Well. They to Bradford for Lanc^{re} ||; I, Jo. Greenacres, and Walbank, to Yorke ¶, the Starr, Mr. Tiremans, 32 miles.—Mar. 13. To Skipton, dined, soe home, 32 miles.

Thus ends the Journal of Nicholas Assheton, then a young and active man, engaged in all the business, and enjoying all the amusements of the country. What he might, in a rainy day and a serious mood, have done for himself, I will now do for him, or rather for his readers—analyze this curious fragment, and assign every portion of time accounted for, to its proper occupation: premising, however, that there are great chasms in the Journal, one of three months at least; and that the days which are marked "home," &c. are passed over as blanks, though, perhaps, better spent than many which are more strongly characterized. In this period then, he accounts for the hearing of forty sermons, three of them by as many Bishops, and for one communion. On the other hand, he records sixteen fox chases, ten stag hunts, two of the buck, as many of the otter and hare, one of the badger, four days of grouse shooting, the same of fishing in Ribble and Hodder, and two of hawking. Shooting with the long and cross-bow, horse-matches and foot-races, were other means of consuming time without doors; and dancing, masking, shovegroat (once all night long), and dice within doors. Stage-

* This is not the celebrated Christopher Wandsford, the friend of Lord Strafford, but another person of the same surname, who afterwards became Attorney of the Wards.

† This was a fine estate then belonging to the Towneley family, which they inherited from the Wimbishes, and where they seem to have spent their winters.

‡ Dr. Roger Parker, Dean of Lincoln, a son of the family of Browsholme. He died in 1629, aged 71.

§ Littleborough, on the Trent.

|| Not to Halifax; the road then lying from Wakefield through Adwalton to Bradford, thence to Luddenden, and so over the Long Causeway into Lancashire.

¶ His father, Greenacres, was then under the care of Dr. Wadko. He died this year.

plays and cards are never mentioned. As a scale by which the writer measured the degrees of his own intemperance, and a catalogue of his excesses, let the Reader attend to the following: “merrie” eleven times, “verie merrie” once, “more than merrie” once, “merrie as Robin Hood” once, “plaid the bacchanalian” once, “somewhat too busie with drink” once, “sicke with drinke” once, “foolish” once, and lastly, “fooled this day worse” once. With all these confessions we hear of neither resolutions nor attempts at amendment.

In this short period he saw four deaths of the Asshetons; he attended the King at Houghton Tower; assisted in quelling a private war in Wensleydale; attended the king’s commissioners in the great cause of the copyholds of Blackburn Hundred; and took two journeys to London on business with the Court of Wards and Star Chamber. A man more largely connected, or extensively acquainted in his country, there probably never was. In South Lancashire we find him familiarly conversing with the Earl of Derby, Sir Cuthbert Halsal, Mr. Standish, &c. On the side of Craven, with the Pudsays, Tempests, Listers, Westbys, and Lamberts. Within the Honor of Clitheroe itself, the *dramatis personæ* in this lively scene are among the Clergy, the Rectors of Bury, Middleton, Sladeburn, and the Vicars of Whalley, Blackburn, and Rochdale; and among the laity, no fewer than twenty-seven of the principal families, which constitute the genealogical part of the History of Whalley. All these were then resident and keeping hospitality on their own estates. What a revolution have two centuries produced! Of ten of these, Holt of Castleton, Assheton of Chatterton, Nowell of Read, Greenhalgh, Bercroft, Braddyll, Talbot of Bashal, Sherburne, Radcliffe, and Greenacres, the ancient mansions are sold: of the rest, five, namely, Rawsthorne, Houghton, Parker of Extwistle, Shuttleworth, Starkie of Twiston, still exist in possession of their old estates, but are not resident. Eight more, namely, Townley of Royle, and Carr, Holden, Assheton of Whalley and Middleton, Walmsley, Barcroft, Talbot of Salesbury, have merged in heirs female: while four only, that is to say, Towneley of Towneley, Parker of Browsholme, the successor of the Author of this Diary in the estate of Downham, and his Annotator at Holme, represent, without change of name or habitation, the individuals with whom it brings us acquainted, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Let those of the same rank in life make the comparison, and draw the conclusion for themselves; but, in my apprehension, the balance is strongly in favour of our own times. At all events the picture is lively and curious.

OION AΠΟΙΧΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ ΔΙΑΙΤΑΝ ΜΑΝΤΕΙ. PINDAR.

The Parochial Chapel of Downham, dedicated to St. Leonard, and in the patronage of the Right Honourable Assheton Lord Curzon, is of uncertain antiquity; and, though not of equal date with Colne, Burnley, and Clitheroe, is yet of the old foundation, and certainly existed before the foundation of Whalley Abbey, as it was the last chapel enumerated in the appropriation of the rectory. It was endowed with the usual allotment of glebe, *viz.* two oxgangs of land now belonging to the appropriator, and measuring exactly 36 acres 3 roods 20 poles.

By deed, without date, Roger, Rector of the church of Whalley, grants to Jordan, son of Pelliper *, four acres in “campo de Donnom, subter Grenchow in feodo et hereditate habend. “et tenend. de Deo, et omnibus sanctis (the ancient dedication of Whalley) et ecclesia de

* Pelliperius, the tanner.

“ Whalley,

“Whalley, teste Ughtred Clerico de Whal. Gilb. Capel. de Whalley.” And by another deed, without date, but about the year 1300, William de Grenehov quitclaims the said four acres in Grenehov “Deo et Cap. seti. Leonardi de Donnum et Abbati et Conventui de Whalley rectoribusque ejus, Test. Joh. de Twisleton.” The present fabric, is a plain Gothic building, with a tower, two side ailes, a North and South chapel, and a middle choir, now verging to decay, and about to be rebuilt by the laudable attention of the present lord of the manor*. The font, though angular†, is of considerable antiquity, and bears the following shield: a cheveron between three fleurs de lys, colours effaced. Qu. whether Downham?

The three bells of this church have the following inscription in Old English characters: “Vox Augustini in ara Dei.” “Sta. Margareta ora pr. nobis.” “Sta. Katharina ora pr. nobis.” The word after Augustine, I do not understand; but I am almost certain that they were part of the bells belonging to the abbey church, removed from thence by the earlier Asshetons. Dedications of this kind were general upon the bells belonging to conventual churches, but very unusual in parochial churches or chapels.

The North Chapel is the property and burial place of the Starkies, of Twiston, of whom, however, there is only one memorial.

Here lie the remains of

ANN,

Daughter of Thomas Yatman, of London, Merchant,
and Wife of the Reverend Thomas Starkie, Vicar of Blackburn,
who departed this life the 26th day of January, 1795,
in the 40th year of her age.

This stone is erected
as a sincere testimony of conjugal affection,
as well as a frail monument
of those rare accomplishments and Christian graces,
which adorned her life,
and prepared HER for Immortality.

The Choir on the South is appropriated to the manor house, and, in a vault‡ beneath, rest many of the Asshetons, of Downham. On mural monuments above, are the following memorials of the family:

“ANIMAM CREATORI.

“Neere this place lyeth the bodie of the Right Hon. the Ladye Dorothy Assheton, 3d daughter of Nicholas, late Earle of Thanet Island, a loving and faithful wife to Ralph Assheton, of Downham, in Lancashire, Esq. eldest son of Sir Ralph Assheton, of Whalley, in ye said countie, Bart. who changed her painful life with much patience, in hope and comfort of a joyful resurrection, 28th Jan. 1635, æt. suæ. 29.

“The righteous have hope in death.

“A husband's love, thy parent's pietye,
Dedicate this unto thy memorie,

* It has since been completely rebuilt.

† It must be remembered that the most ancient form of fonts was cylindrical.

‡ This vault was made by Sir Raphe Assheton, A. D. 1655. Assheton's MSS. eo anno.

And 'tis my resolution, when I dye,
Under this place to bear thee compane,
That both together, when the trumpe shall sound,
Thy husband with thee maye in it be found.

"Unum.* nec tamen carni domus ultima tellus
Corpus enim (spes est) petat hac quoque cœlica tecta.

"Shee was good to the poore whilst she lived,
And at her deathe she was not unmindful of them."

On a large mural monument, in the same choir, is the following inscription:

"In memory of Sir Ralph Assheton †, of Whalley, in the county of Lancaster, Bart. and of Dame Elizabeth, his wife, and of their son Ralph. Sir Ralph Assheton died 30th Jan. 1680, and was interred in this place. Elizabeth, 2d wife of Sir Ralph Assheton, who was daughter of Sir Sapcote Harrington, died June 8th, 1686, and was buried in the New Chapel, West-

* Sic. but as this is both false quantity and nonsense, I suppose that we ought to read "Unica nec tandem."

† This Sir Ralph Assheton, irritated, as it may seem, by Archbishop Laud's conduct to his father, took an active part on the parliamentary side, in the civil wars of the last century; and I have now before me many original letters on this subject, from which the following are selected as specimens, of a long correspondence with Mr. Alexander Norris, of Bolton, a man zealous in the same cause, concerning the transactions of those times.

"MR. NORRIS,

2d Julii, 1645.

"I rejoyce to heare yt my son's regiment doeth so well before Latham, as is represented in yr letter. Yu seem much to desyre my comminge downe, but I see few others desyrus of it, and here it is represented, yt Col. Holld. and Col. Rigby are the men desyred by the countrey; if yt be so, yu shall not have mee to come amongst yu, for I will never joyne wth them agayne: nevertheless I will here doe the best service I cann for my countrey, so yt ye doe show such respect to my sonn ‡, and his officers and souldiers, as may encourage them to continue in ye service. But if Stanley, Booth, Holcroft, Egerton, and such like, must be applauded and chiefly observed, I will not only stay here, but send for my sonn to come to me, for I scorne yt hee shall receave orders from them. I am much displeased at ye committmt. of Col. Birch and Mr. Haryson, because I know yt they are honnester, and have done more faythefull service for the parliamt. then all the other yt did committ them. I heare the principall occasion of complt. agt. Col. Birch, was his opposing the great laye for the leaguer of Latham, in which he did so well so much service for the countrey, (for it was illegal both in matter and manner) yt I wonder the countrey doth not petition the parliamt. for the release of him and committmt. of all them.

"Yr very lovinge frend,

"RAPHE ASSHETON."

"13th Maii, 1645.

"Here is litle newes, but yt the king is goeing northward to rayse Chester seidge, and recrute his armie, yt is weak; I praye Gd. to save or county, and if the countrey will but ryse unanimously and joyn with Sr Will Brereton, it may be done, for Lieutent. Gennerall Cromwell and Major Gennerall Browne follow him wth a great force, and if but a little interrupted, will overtake him, and if the Scotch will doe any thing for us, mee think wee should bee in good safety. The Lord direct all for his glory, and for or poore nation. So prayeth yr loving frend,

"RAPHE ASSHETON."

‡ I do not know who is meant by his son: none appears in the pedigree but Ralph, who died a boy.

minster. Ralph, the only child of Sir Ralph Assheton and his wife Elizabeth, died at Wallingford, in Berkshire, about the 8th year of his age, and was interred there. This monument was erected by Dorothy Bellingham, relict of James Bellingham, of Levens, in Westmoreland, Esq. and sister to the said Lady Assheton, A.D. 1703."

Against the opposite wall is the following:

Assheton impaling Lister.

"In the vault beneath are interred the remains of Ralph Assheton, Esq. Lord of this Manor, and Mary, his wife, daughter of Thomas Lister, Esq. of Arnoldsbiggin, in the county of York. She died, Jan. 9th, 1729, aged 33 years. Her disconsolate husband, on the 21st of Sept. following, aged 32. Their surviving children were Elizabeth, by whom this token of respect is placed; Ralph, who succeeded to the estate; Mary, and Richard."

This, like almost every other series of funeral inscriptions, brought down to the present century, bears testimony to a general decay of Christian language, in a species of composition where, above all others, the continuance of it might be expected. To the *priez pour sa ame* and the *orate pro anima* of popery, succeeded, in epitaphs of the next century, a declared expectation of the second coming of Christ, and of salvation through his merits. This was comfortable and edifying to the reader, and thus the language of inscriptions powerfully seconded that of the pulpit. But the modern lapidary style is no more tinctured with the hopes of Christianity, than if it were intended to record the merits of an heathen, or to adorn the walls of a mosque. Inflated panegyrics on intellectual attainments, or relative virtues, on the profound scholar, the upright lawyer, the affectionate husband, the tender parent, the faithful subject, just serve to excite in the reader, if he believe them, deep regret that so much excellence has perished, and rivet his attention down to the grave beneath his feet, in which, for any expectation which these memorials afford to the contrary, souls and bodies might be interred together—*O curvæ in terras animæ et cælestium inanes!* The same progressive declension from religious sentiment has been lately remarked by an excellent prelate*, nearly connected with the immediate subject of this chapter, in the language of wills and testaments. It is said, that many conveyancers of the first eminence at present, utterly refuse, even when requested, to admit a word savouring of piety into the preambles of these preparatives for death; and I have the highest authority for affirming, that in this diocese such language has generally ceased in those wills which are proved in the superior court, while it is as generally retained in those which come before the rural dean or his officials. Analogous to this is the style yet preserved in epitaphs of the lowest order, which, while they blunder very innocently

"MR. NORRIS,

6th Jun. 1645.

"Since the taking of Leycester, the king is marched to Harborough yesternight, and Syr Thomas Fayrfax called of from the seige of Oxford, so yt I hope the king will not runn upp and downe the kingdome as he has done, and have liberty to take townes. Though Sr Thomas bee come from Oxford, yett Major Gennerrall Browne is commanded to block it upp, and wil be prouyded of forces to doe it. I longe to hear how or brethren of Scotland are.

"Yr lovinge friend,

"RAPHE ASSHETON."

* Vide the charge of Dr. William Cleaver, Bishop of Chester, to the Clergy of that Diocese, A. D. 1799.

against orthography and grammar, have not forgotten the humble but profitable admonition that, what the living is now, the dead was once, and what the *dead is now*, the living shall soon become; and assurance that he who now composes the dust beneath *is yet not dead, but sleepeth*; or an ardent aspiration, which, engraven on stone or brass, and placed over the remains of those who sleep in Christ, operates as a voice speaking from the grave, *Come Lord Jesus, come quickly!*

In the vault on the North side of this Chapel are interred the remains of the Rev. Richard Assheton, D.D. Warden of the College of Christ in Manchester, and Rector of Middleton, in this county.

He was the second son of Ralph Assheton, Esq. Lord of this Manor, and Mary, the daughter of Thomas Lister, Esq. of Arnold's Biggin, in the county of York.

He was born on the 19th of August, 1727, and married Mary, the youngest daughter and coheirress of William Hulls, Esq. of Popes, in the county of Hertford, by whom he had one son and four daughters; Mary, Richard Hulls, Elizabeth (married to James Whalley, Esq. of Clerk Hill, who died in 1785, in the 24th year of her age, and was buried at Whalley, in this county), Caroline, and Catherine.

He died, sincerely lamented and esteemed, on the 6th of June, 1800.

His only son, the Rev. Richard Hulls Assheton, M. A. of Brazen Nose College, in Oxford, died at Lisbon in 1785, in the 26th year of his age; and was buried near the remains of his maternal grandfather, William Hulls, Esq. in the parish-church of Bromley, in the county of Kent.

Above the inscription are the Assheton arms, and the motto, "*In Domino confide.*"

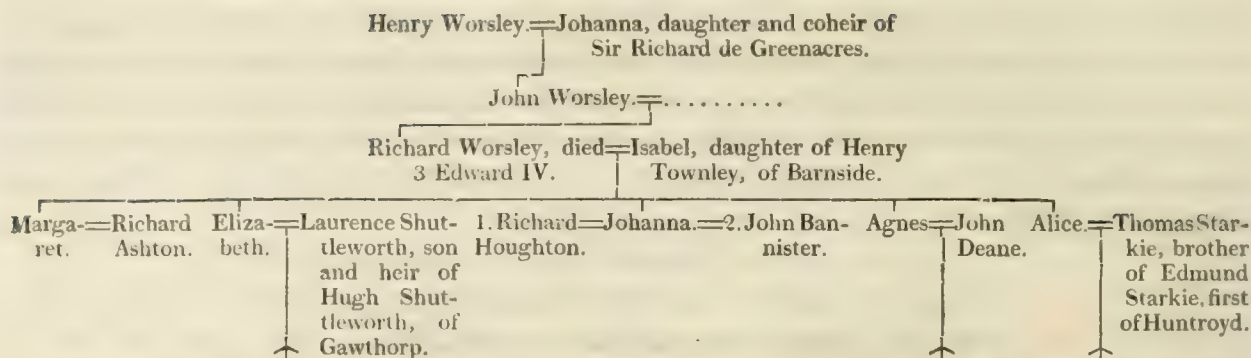
In the vault also are deposited the Remains of Mary, relict of Richard Assheton, D.D. She died on the 14th of October, 1815, at Thorp Arch, in the county of York, in the 80th year of her age.

TWISLETON, now TWISTON.

This is a township and mesne manor dependant upon Downham. By deed, without date, but about the year 1300, I meet with John de Twisleton; and, in the 1st of Edward III. or 1327, John de Dyneley grants to Richard de Greenacres, his capital messuage and water mill in Twisleton, which he had of the grant of the said Richard, and of Hugh, son and heir of John de Twisleton, which Hugh, in 1311, held one carucate of land in thanage for the rent of £.1. Sir Richard de Greenacres, of Great Merlay, left two daughters and co-heiresses, Johanna and Agnes, the former of whom married Henry Worsley, and had, as her portion, half the manor of Twiston, and a third part of Great Mearley.

The subsequent descents of this estate will appear clearly from the following pedigree:

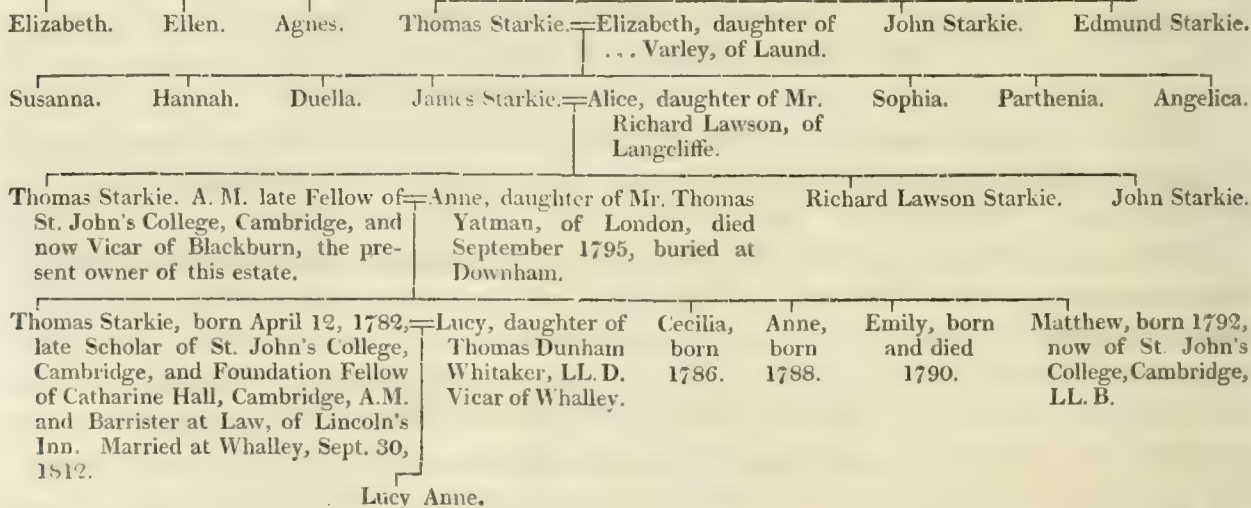
Henry



By Inquisition after the death of the last Worsley, taken about 4th Edward IV. he was found to be seized of one-third of the manor of Merlay Magna, and one-half of the manor of Twiston, which last was held in socage of John de Dyneley. This last was the portion of Alice, and still continues in her posterity, of whom

Thomas Starkie, of Twiston, = daughter of Milles, born about 1580. died Aug. 1617.

1. Sarah, daughter of = 2. = 3. = James Starkie, who seems to have succeeded to the estate in 1678, died 1706, aged 103 or 105, for in the register of his burial, the figure is not distinct. His widow survived him nearly 60 years, so that from the birth of the husband, to the death of the wife, must have been a period of 160 years. It is equally remarkable that his first marriage was late in life, and that he had issue by his fourth when nearly 100 years old. *Serò venere in exhausta pubertas*, is a wise observation of Tacitus †, and strikingly verified in the instance before us.



In the later compotus's of Whalley Abbey, under Downham, is an annual charge "pro stip. secti. Laurentii de Twiston," whence it is evident that there was a Chapel here at that time. It is now so completely demolished, that the precise situation of it is not remembered: but there are three fields still called the Great Chapel Flat, the Little Chapel Flat, and the Chapel Flat Bottom.

* He was a preacher highly esteemed by the Antinomians, and was author of A practical Expositor of the Holy Bible (a strange title to be chosen by an Antinomian), in thick octavo, 800 pages. In the title of this work he is said to style himself D. D. He also practised physic, and died at Leeds, Dec. 10, 1687, aged 71. Calamy, vol. II. p. 813, and Continuation, p. 948.

† De moribus Germanorum.

CHAPTER III.

THE PAROCHIAL CHAPELRY OF BURNLEY.

CONSISTING

1. OF THE TOWNSHIP OF BURNLEY, WITH THE HAMLETS OF HABERGHAMEAVES AND TOWNLEY CUM BRUNSHAW.
2. OF CLIVIGER. 3. OF BRIERCLIFFE, WITH THE HAMLETS OF EXTWISLE AND WORSTHORN.

BURNLEY, properly **BRUNLEY**, a populous and thriving market-town, in an advantageous and central situation, upon a *lingula* of land formed by the confluence of the Calder and the Brun, from the latter of which, *Bpun Rivulus*, the name is probably derived*. The same transposition has taken place in other instances; Robert de Brun, the old metrical chronicler, having derived his name, as well as birth, from the town now called Burn, in Lincolnshire.

Or the name of the stream may, with almost equal propriety, be deduced from *Bpun Fuscus*, as it is formed from a confluence of the waters of Sheden, Swinden, Thornden, and Thursden, and therefore embrowned by the ancient process of washing for limestone, which will be noticed hereafter.

The basis of the present town of Burnley was unquestionably a Roman settlement, by which is not meant a military station, for of this there is no evidence; though the situation of the place, on the high precipitous bank of the Brun, and near its confluence with the Calder, is a circumstance which, if aided by any external proofs, would have been highly favourable to such a supposition. But the absence of the word *Caster*, *Chester*, or *Cester*, in the composition of the word, and the want of a concurrence of Roman roads, one if not both of which circumstances are inseparable from a genuine station, do not permit even a willing antiquary to indulge in the conjecture. Yet the necessity of a direct communication between two such stations as Ribchester and Cambodunum (Slack near Elland), the situation of Burnley, almost in a right line, and at a due distance between them, the Roman remains† and discoveries at Mereclough, on the entrance of the Long Causeway; the tradition of an ancient way from Burnley, through Townley Park, and pointing in a direct line at Watch-gate: all these circumstances, together with the discoveries of Roman remains about the place, are abundantly sufficient to prove the town to have been a settlement of that people upon a vicinal way, though neither fortified nor garrisoned, and therefore unrecorded in the itineraries. The discoveries

* The neighbouring Brunshaw is similarly formed.

† See Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis*.

which have been made here are many scattered Roman coins (better evidences of a Roman town than single deposits of money), remains of earthenware, and lately an urn, filled with calcined bones, of rude, but apparently Roman workmanship.

Of Saxon antiquity here are few remains. At some distance to the East of the town is a place of the name of Saxifield, to which is attached an evanescent tradition of some great engagement, and the death of some great chieftain, in the turbulent and unrecorded æra of the Heptarchy. Whether, however, the name gave rise to the tradition, or were itself occasioned by the fact, cannot now be determined. Saxifield Dyke, however, is mentioned in the charter of free warren to the Townley family, *temp.* R. Joh. and is therefore no recent fabrication.

No part of the English history, probably, was so defiled with bloodshed; none, assuredly, has been so indistinctly delivered to posterity, as that of the Heptarchy. Contemporary historians were neither many nor copious; and succeeding ones have treated with contempt transactions which they were unable to retrieve with exactness. “The contests of the petty princes of the Heptarchy,” says Milton, with his accustomed boldness, “are no more entitled to remembrance or recital, than the battles of crows and hawks in a summer’s day.”

But scenes of great slaughter, the most dreadful of all spectacles, make too deep an impression upon the minds of beholders, not to be frequently and diligently recited to posterity; and, when associated with names and local circumstances in succeeding times, though generally corrupted, are seldom lost.

Adjoining to the town, and near the chapel, is also a very ancient cross, apparently of Saxon workmanship, which, from its form, may challenge an equal antiquity with those of Whalley, and commemorate the same event, the preaching of Paullinus. This supposition may receive some countenance from the name of a neighbouring field, called Bishop-leap. Of this cross, however, the tradition of the place is, that, prior to the foundation of a church at Burnley, religious rites were celebrated on the site where it stands; but that afterwards, upon an attempt being made to erect an oratory on the place, the materials were nightly transported, by invisible agents, to the present site. The story is not uncommon; and, abating for the præternatural part, may probably be connected with something of historical truth.

The parochial chapel of Burnley was one of the three chapels existing in the parish at the date of Delaval’s charter, which I have already shewn to belong to the reign of Henry I. Of the other two, Colne and Clitheroe, each has some remains of the original structure; but Burnley has none; as the choir, with its roof and East window, can scarcely be referred to an earlier date than the time of Edward III. though a superficial observer must be struck with the disparity of style between them and the rest of the church.

The same observation applies to far the greater part of our parish-churches, in which a striking disparity usually appears, betwixt the style of the nave and choir, as the obligation of supporting the former attaches to a parish at large; and that of repairing the latter, either to impropiators less willing, or to an incumbent less able, to undertake a work of piety or ornament.

Of the rest of the church the æra is exactly ascertained; for by indenture (*pen. auct.*) dated 24th Henry VIII. a covenant was entered into “Between Sir John Townley, knight, John Townley, esq. Rich. Townley of Royle, Symon Haydocke of Hesandforthe, Hugh Habergham of Habergham, Nicholas Shuttleworth of Gawthorpe, John Parker of Extwisle, Richard Whitaker

“Whitaker of Holme, and Robert Barcroft of Barcroft, on the one part; and Thomas Sellers and Nicholas Craven * on the other part; by which the latter undertook, within four years from the date, to rebuild the North and South hylings of Burnley church, with 18 buttresses, and every buttress having a funnel upon the top, according to the fashion of the funnels upon the new chapel of our Lady of Whalley; and that the said hylings shall be battled after the form of a battling of the said chapel, having one course of achelors more than the said chapel hath, for the sum of sixty pounds. Sir John Townley, and Sir Gilbert Haydock, vicar of Rochdale and daine of Blackburn, to determine whether they deserve a farther reward.” Instead of the North and South hylings, however, as expressed in this contract, the North and middle aile were actually rebuilt, and the South aile remained in its original state, low and narrow, — indeed, a disgrace to the rest of the church, — till the year 1789, when the population of the town having undergone a sudden and considerable increase, a faculty was granted to certain persons, empowering them to pull down and re-edify the said aile, and to erect a gallery over it. This was accordingly executed, at an expence of more than 1000*l.* with little more than the addition of a gallery, to what, in the time of Henry VIII. might have been performed, and actually had been contracted for, at the price of 30*l.* How this last undertaking, which, by adhering to the original plan, might have rendered the whole church uniform and consistent, was really executed, I am unwilling to relate.

At the Eastern extremity of the South aile was the *Stansfield queere*, the property of the Haydocks, of Hesandforth, as representatives of the Stansfields, lords of Worsthorn. Within the site of this quire still remains an ancient gravestone, on which are engraved, in very bold relief, a cross fleury and sword, which I suppose to have covered one of the earlier Stansfields, and probably Oliver de Stansfeud, the first grantee of the manor of Worsthorn, as the style of it well accords with the æra of Edward II.—The sword marked his office, as constable of Pontefract Castle; and the quire undoubtedly belonged to his house of Hesandforth, and was called by his name.

For, in an old book of *Memoranda*, once belonging to the Haydocks, I find the following entry:

“Anno Domini 1603.

“I had a sute with my cosin Haberghame, of Haberghame, for my quier in Brunley Church, and the sute cost me, as apperethe by the p’ticulars which I have, at least C marks.”

And, in 1726, a faculty was granted to John Haydock, gent. respecting a seat in Stansfield quire to be taken down, and two new ones built on the site and a space of ground adjacent, being the burial-place of the said J. Haydock.

At the East end of the North aile is the Chapel of the Virgin Mary, the property and burial place of the Townley family, and therefore usually called the Townley choir. This was a chantry founded by Sir John Townley, knight, in the life-time of Isabella Pilkington, his first wife, as appears by the following imperfect inscription, in old English characters, upon the cancelli which surround it:

* From several circumstances, I conclude these men to have been the masons employed about Whalley Abbey. The Cravens were then, and to the present century, a Billington family; as the Sellers were of Whalley. The accurate reference to the new Chapel of St. Mary, of Whalley, confirms this supposition.

Hec non et pro animabus Ricardi Townley militis patris mei et Johanne uxoris ejus matris meæ et omnium antecessorum meorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum quorum anime requiescant in pace. Amen.

Quod ego Johannes Townley miles fundavi et ordinavi hanc cantariam in honorem beatæ Mariæ Virginis pro bono statu meo et Isabellæ uxoris meæ dum vixerimus et pro animabus —————

It was, in fact, endowed considerably before the rebuilding of the present choir, as will appear by the following instrument of nomination, which, as it is dated early in the life-time of the founder, appears to have been the first:

“Omnibus Christi. . . ad quos presentes literæ pervenerint Johannes Townley, miles, salutem
“in omnium Salvatore. Cantariam perpetuam in Capella de Brunley, septem marcarum redditus
“de certis terris et tenementis, prout in carta tripartita mei Johannis Townley, mil. prædicti
“continetur, ordinatam pro salute aie meæ et antecessorum meorum prout in ipsa plenius con-
“tinetur, concessi Johanni Yngham Capell. quamdiu honeste vixerit possidendum cum om-
“nibus aliis rebus, juribus, et ornamentis dictæ cantariæ qualitercunque spectantibus.” 15th
Hen. VII.

But this foundation appears to have been meditated by the family some years before; for, in the 8th Edward IV. Raufe (Holden) abbot, and the convent of Whalley, grant to John Townley, Esq. “three litel garthes lying from the brig of Browne*, between the water and
“pish. churcheyarde of Bronley on ye N. and W. side of ye saide church, from 19 yeares to
“19 yeares, at the rent of 3*l.*† *per an.* so longe as ye said John and his heires wyll paye ye
“ferme.” These premisses contain the site and garden of the chantry-house.

It is singular enough, that, in the 36th Elizabeth, nearly 50 years after the dissolution, in a fine between Richard Sherburne mandant, and Joh. Townley, esq. deforcient, is passed *inter alia*, the advowson of the chantry of Burnley. So anxious were the family to preserve a right which they yet hoped to exercise again.

But it must be remembered, that there was a chantry of much older date founded in this church, and probably at the same altar, in the N. aisle, by Thomas de la Legh, who, in 46th Edward III. granted the third part of the manor of Townley to Gilbert de la Legh, subject to the condition of finding a chaplain to chaunt for the souls of the said Thomas, Gilbert and Alice de la Legh (his parents), and their respective ancestors.

On the walls are several shields of arms, cut in stone, with different empalements, to commemorate the successive principals of the family who rest beneath; and one large mural monument, to the memory of Richard Townley, Esq. who died in 1706, of which the first part, written by himself, displays an amiable picture of a mind negligent of self commendation, and hastening to the remembrance of departed relatives; while the latter, the work of his brother, executor, and friend, with equal propriety and grace, discharges the office of panegyric which himself had omitted.

* This seems to confirm my etymology of the word, from Bpun *Fuscus*.

† In the last compotus of Whalley Abbey, A. D. 1536, I meet with the following article: “Johan. Townley, mil.
“pro parvâ aulâ juxta ecclesiam de Burnley, 3*l.*”

Arms :

TOWNLEY IMPALING PASTON,
[6 fleurs de lys Az. a chief indented Or.]
With a crescent for difference.

D. O. M.

et

Piæ memoriæ

RICARDI TOWNELEY, DE TOWNELEY, ARM.

Hujus pater Carolus regias Caroli I. partes secutus
in prælio apud Marston Moore prope Eboracum
occubuit, nec unquam interfecti corpus
est inventum.

Hanc in regem fidem, perduellionis nomine
infamavit temporum istorum iniquitas,
et bonorum proscriptione mulctavit;

hinc et non aliunde Gentis Towneleianæ census imminutus
et ad eam quæ nunc est mediocritatem redactus.

Matrem habuit Mariam, Francisci Trappes equ. aur. filiam
pientissimam et ad annum ætatis 91, vere viduam,
uxorem vero Margaretam filiam Clementis Paston Armigeri
(cujus nota et nobilis apud Icenos familia *)

lectissimam fœminam et multorum liberorum matrem.

Harum corporibus hinc inde positis, suum interponi corpus
et hæc pauca de se et suis posteros scire voluit.

Cæterum fuit in dissimili rerum statu sui semper similis, avita religione in Deum, pietate in patriam, amore in suos, candore in amicos, beneficentia in egenos, comitate in omnes, et ea demum morum nota et casta integritate, ut coram illo vel pessimus quisque sibi temperaret a turpitudine, et inciperet esse bonus. Ad annum usque ætatis 78 vixit, nemini gravis, omnibus charus, præsertim elegantiorum scientiarum, et artium cultoribus, ipse Geometra insignis: hinc frequens cum eruditis hujus ætatis literarium commercium, nec infrequens apud eosdem Towneleii Nomen.

Talis demum Eboraci xxii Jan. Anno Domini 1706,

Pie obiit.

Paucis quæ supra, pauca hæc adjici censuit Carolus, non tam sanguinis, quam animorum conjunctione frater, viæ vitæque comes perpetuus, sola morte divulsus, et nunc, proh dolor! è Testamenti curatoribus mœstissimus.

* Much more generally known since the publication of the Paston Letters, by Sir John Fenn.

In the same chapel is also the following Epitaph :

Viro optimo, conjugi amantissimo,
Cuthberto Kennet
de Coxhow in Episcopatu Dunelmensi arm.
filio Johannis Kennet et Troth filiæ
Tho. Tempest de Stella in Com. Northum. Bart.
Francisca Conjux
filia Ricardi Towneley de Towneley Armigeri
hoc, quaecunque monumentum
mœrens posuit :
Pie obiit prid. Kalend. Aug.
anno salutis MDCLXXXVIII.
ætatis trigessimoseptimo.

On the Western side of the church-yard is the *parva aula* of the Compotus belonging to the chantry-priest of St. Mary's altar, as appears by the cypher J. T. and two shields, one containing the arms of Townley, and the other of Gateford.

This is said to have been occupied as the grammar-school till about the year 1695, when, upon some dispute between the family and the parish, another was erected in a more convenient situation *.

The tall and shapely cross, with a crucifix cut in relief upon it, which stood in the church-yard, and is mentioned by Thoresby †, was brutally destroyed by a drunken rabble, hired for the purpose a few years ago; the last instance, probably, of puritanical fury (for such it was) which has been directed against the ornaments of an English church. Around the octagonal base, which happened to escape the hands of these iconoclasts, and has since been removed to Townley, was the following inscription : *Orate pro anima Johannis Foldys capellani qui istam crucem fieri fecit, anno domini MCCCCXX.* I suppose this benefactor to have been of the Foldys's, of Danser House, an old and reputable family in the neighbourhood.

In the church of Burnley were four chantries, on the situation and endowments of which the following surrenders will throw considerable light.

1st. the rood altar, placed upon the rood loft at the entrance of the quire, which was removed in some late alterations in the church.

Of this chantry I meet with the following memorials, 25th Henry VIII. John Woodrof and others, churchwardens of Burnley, complain against R. Tattersall of Rigge, E. Tattersall, and Christopher Jackson, for the unjust detention of $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres, and 1-3d of a rood in Habringham Evez, given by John Yngham, chaplaine, to the church of Burneley, for celebration of masse for the repose of his soule. Ric. Tempest, mil. senescallo.

* This, with the adjoining gardens, having been purchased by the Chapelry for the purpose of enlarging the burial-ground, was pulled down 1814; and the whole church-yard, surrounded by a stone-wall, is now about to be locked up, and secured from all profanation.

† See Ducatus Leodiensis.

George Halsted, of Burnley, surrenders Smallshey, in Habringham Evez, as surviving feoffee in trust to a settlement made by Alex. Riley, first for the use of Henry Riley, chaplain, A. M. in tail; then for Margaret, his sister, in tail; and for default, &c. in trust for the rood-priest in Burnley Church. 36th Hen. VIII.

Forbid, as contrary to the intent of an indenture, written with the proper hand of Sir John Yngham priest.

2d. The altar of St. Peter, or the high altar, the officiating priest at which was properly the incumbent of the church.

Of this chantry the last incumbent was Sir Gilbert Fairbanke, who survived to the year 1566; and the following transactions occur with respect to it.

At a court held at Higham, Oct. 1, 6th Edward VI. Arthur Darcy, mil. sen. the steward, with the approbation of the king's commissioners, grants one messuage, croft, and garden, in Burnley, late belonging to the chantry of St. Peter, in the church of Burnley, to the use of Gilbert Fairbank, late incumbent there, for life; and, after his decease*, to the use of a master in a school founded, or to be founded, for the instruction of youth, in the town of Burnley. Thus, the house now occupied by the schoolmaster, heretofore belonged to the incumbent of the church.

At the same Court, the steward grants one close of land in Haberghameaves, containing 17 A. 1 R. late belonging to the chantry of St. Peter, in Burnley Church, to the use of the same Gilbert Fairbanke, for life—an humane and equitable provision!

Again, at an Halmot Court for the Manor of Ightenhill, A. 5 Eliz. John Aspden clerk, executor of Geoffry Wilkinson deceased, surrenders to Laur. Habergham of H., I. Parker of Extwistle, jun. Simon Haydock, jun. J. Barcroft of B. jun. and Robert son of Thomas Whitaker of Holme, one messuage, one *horreum*, garden, and toft, in trust, to be applied, after the decease of G. Fairbanke, cl. to the foundation, support, and mayntenance of one free grammar-school, founded or erected, or hereafter to be founded or erected, in Brunley; and the mayntenance of a schoolmaster in succession, to teach children and young men, from time to time, for ever.

3d. The altar of St. Mary, in the Townley choir†, of the lands belonging to which no alienation appears.

4th. The altar of St. Anthony. (*Qu.* Whether belonging to Ightenhill Park, or Gawthorp?)

These were respectively served, at the Dissolution, by two incumbents, Stephen Smyth and Richard Itchon; but I am unable to assign to either of them his own chantry.

By the appointment of Edward Warner, knight, Henry Saville, Esq. and James Gardyner, his Majesty's commissioners, one messuage, two crofts, containing $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres, called Pkynrode, part of the chantrie landes, late held by Stephen Smyth, a chantrie-priest in Burneley Church, were granted to the said Stephen for life. 4th Edward VI. Arth. Darcy, mil. sen.

Pursuant to a decree of the Duchy Court of Sir John Garth, chancellor, a grant is passed to William Kenyon, gent. of one messuage, two gardens, and $13\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land belonging to the chantrie in Burneley Church, where Stephen Smyth was chaplain. 7th Edward VI.

* By a later surrender.

† It is probable that the endowment of this chantry consisted of freehold lands; and, from the circumstance of the three others being endowed with copyhold lands, it seems that they were of later date.

The king's commissioners grant to Richard Ridyalgh, &c. a cottage and croft in Habergameaves, late belonging to a chantrie, for which Richard Itchon officiated, in trust for Itchon for life—remainder to Ridyalgh. 4th Edw. VI.

The farm called Ridgehey, within Burneley, containing ten acres, belonged to the chantry of St. Mary, at Blackburn: for the curious foundation-deed of which, see under *Blackburn*.

I find also, that by surrender, dated 13th Henry VIII. one William Picoppe granted certain lands there specified to William Barcroft and Robert his son, in trust, that if he die without issue, they should stand seized of the same as feoffees for the use of a priest to "saye masse and oder service in the kirk of Brunley for ever, for ye sawle of me ye saide William, and for fader and moder, and for all Christen sawles *."

Whether, however, the condition happened, and this foundation ever took place or not, I have no where been able to discover.

The following account will shew the progressive steps by which the curacy of Burnley, after having been stripped of its second-† endowment at the dissolution of the chantries, has been augmented to its present value, not less than 300*l.* *per annum*.

First, then, it appears by inquisition, taken at Manchester April 11th, 1683, that "in the 2d year of Edw. VI. a commission under the great seal was directed to Sir Walter Mildmay, knight, &c. to take order, amongst other things, for the maintenance and continuance of schools and preachers, and of priests and curates, for serving cures and administration of sacraments, and that it was certified to the said commissioners, that the chapel of Burnley, among other chapels in the parish of Whalley, in the county of Lancaster, in which parish ‡ there were four several chantries founded, was a chapel of ease far distant from the parish-church, and therefore very necessary to be continued for divers services, and for administration of sacraments, &c.; it was therefore decreed that John Aspden, the incumbent, should serve there, and should have for his wages, yearly, the sum of 4*l.* 8*s.* 11*d.*" In the 10th year of Elizabeth, however, Aspden died, and the payment of this sum was discontinued till the 31st of the same reign; and, in that long interval, no regular appointment of a successor to the last incumbent took place; so that Sir William Ducksbury, who is styled curate of Burnley in the register, and who died in 1583; and Riley, who next occurs, in the earlier part of his time, must have been mere stipendiaries. However, in the year 1589, several inhabitants of the chapelry preferred a petition to the chancellor and counsel of the duchy, praying them to have "consideration and care that some godly minister and preacher might be had and provided for their better instruction;" and also, that they would be pleased to continue the allowance of the said yearly stipend: and, for the perpetual continuance of a minister or preacher in the said chapel, the inhabitants aforesaid did then promise a supply to make up the said stipend 20 marks yearly at the least, and that the said minister or preacher should always thereafter be nominated and allowed by three neighbouring justices of the peace. I do not know whether the justices of peace ever exercised the pretended right thus devolved upon them. It is however certain, that the prayer of this most reasonable petition was heard: the arrears owing for the last 22 years were ordered to be paid by instalments, and the pension was continued without interruption till the year 1683; when Robert Hartley,

* Townl. MSS.

† For an account of the original glebe, and of the occasion upon which it was alienated, *vide* p. 145.

‡ I suppose written by mistake for chapel.

clerk, minister of Burnley, certified to Sir John Arderne, knight, and other commissioners, that the inhabitants of the chapelry had not, for many years past, paid their sum of *£l. 17s. 9d.* to make up the said 20 marks; but that they were then ready so to do, and to be obliged to do the same for the future.

Hereupon the said Commissioners decreed, that the inhabitants of the said chapelry, their heirs and assigns, should pay to the said Robert Hartley, clerk, and his successors, the sum of *£l. 17s. 9d.* in the following proportions: *viz.* Haberghameaves, *2l. 4s. 3d.* Burnley, *1l. 12s. 5d.* Cliviger, *2l. 4s. 4d.* and Brearcliffe, *2l. 16s. 9d.*

This may be considered as the basis of the present endowment.

Another source of the income is the Easter roll, &c. through the chapelry, held under the Vicar of Whalley, by grant from Archbishop Juxon, as noticed above.

A third arises from a number of successive benefactions, of which the following is an account:—

About the year 1696, Edward Townley, rector of Slaidburn, gave the house, now called the parsonage, with the lands adjoining; and Richard Kippax, then incumbent, built the cross-end in front of the house.

Again, by surrender, bearing date Oct. 4th, 1699, Nicholas Townley, of Royle, Esq. brother of the above, gave a moiety of the tenement called Cockridge.

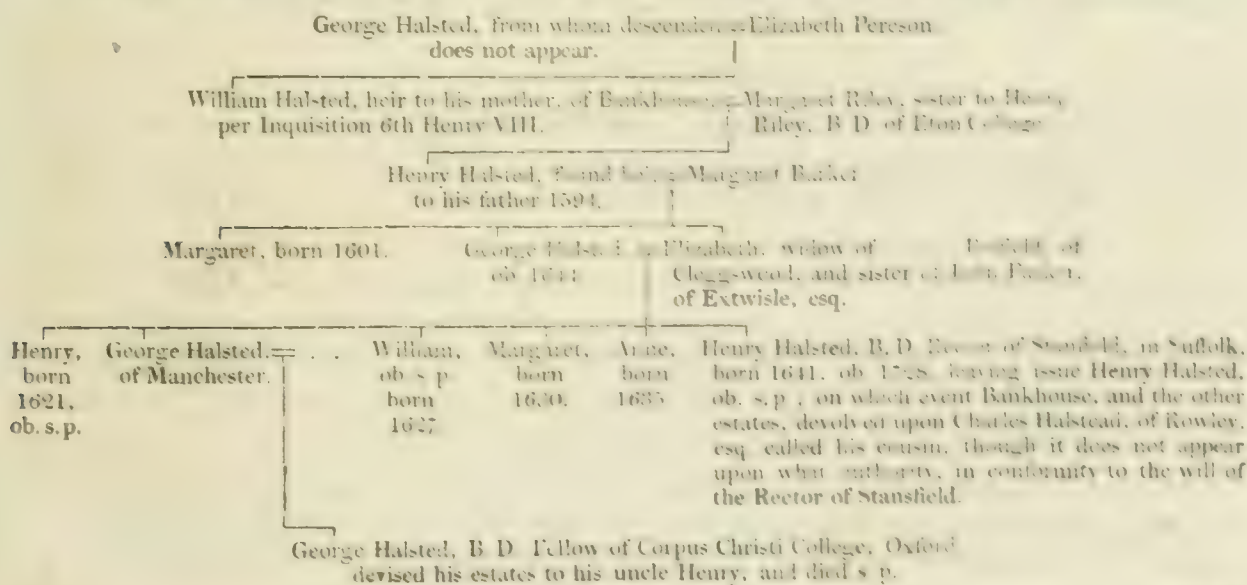
Lastly, Edmund Townley, above mentioned, advanced the sum of 400*l.*

To which the governors of queen Anne's bounty added 400*l.*; and, with these two sums, the house and estate of Bankhouse* were purchased from the devisees of Henry Halsted, clerk,

* Bankhouse, 16 Edward IV. was the property of "Rauffe Perysson," of Cliviger. Ralph had two sons, Richard and Thomas: Richard had Elizabeth. At an Halmot Court, held at Ightenhill 19 Henry VII. Thomas, Earl of Derby steward, Elizabeth "complains of Thomas, her uncle, in a plea of land, whereof she was unjustly deformed." Hereupon a Jury is impannelled, who find "That Thomas Pereson is not right customed, according to our custome, for cause they made the indentures after ye death of Rauff Pereson a yere and more."

"We find alsoe, that no copyhold land cannot be tayled to the heires male; and (if) it be so, it is contrary to owre custumes."

"And so we find that Elizabeth is right heire to Rauffe Pereson and Richard Pereson her fader."



rector of Stansfield in Suffolk. For this consideration, also, the advowson was conveyed, by all proper parties, to the said Edmund Townley, as a benefactor.

Here follows an extract from the last will of this benefactor, dated Nov. 22d, 1729 :—

“ And it is my earnest request to the curates of Burnley for ever, that they will, by the
 “ grace of God, make their lives suitable to their doctrine; for nothing can bring a greater
 “ blemish to religion in general, and to our most truly primitive ecclesiastical church-establish-
 “ ment in this kingdom, than the dissolute lives of the clergy. And because, when the foun-
 “ dation is not well laid, the superstructure often suffers damage, therefore I do earnestly
 “ request the said curates, that they will take great pains in catechizing the youth, and that
 “ they will use such plain and easy explanations of the same as may be suited to the most
 “ ordinary capacities. And that they will be careful to read such acts of parliament (and see
 “ that they be duly executed by such officers as the law hath appointed) for the suppression
 “ of the prophane and immoral at proper seasons; and I hope they will think it more than
 “ ordinarily inculcated upon them to be careful in this particular, because a great deal of the
 “ reformation of men’s lives depends upon it. And since I am legally invested in a clear
 “ and absolute title to the advowson and perpetual right of presentation to the curacy of the
 “ Chapel of Burnley, I do hereby assign and make over my full right and title thereunto to
 “ my nephew, Thomas Townley, of Royle, Esq. and to the heirs male of that family for ever;
 “ but with this limitation, that if there be no son of that house capable of the place, then it
 “ shall pass over to a son of cousin J. Haydock, of Hesandforth, or to any issue of that family,
 “ for ever; and if there be a failure in both the said families, I would have the patron have respect
 “ to a son of the family of Halsted, of Rooley; and in case of a deficiency in all the said families,
 “ I leave the free choice to him that shall be patron of the family of Royle, for ever.”

Good words, it is said, are cheap coin; but, if any thing in human nature were matter of wonder, who would not be astonished to hear that this man, so anxious to provide that other clergymen should perform *their duty*, entirely neglected a benefice of his own; or that one so profuse in works of munificence, should be extremely deficient in discharging the offices of common justice? It will be well, however, if those to whom these admonitions are directed, can prevail upon themselves to remember *them*, and to forget their author.

CAPELLANI DE BRUNLEY.

Henricus, Clericus de Brunlay,	temp. Rog. de Lacy, circ. A.D.	1200
Johannes, Clericus de Brunlay,	<i>sans</i> date.	
Wauter, Capellanus de Brunlay,	A.D. - - - - -	1300
Rich. de Brunlay, Capel.	- - - - -	1358
Wm. Moton, and John fil. Adam fil. Wauter, Capel.	- - - - -	1359
Elias de Habringham, Capel. de Brunlay	- - - - -	1369
Rob. de Bolton*, Capel. de Brunlay	- - - - -	1375
Johannes Foldys, Capel. †	- - - - -	1520

* The first eight names in this catalogue have been collected from charters, the ninth from the inscription on the cross, and the rest from the register of the church.

† I am not sure whether he was incumbent, or served at one of the other altars.

Sir Gilbert Fairbank *, died	-	-	-	-	-	-	1566
Sir John Aspden †, died	-	-	-	-	-	-	1568
Sir Wm. Duxbury ‡, Curate of Burnley, died	-	-	-	-	-	-	1583
Thomas Riley §, Minister, died	-	-	-	-	-	-	1631
Roger Brearley, died	-	-	-	-	-	-	1637
Henry Morris occurs from	-	-	-	-	-	-	1640 to 1653
John Walwork, died	-	-	-	-	-	-	1671
Robert Hartley, died	-	-	-	-	-	-	1687
Richard Kippax ¶, died	-	-	-	-	-	-	1723
James Matthews **, died	-	-	-	-	-	-	1744
Turner Standish ††, A. B.	-	-	-	-	-	-	1787
Thomas Collins, D. D.							

By the Inquisition of 1650, Lamb. MSS. 912, it was found that the parochial chapelry of Burnley consisted of Burnley, Haberghameaves, and Worsthorn, containing 300 families, that the minister, Mr. Henry Morris, an able and orthodox divine, received 11*l.* 10*s.* from the Chapelry, 4*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.* from the Dutchy of Lancaster, and from the Commissioners for the county 24*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.*

Also, that the inhabitants of Newlaund, Reedyhallows, Filly Close, and Ightenhill Park, one mile and a half distant from Burnley, desire to be united to it, and the whole to be erected into a parish.

The ancient glebe belonging to the chaplains of Burnley, before the appropriation, was exactly 35 acres, or two oxgangs. *Vide* Survey, 36th Elizabeth. By a subsequent inclosure, it is now augmented to 48 acres.

GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

That there was a school here in the time of Edward VI. appears from the life of Dr. Whittaker, who is recorded to have received the earlier part of his education here, under the care of one Hargreaves, but it seems to have been unendowed. We have seen also that the house of the last Catholic incumbent was reserved for the use of a schoolmaster.

However, *ann.* 20th Elizabeth, Sir Robert Ingham, clerk, rector of Stocking Pelham Harts, granted a certain messuage or tenement called Alfrethes, situated at Farnelham, in Essex, to his nephew John Ingham, on condition that he, the said John, should charge the said tenement with a rent-charge of 3*l.* for ever, for and towards the maintenance, &c. of a

* Sir Gilbert Fairbank, chantrie-priest of Burnley, sep. Jan., 28th, 1566.—Reg. Burn.

† The first Protestant incumbent.

‡ Probably a stipendiary only. See the Inquisition above.

§ There is an Edward Welch, minister, mentioned in the register, A. D. 1607; but at this time Riley was clearly the incumbent, as he occurs in the register immediately after the death of Duxbury.

|| He was minister during the usurpation; and used the Directory, which was introduced at Burnley June 9th, 1645.

¶ Thomas Kay, curate of Burnley, was buried at Whalley July 6, 1690; but Kippax was licensed in 1687, and survived the date of Kay's death many years; he can, therefore, have been assistant only.

** Son of James Matthews, Vicar of Whalley, interred at Whalley May 17th, 1744.

†† He was younger son of Sir Thomas Standish, of Duxbury, Bart

schoolmaster, to teach young persons freely, in *the free grammar-school founded and established in Brunley, in Com. Lanc.* Accordingly, the nephew granted the above rent-charge to Richard, son and heir-apparent of John Townley, of Townley, Esq.; William Barcroft, of Lodge; John Parker, of Extwisle; Simon, son and heir of Evan Haydock, of Hesandforth; Robert Whitaker, of Holme, gents.; and John Woodroff, son and heir of John Woodroff, of Brunley, yeoman—their heirs and assigns, to stand seized of the same, for the use and intent aforesaid.

The next donation appears to have been a farm at Alverthorpe, near Wakefield, demised, by the folly of the trustees, for the term of 200 years, which is very lately expired. I have not discovered who was the donor.

Again, by surrender, bearing date Oct. 4, 1699, Nicholas Townley, of Royle, Esq. gave the tenement called Cockridge, to the church and school of Burnley—I suppose in equal portions.

And Edmund Townley, rector of Slaidburn, and brother of the above, gave Ackerley's tenement on the Ridge to Burnley School, by surrender, dated April 30th, 1696.

By his last will and testament, dated Aug. 5th, 1728, Henry Halsted, clerk, B. D. rector of Stansfield, in Suffolk, gave and bequeathed to the master and feoffees of the free-school in Burnley, all his library of books at Stansfield. This collection is now lodged in a room above the school, and contains some valuable classical books*.

By the great Inquisition *post mortem* Henry de Lacy, A. D. 1311, it was found that there were

	£.	s.	d.
350 acres, 1 rood, and dim. demised in Brunley, to			
divers tenants at will - - - - -	5	18	1½
12 customary tenants, for 10 oxgangs held in bondage	2	10	0
Works remitted - - - - -	0	3	4
12 cottagers - - - - -	0	12	0
A water-mill - - - - -	0	10	0
Free tenants.			
Oliver de Stansfeud, 53 acres - - - - -	0	0	1
Adam, son of the clerk, 1 oxgang - - - - -	0	7	0
Jo. de Whitaker, 8 acres - - - - -	0	4	0
Thomas de Ryland, 20 acres - - - - -	0	3	0
Adam de Holden, 6 acres one rood - - - - -	0	3	5½
Dobley de Heley, 13 acres - - - - -	0	3	0
	£.10 14 0		

Estimating the oxgang at 15 acres, which is about the medium extent, the amount of the ancient freehold land in Burnley would be 112 acres, or nearly a carucate. Here were 12 cottages, 12 customary tenants, 6 freeholders; and allowing an oxgang to every tenant at will (23 tenants at will) a population, in the whole, of 53 families: perhaps a tenth part of the present number.

* Nothing can be more humane or judicious than such benefactions to country schools, to vestries, or parsonage-houses upon poor benefices.

MARKET.

In the 22d of Edward I. Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, obtained a charter for a market every Tuesday *, at his manor of Brunley, in Lancashire; as also a fair yearly on the eve, day, and morrow, after the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul. Dugd. Bar. vol. I. p. 104.

Above the town, in a low situation on the banks of the Brun, and environed with wood, is the old house of Hesandforth.

With respect to this house and demesne, the high antiquity of which is proved by the smallness of the render, it appears,

1st, That Robert de Merclesden granted to Robert de Swillington all that Ralph, son of Norman, had granted to him, viz. 40 acres, which Henry, the clerk of Bronley, formerly held between the rivulet flowing through the midst of Bronley, and the field called Saxifield, saving to John de Lacy, *domino suo*, his right of forest and venison, *sans* date, but before 1240, when John de Lacy died.

2d. — — — † grants to Oliver de Stanfeud, who held it at the time of the great inquisition of 1311.

3d. Geoffry Stanfield of Haysandforth (as per Inq.) died 15th Hen. VII. seized of the manor of Haysandforth, held by military service, leaving Johanna, his grand-daughter, daughter of Giles his son, of the age of two years; and this Johanna marrying Simon Haydock ‡, brought the estate into that family §.

PEDIGREE OF HAYDOCK.

Arms: Argent, a plain cross, Sable: 1st qr. a fleur de lys Gules.

Simon Haydock, Gen. vix. 24th Henry VIII. ob. 1568. = Johanna, daughter of Giles Stanfield, ob. 1562.

Simon Haydock = Anne, daughter of John Grimshaw, of Clayton.

Evan Haydock = Margaret Woodrooff, of Banktop, ob. 1587. Gilbert. Elenor = John Townley, of Hurstwood. Mary = Peter Ormerod, of Ormerod.

Simon Haydock = Anne, daughter of John Halsted, of Rowley. Evan, born 1576. Robert, born 1582. John, born 1584.

Evan Haydock, born 1596 =

Mary, born 1630. Simon Haydock = Mary, daughter of Robert, son of Edmund Townley, of Royle, esq.

Margaret, born 1650. Robert Haydock, born 1655, ob. 1698. = Anne, born 1658. John, born 1660, ob. inf.

Robert, born 1686, ob. 1690. = John Haydock, Justice of Peace for co. Lanc. ob. Sept. 1745.

* According to the Townley MSS. it was Wednesday.

† I have unfortunately mislaid my memorandum of this passage, but believe the party to have been Robert de Swillington, as above.

‡ There is no account extant to shew whence this branch of the Haydocks immediately came. Their origin was undoubtedly from Haydock, in the South of Lancashire. The name of Gilbert Haydock frequently occurs in Sir Peter Leycester's Account of Bucklow Hundred. I am equally unable to connect with this branch Sir Gilbert Haydock, Vicar of Rochdale, and William Haydock, Monk of Whalley.

§ For the descent of the Stansfields, from the first of Stanfield to Oliver, the first purchaser of this estate, and from him to Johanna, the last heiress, vide Worsthorn.

There

There is nothing remarkable about the house of Hesandforth (the old and true orthography of the word), excepting that one wing is built of deep and irregular courses of rude masonry, which characterize our most ancient buildings. The etymology of the word is pretty obvious. *High*, pronounced *hec*, *sand forth*; the ford of high sandbanks.

At the Northern extremity of the township, and near the junction of the Calder with the Pendle water, is

Royle, originally Role, which, from the time of Henry VIII. has been the residence of a principal branch from the parent house of Townley.

Of this estate, since become so considerable, the first record which I have met with is the following:—

“ 19th Hen. VI.—Trusty, &c. for als myche as John Parcour of Ightenhull will surrend up into the lordes handes a close with in the town of Bromley, called Roile, conteignyng XL acres of land, medowe and wood, the which he helde be costume of the manè to the behaffe of John Clerke, of Bromley, I wyll and charge yowe yt ye latte unto ye said John Clerke ye said close to have and to huld to ye seid John Clerk and his heires aced. to ye custome of ye manè yeldyng for evy acre of ye seid close *vid.* as ye seid P'cour. gaffe and doyng for all manè s'vicez. due and accustomed, takyng of ye said John Clerke fyn reasonable. And this shall be your warraunt, yiffen under my seale VIII of Novembre ye yere of kynge Henry ye sext afr. ye Conquest XIX.

PIERS ARDERNE, lieutenant
of ye duchie of Lancastre.

(L. S.) To ye stiewerd of Black-
bornshire p'ticler or to
his depute yere.”*

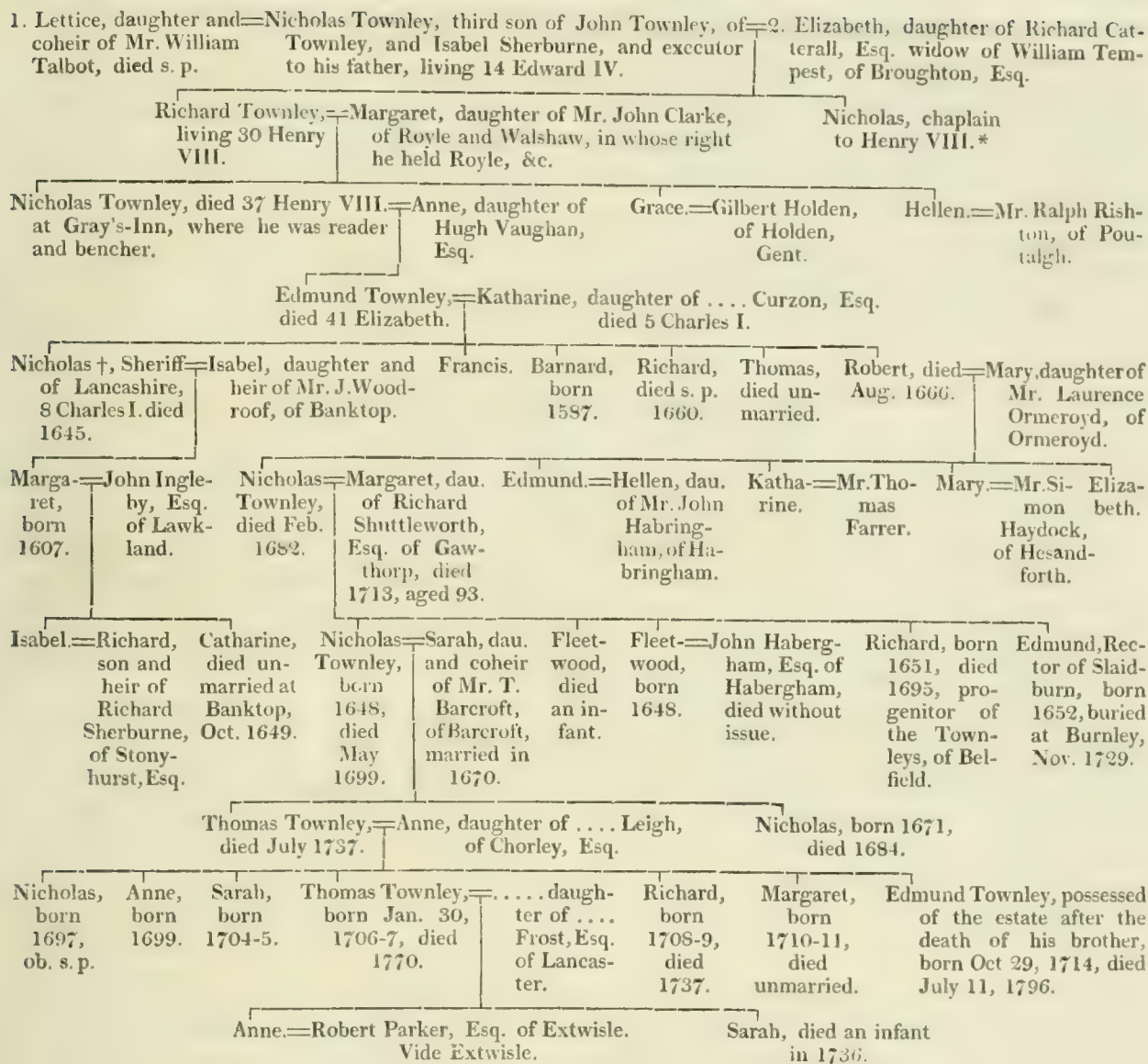
Next to this, and immediately, as it appears, after the marriage of Richard Townley with the heiress of Clerke, is a bond dated 10th Henry VIII. from the above Richard to John Clerke, of Warley (heir male).

Conditioned to “abide the award of ye Reverend Father in God, John, Abbot of the “monastery of our blessed Lady of Whalley, and Sir John Townley, knt. touching all manner “of disputes,” &c.

Then follows the award, allotting Keryall house and lands (a poor consideration, if he had any colourable claim upon the whole,) to John Clerk, in feetail, and Role, &c. &c. to Richard Townley, Margaret his wife, and ye heires of her body.

May it not be suspected, that in this adjudication the knight leaned too much to the side of his kinsman, and that the abbot was too complaisant to the knight?

* This is one of our earliest specimens of a legal transaction in English. I have (*vide* Preface), fixed our earliest English charters in this reign, and the latest French ones in that of Richard II.; but later researches have furnished me with an English *custumale* of the Honor of Clitheroe, of the reign of Henry IV. (Assheton MSS.), and one French charter of the same period, Townley MSS. I believe it would be difficult to meet with any other exceptions to the rule.

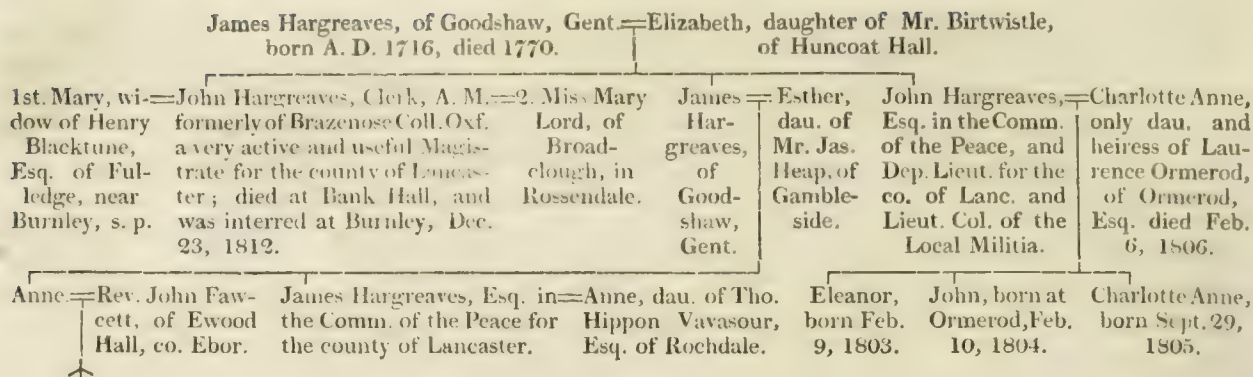


Near the North extremity of the town is Banktop, once the property of the Woodroofs, of whom Isabella, the last heiress, marrying Nicholas Townley, of Royle, Esq. Feb. 4, 1606, had an only daughter, Margaret, who married John Ingleby, of Lawkland, near Clapham, Esq. descended from Sir William Ingleby, of Ripley, Knight, by whom Isabella, married to Richard, son and heir of Richard Sherburne, of Stonyhurst, Esq. and Katherine, who died unmarried at Banktop, October 1649. In consequence of this last marriage the estate passed to the Sherburnes, and was sold by Mr. Weld, the late representative of the family, to the Rev. J. Hargreaves, who has erected upon it an excellent house.

* I find from Mr. Warton's History of English Poetry, that there was a Nicholas Townley, clerk of the works at the building of Cardinal College, now Christ Church, Oxford; and this was probably the man.

† This Nicholas had a large estate; and his daughter marrying contrary to his inclination, he settled his lands on Mr. Nicholas Townley, his cousin, leaving the conveyance in the hands of a friend, charging him not to declare it within a month after his decease, which was faithfully performed. MSS. Christopher Townley.

James



THE HAMLET OF HABRYNGHAM EVEZ.

In a charter, dated 31st Edward III. it is called “Hamletta de Habrincham in Villa de Brunley,” and this is unquestionably its proper denomination.

The orthography of this word has been extremely irregular: 1st. Hambrigham, then Abarincham, next Habringham, and lastly Habergham. Recurring therefore to the original spelling, I have no hesitation in referring it to the well-known Han or Hambrig. Eaves are properly a tract of ground surrounding a principal mansion. Thus Bashall Eaves, &c. from the Saxon *epepe margo*, *suggrundia*. *Lye apud Junium in voce*.

This township stretches nearly North West and South East from Padiham bridge to the top of Hore Law, a long and uniform ascent of about four miles, and from Bradley Brook, the boundary of Hapton, West, to Ightenhill Park, and afterwards to the Calder, East, from one to two.

At the time of the great Inquisition, after the death of Henry de Lacy in 1311, there were

In Habringham, demised to tenants at will, 248½ acres - - 4 2 10

Adam de Holden, and Hen. de Bridtwissell, 2 oxgangs of free land - 0 6 0

————— £. 4 8 10

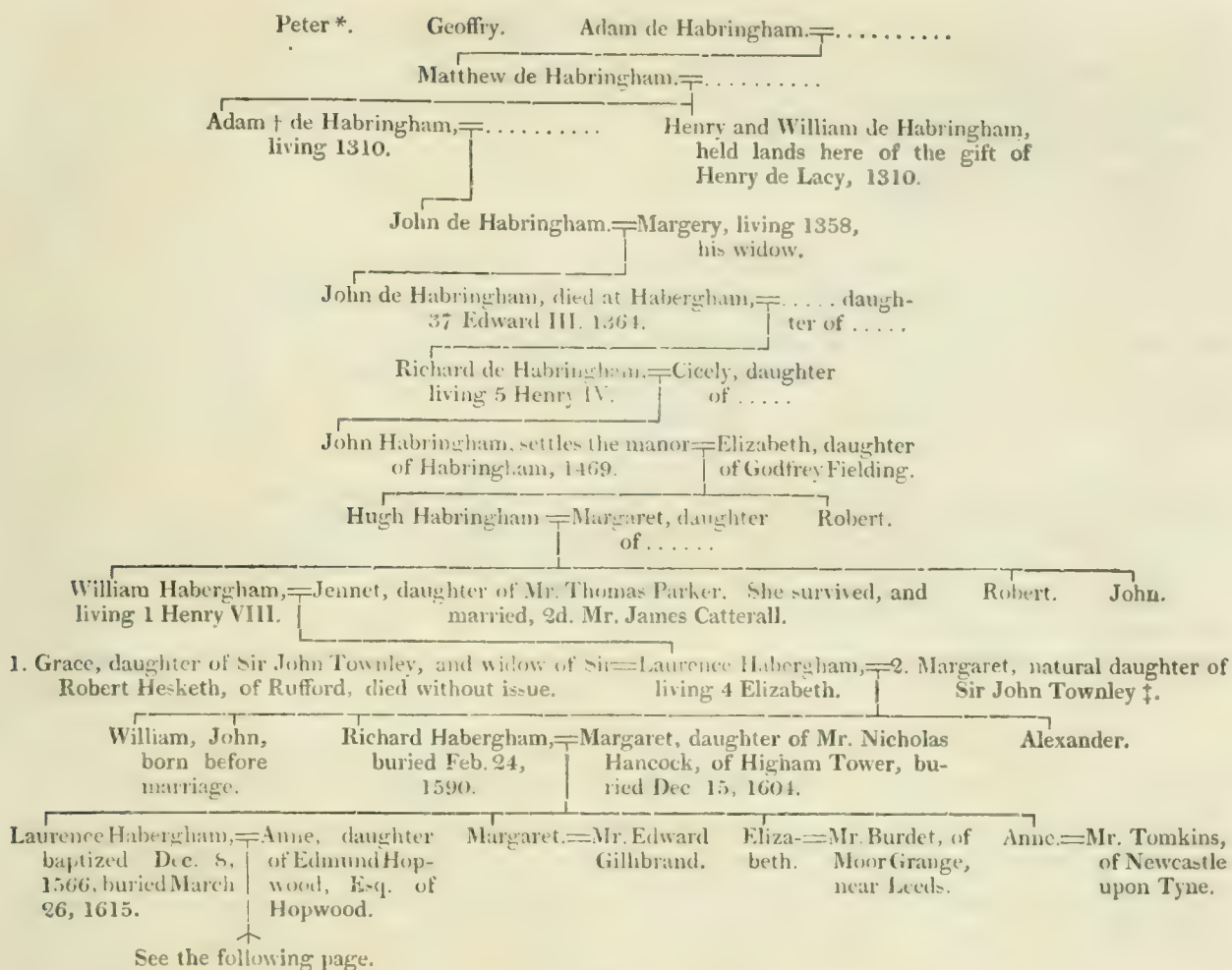
But here is no mention whatever of two oxgangs granted long before by Roger de Lacy, (*vide infra*) and which are in fact the original demesne of Habergham Hall. I cannot account for this omission. Including the last, the basis of property here can have been only half a carucate, which is the usual proportion of our hamlets. This survey also excludes Townley, which was then a separate hamlet.

By survey, taken anno 36 Elizabeth, there were in Burnley and Haberghameaves together, 378 acres of freehold land, and of ancient copyhold, 1375 acres, 2 roods, 1 pole. The number of freeholders, eight, and of copyholders, who held no freehold, 55. In consequence of the decree of enclosure for the manor of Ightenhill, dated June 25, 1618, the whole is now divided.

At Habergham Hall flourished, for several centuries, a respectable family of the same name, who bore Argent, three pole-axes Sable, Or, three cross crosslets. The first of these, of whom I have met with any account, was

Matthew de Hambrigham, to whom Roger de Lacy, who died A. D. 1211, granted two oxgangs of land in Hambrigham.

Next occur in charters, without date,



* Grants the homage and service of Adam, son of Peter de Habringham, in Wardis, Relievis, &c. Townley MSS. This seems to have been the first Adam.

† It is extraordinary that Christopher Townley, who first compiled the pedigree, had actually transcribed charters from which I have given these five descents, and has yet omitted them all; even the first grantee from Roger de Lacy.

‡ It appears that Laurence Habergham married Grace, Lady Hesketh, about 1546, and that she did not survive above three or four months, after which he married the said Margaret, natural daughter, as she is called, of Jennet Ingham, a single woman; but, according to other accounts, Sir John Townley is said to have been married to Jennet Ingham, (qu. whether of the Inghams, of Fulfilledge, in Burnley wood?) but, on account of her inferior rank, the marriage was not acknowledged. Whatever the true state of the case may have been, Mr. Habergham was prosecuted for the second marriage as incestuous. With respect to the issue of the suit, it is clear from the succession of the family, that the marriage was not annulled; but it is probable that both parties gained their respective ends—the husband, in retaining his wife; and the promoters, in extorting money. *Ex. instr. dat. die Jov. 8, 1562, in domo Præbendæ de Ulkelf infra Cath. Ebor.*

I have since found the determination of Thomas Young, Archbishop of York, which was, that Margaret, daughter of Jennett Ingham, being merely the putative child of Sir John Townley, begotten during the lifetime of his wife, the marriage was valid, as the law of incest does not extend to the relation between putative and legitimate children.

windows projecting upon corbels, covered with lead, and surmounted by a single turret in the centre of the roof. The portraits of the founder, and many collateral branches of the family (for neither of the brothers to whom it is ascribed, left any descendants) are remembered in the house; but it has never been more than an occasional residence since the death of Richard Shuttleworth, Esq. in 1669, the acquisition of fairer seats, by a succession of wealthy marriages, having occasioned its desertion.

However, it is a building which, from its durable materials and strong construction, will endure neglect; and, if it escape a violent demolition, with which it was once threatened, may remain for centuries a monument of that style which combines the picturesque effect of the castellated mansion with some degree of internal lightness and convenience.

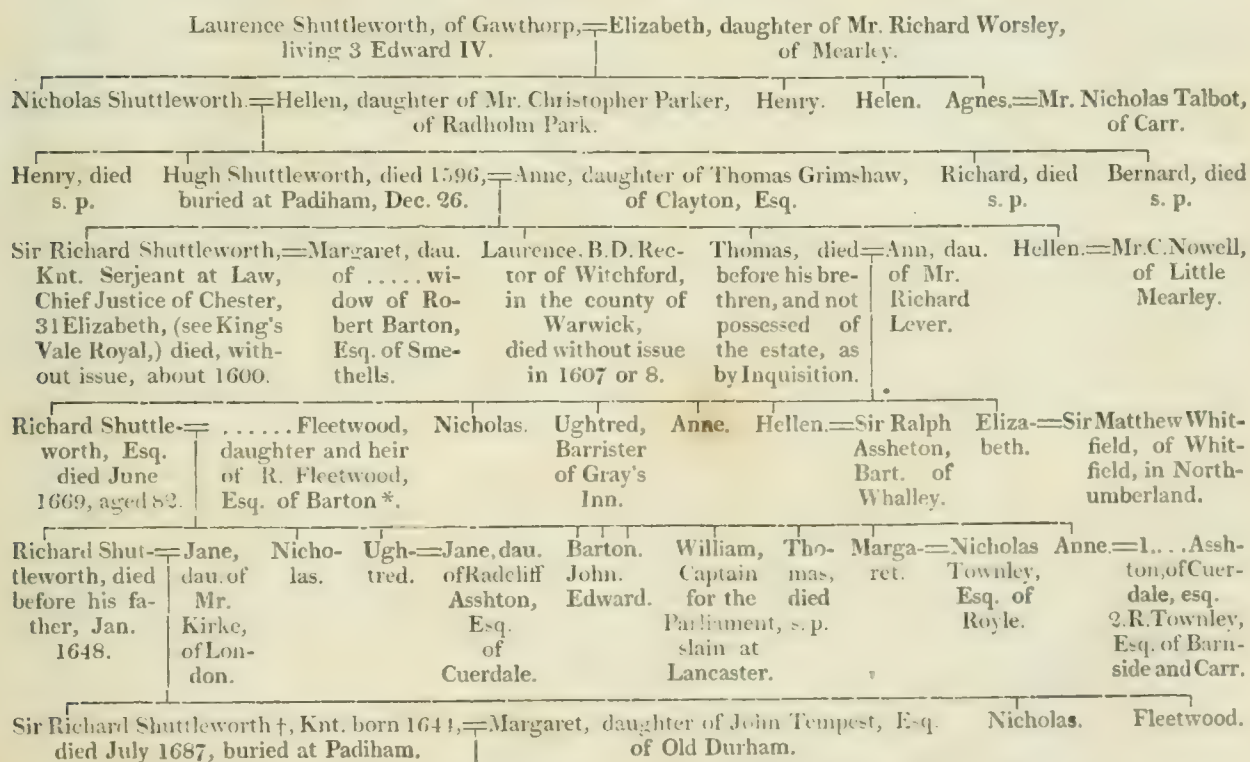
The origin of this branch of the family, and their first settlement at Gawthorp, was as follows:

Henry Shuttleworth married Agnes, daughter and heiress of William de Hacking, by whom Ughtred Shuttleworth, the first of Gawthorp, a name which the family seemed anxious to perpetuate as of the founder of their house.

The proof of this fact was extracted by Christopher Townley, from the old court rolls at Clitheroe, which are now lost.

“Halmot apud Brunlay, 12 Ric. II. Joh. de Eves sursum red. 25½ acres de Rodlaund in “villa Ightenhull ad usum Ughtred de Shuttleworth.”

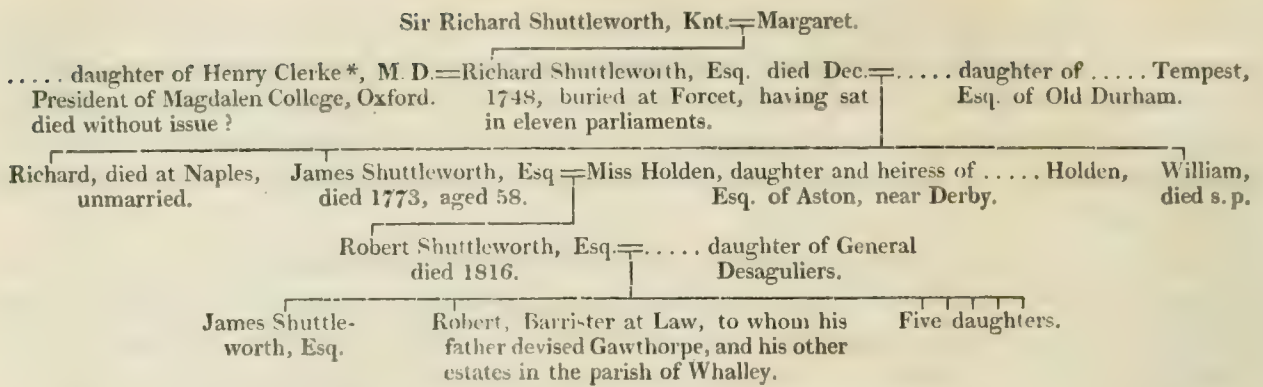
Next, after an interval of more than seventy years, occurs



See the following page.

* This lady was espoused first to Richard Lord Molineux in his nonage but (he or she) consented not to it when of age. MSS. Hopk.

† The opulence of the family, and, at the same time, the convenience of paper currency, appear from the follow-



TOWNLEY cum BRUNSHAW.

The next hamlet within the township of Brunley, is Townley with Brunshaw, which is charged in the most authentic of all our ancient documents †, as follows :

“ Heredes de Towneley, Brounshagh, et Towneley, pro hom. et servitio et
factione sectæ ad Clitheroe de tribus sept. in tres septimanas - - - 0 18 3

In a deed, without date, in a semi Saxon character, and probably of the reign of Stephen or Henry II. the name first occurs in the person of an Henry de Tunlay, who had no relation to the present family, but who can be proved to have resided here before the grant of the “Villa de Tunlay” to the Deans of Whalley; for in a charter of Alexander, the first Abbot of Kirkstall, who died in 1181, I find Henry de Tunlay, Richard his brother, and William his son. But what is of more importance, here appears also a Walter Capellanus de Tunlay, which leads me to conjecture that in those early times this hamlet had a village and chapel, both which must have been destroyed to make room for the house, offices, and grounds, of the opulent family which followed: and accordingly a small close, now partly included in the kitchen garden, is still remembered by the name of the Chapel Lee; and, within this enclosure, I have heard one of the old workmen affirm, that human bones had been discovered. This orthography, Tunlay, is found ‡ as lately as the time of Edward III. from which æra it has undergone a succession of changes — Thonlay, Touneley, Towneley, Townley, and lately Towneley again. The etymology is obvious, *tun* prædium, *villa* §, and *lega*, ager.

ing entry in the accounts of an agent at Gawthorp, 1677. “13 Dec. Item, for Rundlets, to carry money in to Forcet.” This was another beautiful seat and estate then belonging to the Shuttleworths, near Richmond, Yorkshire.

* Henry Clerke, M. D. President of Magdalen College, Oxford, died at the house of his son-in-law, Richard Shuttleworth, called Gawthorp Hall, in Lancashire, March 24, 1686-7. Gutch's Antiquities of Oxford. The avoidance occasioned by Dr. Clerke's death, produced the memorable contest between James II. and the Fellows of Magdalen College, which materially contributed to the ruin of that infatuated prince. This Richard Shuttleworth appears to have had two wives, of whom the latter must have been his first cousin, and from whom the present family are said to be descended. I have, therefore, marked the descending line accordingly, but with a ? Neither am I certain whether a popular story ought to be applied to this Richard or Sir Richard his father, to wit, that the ages of himself, his lady, and oldest child, did not exceed thirty-one years.

† Inquisition of 1311.

‡ See the grant of the bailiwick.

§ See Spelman's Glossary in voce *tun*.

The original site of Townley appears to have been a tall and shapely knoll, southward from the present mansion, still denominated the Castle-hill, and immediately adjoining to the farm called Old-house, on the eastern and precipitous side of which are the obscure remains of trenches, which, on the three more accessible quarters, have been demolished by the plough. Here, therefore, in very early times, and far beyond any written memorials, was the Villa de Tunlay, the residence, unquestionably, of one of those independent lords before the Conquest, who presided over every village, and held immediately of the Crown *. When this elevated situation was abandoned, it is impossible to ascertain from written evidence or tradition; but the present house may in part, at least, lay claim to high antiquity †. It is a large and venerable pile, with two deep wings, and as many towers, embattled and supported at the angles by strong projecting buttresses, all of which contribute to give it a formidable and castle-like air. But it was, till about a century ago, a complete quadrangle, with four turrets at the angles, of which the South side, still remaining, has walls more than six feet thick, constructed with groutwork, and of that peculiar species of rude masonry which will be noticed under the observations on domestic architecture, and which indicates a very early date. The side opposite to this was rebuilt by Richard Townley, Esq. immediately before his death, in 1628; but the new building applied to it on the North, was the work of the William Townley, who died in 1741. On the North East side, now laid open, were two turrets in the angles, a gateway, a chapel, and a sacristy, with a library over it. These last were removed by Charles Townley, Esq. about a century ago, and placed with religious reverence in their present situation, the stonework, wainscot, and every thing to which the effects of consecration could be supposed to extend, having been preserved entire. All these had been the work of Sir John Townley, Knt. The vestments, some of which are of a very antique and unusual form, are recorded by tradition to have been brought from Whalley Abbey. Opposite to the side of the quadrangle now demolished, is the hall, a lofty and luminous room, rebuilt in 1725, by Richard Townley, Esq.

Here is an unbroken series of family portraits, from John Towneley, Esq. in the time of Elizabeth, to the uncle of the present owner. One apartment is completely filled (besides a full length of Richard Townley, Esq. who died 1635), with heads inserted in the pannels of the wainscot. In the dining-room hangs a noble picture inscribed with the name of the first Lord Widdrington, killed in Wigan Lane; a page presenting him with armour: but is more probably that of his son.

But the great ornaments of this place are the noble woods, principally of ancient oak, finely disposed and scattered over the park and demesnes to a great extent. One forest scene immediately beyond the house, though formerly perforated by rectilinear avenues in the geometrical style of gardening, which prevailed in the latter end of the last century, had been fortunately neglected till the awkward intervals were nearly closed, and the oaks had acquired a bulk and solemnity which called for nothing but the hand of taste, removing obstructions

* See History of Property, and Domesday Book, in Blackburne Hundred.

† At the foot of this hill, and in the township of Cliviger, is the Old house, said by tradition, to have been once the site of the mansion: if so, the fortified hill was abandoned pretty early. A circumstance which confirms the tradition is, that a charter of Gilbert de la Legh, dated 16th Edward III. and not likely to have been executed any where but in his own house, is dated apud Clivacher.

and exhibiting them in proper points, to produce a most picturesque and interesting effect. The licence for inclosing the old park of Townley, which lay West from the house, bears date as per Inquisition, 6th of Henry VII.

The malice and the superstition of the common people have doomed the spirit of some former and hitherto forgotten possessor of this estate, to wander in restless and long unappeased solicitude; crying,

Lay out, Lay out,
Horelaw and Hollinhey Clough.

Let it be understood that by *lay out*, is meant the reverse of *take in*,—to throw open, that is, or disappropriate.

Now to shew at once the foundation and the antiquity of this story, as well as to illustrate a remark, that traditions, when stripped of the marvellous, have generally their basis in truth, I will quote the following record:

“By letters patent, dated Feb. 28th, 1st Jacobi, the said king grants unto Charles Lord Mountjoy, Earl of Devon, in consideration of the good services done by him in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and since, *inter alia*,* all that parcel of land called Horelaw pasture, containing, by estimation, 194 acres, of 24 feet to every perch, abutting on the North upon a pasture called Hollinhey, parcel of the possession of the Dutchy of Lancaster, and formerly enclosed in severalty by John Townley, Knight.”†

This was evidently an encroachment, which had been seized by the officers of the Dutchy, and granted out afresh. But the offence has been remembered long after it had been redressed, and even when the name of the offending party was forgotten.

Inclosures were always unpopular among the common people, who uniformly inflicted upon their oppressors that punishment after death which they were unable to do in their lifetime. A bishop of Sherborne, and another of Lincoln, according to Leland‡, were robbed of the repose of their souls, and condemned to wander about their own parks, for the same offence. The same author records the curses bestowed upon Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, by the commonalty, for enclosing the field of Thornbury, in the county of Gloucester§. And the reader of Shakespeare will remember the unfortunate petition presented to the Duke of Suffolk against himself for inclosing the commons of Melford||.

* In 1612, this demesne was surveyed, and the lands estimated, upon an average, at little more than 2s. per acre.—The Parliamentary Survey of this demesne extends to 1070 acres, of 7 yards to the perch, including Brunshaw 118 acres, Horelaw 292, purchased from the Crown under a reserved rent of 10s. and the demesnes in Cliviger, of which the whole valuation was 211*l*.—The wood was estimated at 900*l*. There was neither then, nor at the time of the former Survey, any park, but Old Park Meadow is mentioned.—The first of the above Surveys, together with many curious particulars, partly written and partly subscribed by Ric. Townley the elder, who died in 1628, are contained in a large folio, in very antique binding, with a strap and buckle, locked up in Mr. Townley's private book-case. The latter is in the same volume, but in a later hand.

† See the Court Rolls at Clitheroe.

‡ Itinerary.

§ Ed. D. of B. made a fayre Parke hard by the Castle, and took much faire grounde in it, very fruitefull of corne, now fayr launds for coursing. The inhabitants cursyd the Duke for thes lands so inclosyd.—Lel. It. vol. IV. p. 95.

|| See Second Part of Henry VI.

I am

I am not displeased to have been able to trace this popular superstition to its real source.

By that original and accurate memoir, the *Status de Blackburnshire*, whose merits I have already discussed, we are enabled, on the clearest evidence, (corroborated by the collateral testimony of charters) to deduce the present family of Townley from the Deans of Whalley. But the following charter will shew by what means the deans themselves became possessed of the *Villa de Tunlay*, which, by a privilege always exercised by them, though sometimes contested by their successors, they actually transmitted in fee to their lay descendants.

“*Sciant presentes et futuri, quod ego Rogerus de Lascy, Con. Cest. concessi et dedi Galfrido fil. Rob. Decani de Walleia pro hom. et serv. suo duas bovatas terræ in Tunleia cum suis pertinentiis pro quadam mansione ibidem habenda quando venari voluerit, communi pasturæ de Brunleia et omnibus aliis aisiamentis, &c. et cum omnimoda Chacea ad omnes feras bestias extra meas haias dominicales. Et sciendum est quod prædictus Galfridus habebit prædict. bovatas infra has divisas, viz. a Thornlai Clogh descendendo usque Calder et sic sequendo Calder usque ad Bradbrig et del Bradbrig usque ad Dedsike (qu. Dodsike) usque le Haukesnest Clogh Heved et del Haukesnest Clogh Heved usque le Pikedelaw et de Pike de Law usque Crowbrock, et sic sequendo le Crowbroch usque ad summum caput de Crowbrocke, et sic a summo capite de Crowbrocke, usque le Withenslackeheid et ex le Withenslackheid, usque le Middlehill et ex le Middlehill, usque Thornelaisike heved (Thornden-head) et sic usque Thornlin Clough.*”

The æra of this charter is of course somewhere between 1193, the year of Roger de Lacy's accession to the estate, and 1211, when he died.

A careful comparison of Abbot Lyndlay's account of the Deans of Whalley, with the charters to which they were parties or witnesses, has enabled me to give a corrected, and, I hope, nearly an accurate statement of this singular genealogy, which, according to the same account, extends to 170 years before the Conquest, though that computation allows only eight generations for a period of three centuries.

Notes on the opposite Pedigree.

¹ Of whom see a wild and picturesque story (Mon. Angl. v. I.) that he cut off the tail of a wolf while hunting in Rossendale, from which he acquired his name. Since the account of the deanery was written, I have discovered a place called Deansgreve, in Brandwood, and this I am convinced is the place miswritten Ledmesgreve or Senesgreve.

² In Burton's Mon. Ebor. I have met with some other persons of the decanal family, not mentioned in the Status de Blackburnshire, or elsewhere so far as I know. 1st, Simon, son of Gaufrid, formerly dean of Whalley, grants certain lands in Helgefild, to the Monastery of Fountains, p. 196.—Again, Josias, son of Robert, formerly dean of Whalley, quits claims to the same certain lands in Ripley, p. 197.—Lastly, Henry, son of Geoffry, dean of Whalley, grants lands to the same in Swinton. He is afterwards called Henry de Whalley: ib.—Henry de Whalley married Elenor, daughter of Simon de Montalt; by whom he had, Geoffry de Whalley, living in 1261, of whose posterity I know nothing.

³ Once called Cecilia de Thonlay, which I remark only for the singularity of the spelling.

⁴ Died in his father's life time.

⁵ Gilb. fil. John de la Legh, conc. 6 part. man. de Towneley Gilberto avo meo. 16 E. III. ap. Cliviger. test. Ric. de Whitacre.

⁶ Purchaser of Birtwisle 1302, and of Hapton 1303, alive in 1346.

⁷ Gilbert de Legh and Alicia ux. 3d Ric. II. Gilb. fil. John de Legh 5th Ric. II. Alicia, vid. Gilb. Ric. II. sisme.

⁸ Gilbert del Legh, and Ric. frater ejus 29 Edw. III. This Richard was sheriff of Lancashire from 50 Edw. III. to 2d Ric. II. appointed by John of Gaunt.

⁹ John fil. & Her. Ric. de Towneley. 5th Ric. II.—inq. post mort. 1410. Among the Townley MSS. is a protection from king Richard II. for the estate and effects of this John, going to Guines along with Sir John Talbot, afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury.

¹⁰ Inq. post mort.

¹¹ Dame Jenet, widow of Sir Richard Towneley, was living 3d Ric. III.

¹² It has never been determined under what limitations the title of Sir was applied to priests. It evidently did not apply, as in the Universities, to Bachelors of Arts, as it is perpetually given to those who had no degrees. I never remember to have seen it annexed to the degree of M. A.; but the instance before us, and one other, Sir Robert Clyffe, D. D. will prove that it was not incompatible with the highest academical honours. I have seen one instance of the use of it as low as 1631, when it was highly improbable that a person ordained before the reformation, should have been alive.

¹³ This is the knight mentioned by Leland, Itin. vol. I. p. 96, "Within a good mile or I came to Worksop I rode through a parke of Mr. Townle's, a knyght for ye most abyding in Lancastershyre.—And in this parke is a veri praty little house." Sir John Townley was an active long-lived man, and memorable in his generation. He enjoyed the estate nearly sixty years, and increased it by many purchases. He enclosed the park of Hapton, and built the tower; founded the chantry of St. Mary, at Burnley, and built the family quire. He built also the domestic chapel at Towneley; lived to see the marriage of his grand-son with the heiress of Wimbish, avoided the pilgrimage of grace, which ruined many of his friends, and died in a good old age about the year 1510. (He died March 5, 1541. Dodsw.) From the dates of his charters he appears to have spent his latter days at Hapton tower, and there probably he ended them.—In both settlements on his wives, the jointure was £20 *per ann.* The fortune of Frances Wimbish was 500 m. In the Inq. p.m. Sir John Townley, the whole Lancashire estate was found to be worth £100. But inquisitions are little to be depended upon as the real value of estates.—In the visitation of Tho. Tong Norroy, for 1530, is an account of his visit to Sir John Towneley, which leaves no very favourable impression of the Knight's liberality—"Sir John Towneley, knt. had to his first wyffe one w^{ch} was dowghter to Sir Cha. Apyledon, sone of the Ayers to Gatforth, wherby she berys the goots. I wot not what her name ys, nor I made no gret inqysytion, for he wold have no note takyn of hym, saynge that ther was no more gentilmen in Lancasher but my Lord of Darby and Mowntaygle. I sowght hym all day, rydyng in that wylde contrey, and his reward was 2s. whyche ye gwyde had the moste pt, and I had as evil a journey as ev^r I had."

¹⁴ The common pedigrees (vide Hopk. Lanc. Gent.) make Isabel Pilkington to have died s. p. and the family to have descended from Anne Ratcliffe. This is demonstrably false, as she was certainly alive in 1521. Sir Richard, the grand-son of her husband, married in 1537. It is equally false, that Anne, the second wife of Sir John Townley, was a Radcliffe. It does not appear who she was, but she married, 2d, Sir William, son of Sir Alexander Radcliff, of Ordsall.

¹⁵ On the pannelled ceiling of the chapel at Townley, are the following initials of the family and their friends, at the time of its erection, or soon after, in old English characters. I will appropriate as many as I am able. AT. AR. Anne Lady Townley, 2d wife of Sir John, and Anne Radcliff, probably intended for the same person after her second marriage. MC. qu. Mary Cooke, commonly called Eliz. daughter of ditto. RT. Sir Richard Townley,—his father Richard, as I conjecture, being then dead. CT. Charles Townley, second son of Sir John. EN. Ellen Lady Neville, of Liversge, his sister. BI. TE. For the first of these, vide the end of this note; of the second I can conjecture nothing. ET. Elizabeth Townley, wife of Charles, and widow of John Nowell, of Read. LT. clearly Laurence Townley, 1st of Barnside. ST. Probably his wife. BT. Barnard Townley, LL.D. or another Barnard of Hurstwood. SE. I know not whom. MB. Margaret Banastre, of Altham, daughter of Sir John Townley. IT. Sir John Townley himself—his grand-son John being then an infant. EF. probably a Foljambe. AT. Anne Townley, daughter of Richard the elder, who afterwards married Barcroft. TI. Vide the end of this note. NM. TA. Of whom I know nothing. Amongst these cyphers appear BI. TI. concerning which I am unable to offer any conjecture, unless they belong to the family of Jennet Ingham, Sir John Townley's mistress in his later days: and it may be thought improbable that such a connection should be acknowledged in such a place. With this family, however, whom I suppose to have been of Fullege, he was long and intimately connected, having presented Sir John Ingham, priest, to his chantry in Burnley church, as early as 15th Hen. VII. so that he seems, by a very unhappy and preposterous arrangement, to have chosen out of the same house, the chaplain of his youth, and the mistress of his old age. Sir John Townley was contracted to his first lady *per verba de futuro* in his father's lifetime, and at seven years of age. He was afterwards in ward of Sir Charles Pilkington her father. From the difference of arms it appears that this family was of another stock than the Pilkintons of Lancashire.

¹⁶ Sir Rich. Townley leaves his body to be buried in the chapel of Our Lady at Burnley, and his soul to Almighty God, his Maker and Redeemer, by whose great mercy, and the merits of Christ's passion, he hopes, &c.—Was he a Protestant?

¹⁷ By will, dated 1627, Richard Townley, Esq. leaves to his eldest son Richard all such armour as I have within the chappel work of Whalley, by appointment of my brother in law Sir Ralph Assheton, Baronet, Deputy Lieutenant. He died in Drury Lane, on St. Andrew's Eve, 1628, and was buried near the chancel door in St. Clement's church, near Temple Bar. The will of his widow is dated at Hapton, 1633—the latest instance in which I find the tower of that place to have been inhabited by any of the family.

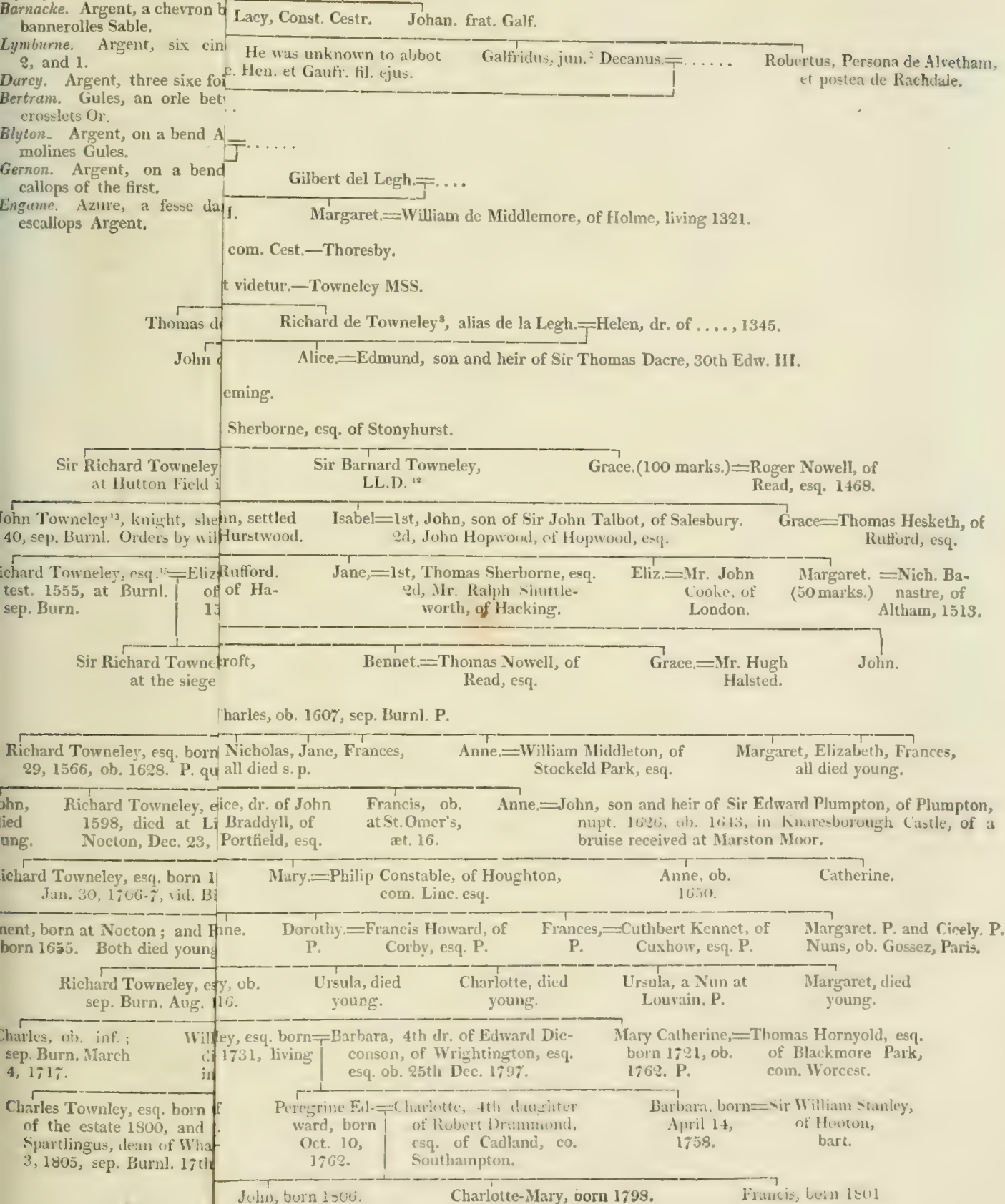
¹⁸ With the following epitaph—"Here lieth the body of William Townley, of Townley, in the county palatine of Lancaster, esq. son of Richard Towneley, esq. and the Hon. Mary Widdrington. He married Cicely, the daughter of Ralph Standish, of Standish, in the said county, Esq. and of the Lady Philippa Howard. He departed this life the 2d day of February, in the 28th year of his age, A.D. 1741, R. I. P."

Note, the letter P is affixed to those names, of whom there are Portraits in the House.

TOWNELEY of TOWNELEY.

Towneley. Bears — Argent, mullets in chief Sable, void
Rixton. Argent, on a bend S
Pilkington. Argent, a cross voided of the field.
Gateford. Sable, three goats
Wymbyshe. Gules, a lion rampant
Barnacke. Argent, a chevron bannerolles Sable.
Lymburne. Argent, six cinquefoils, 2, and 1.
Darcy. Argent, three sixes for
Bertram. Gules, an orle between crosslets Or.
Blyton. Argent, on a bend a molines Gules.
Gernon. Argent, on a bend a callops of the first.
Engame. Azure, a fesse dancalped escallops Argent.

Argent, a fess and three mullets in chief Sable.



several Coats of Arms following, are quartered by Towneley, of Towneley, in Lancashire, their ancient seat.

Towneley. Bears—Argent, a fesse and three mullets in chief Sable, voided of the first.
Riston. Argent, on a bend Sable.
Pilkington. Argent, a cross patonce Gules, voided of the field.
Gateford. Sable, three goats salient Argent.
Wynbysh. Gules, a lion rampant Argent.
Barnack. Argent, a chevron between three horse banners Sable.
Lymborne. Argent, six cinquefoils Sable, 3, 2, and 1.
Daisy. Argent, three six foils Gules.
Perram. Gules, an orle between nine crosses crosslets Or.
Bigton. Argent, on a bend Azure, three crosses molinet Gules.
Garsop. Argent, on a bend Azure, three escallops of the first.
Lagom. Azure, a fesse dancett between six escallops Argent.

13. Delahay. Argent, a sun in his glory Gules.
14. Knight. Argent, a chevron, between three mullets Sable, peared of the field.
15. Rowley. Argent, on a bend Gules, three crescents of the first.
16. Lound. Argent, fretted Azure, in chief a mullet Gules, for a difference.
17. Byron. Argent, a bend Gules, and two above.
18. Clayton. Argent, on a bend Azure, three annulets of the first, and a cross between fitch in the sinister point of the scutcheon of the second.

CRESTS.

Towneley. A sparrowhawk proper, with jesses and bells, sitting on a perch: the motto "Tenes le vray."
Wynbysh. A saracen's head, with his cap on.
Gateford. Two goats, browsing on an ivy tree.
Byron. A mermaid combing her hair, holding a glass or mirror in her hand.

Spartlingus, 1st dean of Whalley upon record.

Liwlfus Cutwolphe.
Cudwlfus.
Henricus, sen.
Robertus.

TOWNELEY of TOWNELEY.

Argent, a fess and three mullets in chief Sable.

[To face p. 344.]

Henricus Decanus. Willhelmus Decanus. Galfridus sen. fil. Rob. Decanus. . . . fil. Roger de Lacy, Const. Cestr. Johan. frat. Galf.
Joh. Clericus, fil. Wil. Dec. s. p. Henricus, fil. Galf. per cart. Nothing more is known of him. He was unknown to abbot Lindley. These parties attest a charter thus:—Gaufr. Dec. Hen. et Gaufr. fil. ejus. Galfridus, jun.^s Decanus. . . . Robertus, Persona de Alretham, et postea de Rachdale.
Rogerus, Decanus ultimus. Richard de Tunlay. . . .
Peter de Tunlay, vel Towneley, the first who is known to have used the present arms. . . .
Richard de Towneley. . . . Gilbert del Legh. . . .
Agnes, s. p. = John de Hargreave. Cecelia = John del Legh⁴, ob. circ. 4th Edw. III. Margaret = William de Middlemore, of Holme, living 1321.
Gilbert del Legh⁴, possessed of Towneley, 16th Edw. III. = Alice, dr. of Robert Vernon, of Warforth, com. Cest.—Thoresby.

John de la Legh⁶ = Clavier, dr. of Thomas Fenton.

Thomas, possessed of a third part of Towneley, 46th Edw. III. s. p. ut videtur.—Towneley MSS.

Thomas del Legh, son of John. Gilbert del Legh⁷, expressly called son of John, s. p. ob. 16th Rich. II. = 1st, Katherine, dr. of Richard de Balderston, 1336 = 2d, Alice, dr. of . . . Richard de Towneley⁸, alias de la Legh. = Helen, dr. of . . . 1345.

John de Towneley⁹, ob. 1410, æt. 38, 11th Rich. II. = 1. Isabel, dr. of William Riston. = 2d, Elizabeth, dr. of . . . Nagier, o. s. p. circ. 3d Hen. IV. Robert and Henry, priests. Alice = Edmund, son and heir of Sir Thomas Dacre, 30th Edw. III.

Richard Towneley¹⁰, ob. 1454 = Alice, dr. of . . . Matilda = William, son and heir of Sir John Fleming.

John Towneley, Esq. = 1st, Isabel, dr. of Nicholas Butler, of Rawcliffe, esq. 1418, from whom he was divorced = 2d, Isabel, dr. of Richard Sherborne, esq. of Stonyhurst.

Sir Richard Towneley, knt. knighted by Lord Stanley at Hutton Field in Scotland, 1481, ob. 1482. Jane¹¹, dr. of Richard Southworth, of Samlesbury, esq. 1471, (40 marks.) Laurence, of Barnside. Nicholas, first of Greenfield, from whom the family of Royle. Henry, of Dutton. Sir Barnard Towneley, LL.D. Grace (100 marks.) = Roger Nowell, of Read, esq. 1468.

Sir John Towneley¹², knight, sheriff of Lancashire from 23d to 32d Hen. VIII. born 1473, ob. 1539 = 1st, Isabel, dr. and heiress of Sir Charles Pilkington, of Gateford, com. Not. 1480, ob. 1522. Charles. John, settled at Hurstwood. Isabel = 1st, John, son of Sir John Talbot, of Salesbury. Grace = Thomas Hesketh, of Rufford, esq.
ob. 40 sep. Burnl. Orders by will 100 marks of the five wounds of our Lord to be said for his soul. 2d, 1531, Anne¹³, dr. of . . . who married 2d, Sir William Radcliffe, of Ordsall, s. p. 1545. 2d, Laurence Habbergham, of Habbergham, gent.

Richard Towneley, esq. = Elizabeth, dr. of Henry Foljambe, of Walton, com. Derb. esq. 1511. Charles, ob. 1535, sep. Burnl. = 1535, Elizabeth, widow of John Nowell, of Read, esq. mother of Dr. Alexander Nowell, and of Elizabeth. = Thomas Whitaker, of Holme, gent. Helen = Sir Robert Hesketh, of Liverge, com. Ebor. 1506. Grace = 1st, Sir Robert Hesketh, of Rufford. 2d, Laurence Habbergham, of Habbergham, gent. Jane = 1st, Thomas Sherborne, esq. 2d, Mr. Ralph Shuttleworth, of Hacking. Eliz. = Mr. John Cooke, of London. Margaret = Nich. Ba- (50 marks.) nastre, of Altham, 1513.

Sir Richard Towneley, knight, ob. 1st Phil. and Mary. knighted at the siege of Leith, in Scotland¹⁴, sep. Burnl. = Frances, dr. of Christopher Wimbysh of Nocton, com. Linc. esq. 1537 = Alexander Ratcliffe, esq. Hellen = Robert Banister, of Parkhall, esq. Anne = Mr. William Barcroft, of Lodge. Bennet = Thomas Nowell, of Read, esq. Grace = Mr. Hugh Halsted. John.

John, Christopher, Charles, all died young. Mary, sole heir, ob. Aug. 1606. sep. Burnl. P. = 1556, John Towneley, esq. son of Charles, ob. 1607, sep. Burnl. P.

Richard Towneley, esq. born April = 29, 1566, ob. 1628. P. quæ = 25th May 1594, ob. July 1634, sep. Burnl. John, Charles, died young. Christopher = Theodosia, daughter of . . . Tonstall, of Auchil, esq. Charles, born = Sussana, dr. of 1572. . . . Ross, esq. Thomas, Nicholas, Jane, Frances, all died s. p. Anne = William Middleton, of Stockell Park, esq. Margaret, Elizabeth, Frances, all died young.

John, died young. Richard Towneley, esq. born April 16, 1598, died at Lincoln, buried at Nocton, Dec. 23, 1635. P. s. p. Charles Towneley, esq. born April 22, 1600, slain at the battle of Marston Moor, Aug. 2d or 3d, 1644, buried on the field. P. Mary, dr. of Sir Francis Trapps Birnand, of Harrowgate, Yorkshire, ob. May, 1690, æt. 91, sep. Burnl. P. John, and John, both died young. Christopher, the indefatigable transcriber, born Jan. 9, 1603, ob. Aug. 1674, sep. Burnl. vid. Biographical Memoir. Alice, dr. of John Braddyll, of Portfield, esq. Francis, ob. at St. Omer's, æt. 16. Anne = John, son and heir of Sir Edward Plumpton, of Plumpton, nupt. 1626, ob. 1643, in Knaresborough Castle, of a bruise received at Marston Moor.

Richard Towneley, esq. born 1628, died at York, sep. Jan. 30, 1706-7, vid. Biographical Memoir P. Burnl. = Margaret, dr. of Clement Paston, of Barningham, com. Norf. esq. sep. Burnl. Jan. 20, 1672. P. John, sep. Burnl. Oct. 8, 1678. Charles, executor of his brother's will. Francis. Mary = Philip Constable, of Houghton, com. Linc. esq. Anne, ob. 1650. Catherine.

Richard Towneley, esq. born 1657, sep. Burnl. Aug. 18, 1733. P. Charles Towneley, esq. born April 19, 1695, Ursula, dr. of Richard Farmer, of Tusmore, com. Oxf. esq. 1658, sep. Burnl. March 5, 1711. P. John, ob. inf. sep. Burnl. John, a monk. P. Richard, born 1664, a Cartesian, at Newport. P. Thomas, born 1668. Mary. Anne. Dorothy = Francis Howard, of Corby, esq. P. Frances = Cuthbert Kennet, of Cuxhow, esq. P. Margaret, P. and Cicely. P. Nuns, ob. Gossez, Paris.

Richard Towneley, esq. born 1687, sep. Burnl. July 1731. P. Mary, dr. of William Lord Willington, Charles, born 1690, ob. 1713. John, born 1697, ob. 1782, vid. Biographical Memoir. George, born 1706, ob. 1786. Francis, born 1709, ob. 1746. Mary, ob. 1716. Ursula, died young. Charlotte, died young. Ursula, a Nun at Louvain. P. Margaret, died young.

Charles, ob. inf. sep. Burnl. March 4, 1717. William Towneley, esq. born 1714, died at Bath, Feb. 2, 1741-2, buried in the church of Bath Weston¹⁵. P. Cecilia, 5th dr. and at length heir of Ralph Standish, of Standish, esq. by Lady Philippa Howard, dr. of Henry Duke of Norfolk. P. Richard, ob. inf. sep. Burnl. 1722. Richard, ob. inf. sep. Burnl. 1729. Charles, ob. inf. Cecilia, born = 1st, Charles Strickland, of July 30, Sizergh, com. West. esq. 1741, died = 2d, Gerard Strickland, esq. A D. 1814. Peregrine Ed. = Charlotte, 4th daughter of Robert Drummond, esq. of Cadland, co. Southampton. Barbara, born = Sir William Stanley, of Hooton, bart.

Charles Towneley, esq. born Oct. 1, 1737, possessed of the estate 1800, and 29th in descent from Spartlingus, dean of Whalley, s. p. died January 3, 1805, sep. Burnl. 17th Ralph Standish, 9th dr. of Roger Strickland, June 18, 1739, esq. of Catterick, com. Ebor. Edward Standish, esq. s. p. = Anne, dr. of Basil born June 25, 1740, died at Standish, on Easter Sunday, March 29, 1807. Thomas Eccleston, esq. Cecilia, born = 1st, Charles Strickland, of July 30, Sizergh, com. West. esq. 1741, died = 2d, Gerard Strickland, esq. A D. 1814. John, born 1803. Charlotte-Mary, born 1799. Francis, born 1801.

Charlotte, born Feb. 6, 1798.

Charles, born 1803.

John, born 1806.

Charlotte-Mary, born 1799.

Francis, born 1801

CLIVIGER,

An extensive, though not very populous district, at the South East extremity of the parish, bordering upon those of Halifax and Rochdale. It is in the very gorge of the English Apennine, and in one of those elevated passes through the mountains, from which the waters descend both to the eastern and western seas.

This pass has been evidently formed in consequence of some great convulsion of Nature, which, by rending asunder the strata of the earth to a vast depth, has left a ridge of very formidable rocks on the southern side, from which the township probably took its name *Clýffig-reype**, or the rocky district. It expands, however, gradually towards the North, into a tract of fertile pasture ground. The lower and more sheltered parts of the township abound with woody hedge rows and small coppices, naturally and elegantly disposed: the deep gullies above are now filled with thriving plantations; and even the bleakest and most naked points of the rocks, wherever a patch of herbage appeared, have been lately intermixed with larches, mountain ashes, birches, and other plants.

Cliviger abounds (as might be expected) with coal and iron; it affords also a single vein of lead running along one of the great fissures in the crust of the earth, technically known to the miners by the name of *walts*; limestone, in a pebbly state; pyrites; and some singular extraneous fossils. From its broken precipitous surface, and the great variety of its soils, levels, and exposures, it is also extremely favourable to the pursuits of the botanist: and the name of *Dodbottom*, in particular, one of the Gullies opposite to *Holme*, is recorded in Dr. Withering's Botanical Arrangements, as the habitation of several curious plants.

The almost inaccessible rocks above resound with wild and various yells of hawks, which inhabit these secure retreats, to the destruction of vast quantities of game, whose bones form little charnel-houses about their nests. Among these, one pair of far superior size and strength, popularly called *Rock Eagles*, but really the *Peregrine Falcon*, now become extremely scarce, have annually bred for time immemorial, in defiance of all the endeavours used by sportsmen or shepherds to exterminate so formidable a rival of one, and robber of the other.

This elevated tract is farther remarkable for the sources of both the *Calders*, and of the *Irwell*; the two former issuing in opposite directions from one marsh in *Cliviger dean*; the latter from a spring called *Erewell*, at the foot of *Dirpley-hill*, on the verge of *Rossendale*†. This is a circumstance common to the great central ridges of the island.—the *Ribble* and the *Wharf*, the *Eure* and *Eden*, the *Swale* and *Lune*; all of which respectively pursue opposite courses, having their fountains in the same hills.

The *Calder*, *Col-dwr*, or *narrow water*, (for such is Mr. Whitaker's etymology of the word, and I think it, beyond comparison, the most probable which has been offered) has well nigh

* In one of the earliest charters of the abbey of *Kirkstall* relating to this township, the orthography of the name is contractedly *Clivesh*, which evidently points at my etymology.

† Vide *Rossendale*.

lost its name and course in the errors and inaccuracy of our topographers. Of these the patient reader may find a large and tedious collection in Mr. Watson's History of Halifax, from page 10 to 13, partly extracted from his predecessor Mr. Wright, and concluding with his own opinion, that the water of Wallsden * had an equal claim to the name of Calder with the genuine stream ; and to these I will add one, more pardonable, of our old poetical topographer, Drayton, (see Polyolbion, Song 27,) who puts the following lines into the mouth of Ribble, pleading for her superiority over Irwell,

“ Then Calder, coming down from Blackstone edge, doth bring
 “ Me easily on my way to Preston, the greatest town
 “ Wherewith my banks are blest.”

Drayton was a stranger and a poet, but Messrs. Wright and Watson were inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and had no great claim to indulgence, for want of accuracy, on the score of too lively an imagination.

It is to Harrison, an older and surer authority than all the rest, that we are indebted for an exact account of the source and progress of the West Calder. “ This brooke †,” saith our ancient topographer, who was better acquainted with the remotest corners of the kingdom than some later writers appear to have been with their own parishes, “ riseth above Holme Church, “ goeth by Townley and Burneley, where it receiveth a trifling rill, and ere long crossing one “ water that cometh by Wycoller to Colne, and bye and bye another named Pendle brooke, it “ meeteth with the Calder, which passeth forth to Padiham, and thence receiving a becke on “ the other side, it runneth on to Altham, and thence to Martholme, where the Henburne “ brooke doth join with all, — that goith by Accrington Chapel, Church, Dunkenhalth, Rishton, “ and so into the Calder, as I said before. The Calder, therefore, being thus enlarged, runneth “ forthe to Reade (where Mr. Nowell dwelleth), to Whalley, and soon after to Ribble ‡.”

Both the Calders are also distinctly traced by Saxton §, whose excellent map of Lancashire is dated the same year with the first edition of Harrison's Description of Britaine, *i. e.* 1577. Yet, in the year 1786, after a personal survey, does the author of a map of Lancashire upon a very extended scale, once more confound the Calder with Pendle water. It is, however, no more than justice to Mr. Yates, to acknowledge that I have discovered no other material error in his performance.

For the origin and progress of the East Calder we must also refer to our old and faithful guide, who, though unacquainted with the name, perfectly understood its course. “ There is,” says Harrison, “ a noble water that falleth into Aire, whose head, as I take it, is about Stansfield,” (it is in fact within a mile of the western extremity of Stansfield,) from whence it goeth to Croston chapel, to Langfield, &c. and so, without noticing the Wallsden water, from

* The Valley of Wells. Vide the etymology of Whalley.

† Viz. the Calder.

‡ Holinshed's Chronicles, first edition, 1577.

§ Speed, the faithful though unequal follower of Saxton, does the same 1610. It is extraordinary that the earliest set of English county maps is beyond all comparison the best. The first efforts in English topography were vigorous and skilful.

Dean Head, which Mr. Watson affirms to have an equal claim to the name of Calder, passes on to the Hebden, and other collateral streams, by which it is successively augmented before its union with the Aire at Castelford. "But," says our old and honest writer, with a truly diverting simplicity, "what the name of this river should be, as yet, I here not, and therefore no merveile that I do not set it downe, yet it is possible such as dwell thereabout are not ignorant thereof, but what is that to me if I be not partaker of their knowledge?" What a stamp of veracity does such an open declaration of a writer's ignorance affix upon what he professes to know! *Bellum est confiteri nescire quæ nescias!*

Having thus united the Aire and Calder at Castelford, it will not, I trust, be deemed an unpardonable digression if I take this opportunity, the only one likely to occur in the present work, of restoring the former to an honour of which I am persuaded it has been unjustly deprived, namely, a place in Spenser's beautiful catalogue of northern rivers. The present reading, is,

"Still Ure, swift Wharf, and Oze the most of might,
"High Swale, unquiet Nide, and troublous Skell*."

For *Ure* in the former line, I read, without hesitation, *Are*; as the former, far from having any claim to the epithet *still*, is a rapid stream abounding with cataracts; the latter, on the contrary, which, from its situation, as well as character, it was much more probable that Spenser should oppose to the Wharf, is remarkably *still* and gentle. "*Arus enim*," says Camden, in words which flow as gently as the stream which he describes, "*ex Pennegenti montis radicibus ortus, statim ita mæandris ludit, quasi dubius fontes an mare petat. Tranquillus, compositus, et vix fluens leniter fluit, unde sortitum nomen credimus. Lenem enim et lentum Ara Britannis denotare diximus.*" The reading here proposed is confirmed by the etymology of Wharf, which is derived by Camden, with equal probability, from *Guer*, *swift*. This is a trifling criticism, but I feel interested in restoring a beloved stream to its rightful place in the works of a beloved poet.

It is time, however, to return to our subject. Of British antiquity here are no remains; but many appearances indicate a considerable Roman settlement in the lower and more fertile parts of the township. In the year 1695, a considerable discovery of Roman coins, both Imperial and Consular, was made here, and fell into the hands of Mr. Charles Townley, a younger brother of the Townley family, by whom they were presented to Thoresby, as "having been discovered in the parish of Burnley, near Mereclough, on the skirts of the wild moors which border upon Yorkshire, where a considerable heap of stone evidences the remains of a station."† Perhaps not; however, this heap, which gave name to Lawhouse, from Leap, *tumulus*, remained till the year 1763, or thereabouts, when it was removed as materials for the turnpike road, and, as I have been assured, a kistvaen and skeleton were discovered beneath it. Another tumulus of the same kind, of which there are still some remains, was opened in the year 1766, and found to contain a rude urn, of which a fragment is in my possession. About the same time a glass vessel was found in a field betwixt Barcroft and Over-

* Faery Queene, Book IV. Cant. 2.

† Duc. Leod. p. 283. One of them was of the Cassian family; but Thoresby had about twenty other Consular and Imperial coins found here, which he has not described.

town, filled with the small brass of Constantine and Licinius. And, in the year 1773, I obtained two beautifully enamelled fibulæ of copper, which were turned up in getting stones for the turnpike road above Holme.

In the fields about Redlees are many strange inequalities in the ground, something like obscure appearances of foundations, or perhaps of intrenchments, which the leveling operations of agriculture have not been able to efface. The High Law, immediately above, will be noticed under the account of the chain of Roman Posts, which extend through the townships of Worsthorn and Briercliffe; and, to all these appearances, I have to add the recent discovery of another small angular fortification in Easden, (from Saxon *ea aqua* and *den convallis*, the *watery Glen*), now partially washed away by the torrent, but of which the remains are still sufficient to ascertain its use, as the situation, directly in a line with High Law, and the other remains described above, seems to indicate that it formed a part of that general plan of defence, by small posts, in all the passes of our mountains, which will be proved in its place.

Of the state of the township in the Saxon times there are no memorials; the name, however, is unquestionably deduced from that language, and extremely appropriate. It is farther to be lamented that, from the hasty and imperfect manner in which this remote and then barren tract was surveyed, the name does not appear in Domesday Book, which would have ascertained some circumstances of its early state, interesting at least to an inhabitant, but now irretrievably lost. But it gave name, like almost every other village or hamlet in the parish, to a family which seems to have been extinct as early as the reign of Edward I.

And 1st, of this almost forgotten race, appears Robert de Clivacher *the hunter*, contemporary with Roger de Lacy, temp. Richard I.*

Then Adam, son of Gilbert de Clivacher, temp. Maur. abbot. Kirkstall.

Then Reginald, son of Robert de Clivacher.

And lastly, Cecilia de Clivacher, with whom the name seems to have expired.

But the word Clivacher, so far as I know, first appears in the donation of Henry de Laci the founder, of a carucate of land in that place, to the abbot and convent of Kirkstall, com. Ebor. This donation, however, is said not to have taken effect, at least for any long time, as the premises so granted were claimed by — de Elland, knight, and the grange of Accrington was substituted in its place. The account in the Monasticon, vol. I. p. 856, is as follows: “Abbas primus de Kirkstall obtinuit a Laccio inter alia in Clivacher 1 carucatam terræ cum pert. suis et pasturam equis et armentis amplam nimis. Miles quidam tempore Lamberti abbatis nomine de Elland grangiam de Clivacher sibi vindicabat: intelligens autem abbas quod miles eam juste impetebat, advocato suo Dom. Rob. de Lacy ipsam grangiam resignabat data sibi grangia de Accrington in excambio.” I suppose the plea of the knight to have been grounded upon a suggestion, that this part of Clivager was within his manor of Rochdale, to which it lay contiguous, and which, in times when the boundaries of lands were so extremely lax and ill defined, he might do with some colour of reason. It was not long, however, before the monks obtained from the Ellands their grange of Clivacher again; for, in the chartulary of Kirkstall, is the following confirmation from Roger de Lacy: “Rog. de Lacy, &c. dedit et

* Finis in curia Roger de Lacy, apud Cliderhow, coram Roger de Lacy, William de Bellomonte, &c. inter Henry de Elland. et Robert de Clivager venatorem de 111 bovatis terræ in Clivager, 7th Ric. I.—Chartul. de Kirkstall, 1.2. fol. 109.

“ confirmavit Deo, S. M. et monachis de Kirkstall, ad opus infirmorum sæcularium, quicquid ad
 “ eum vel hæredes pertinuit in una carucata terræ in Clivacher, quam terram Hen. de Elland
 “ dedit quant. ad ipsum pertinuit. Test. Rog. de Montbegon, Ad. de Dutton. Sen. Eudone
 “ de Longvilliers, Wm. de Stapleton, Tho. Dispensatore, Wm. de Bellemonte, Galf. de Dutton,
 “ Galf. Decano,” &c. Seal quarterly (colours gone) a label of 7 points. We have here the
 only known instance in which Roger de Lacy made use of this, or indeed any armorial bearing,
 properly so called. Among the witnesses to this charter occur three of his great beneficiaries,
 Stapleton for Sadelworth, Montbegon for Tottington, and Bellemonte for Huddersfield.

The subsequent transactions of the abbot and convent of Kirkstall, with their feudatories in
 Cliviger, throw much light upon the history of the place in the 12th and 13th centuries.

1st, Then A. or Alexander the first abbot, who died about 1181, grants to Walter, the
 chaplain of Tunlay, the lands late of Michael de Lichness (probably Lightbirks) in Cliviger,
 for the term of his life; and, after his death, to Adam and Serlo Alumnis*, together with
 the right of feeding his hogs in Bosco de Clivacher, without pannage. Many subsequent essarts
 have reduced this great wood to mere patches: but this circumstance strengthens the tradition,
 that a squirrel might once have traversed the township without touching the ground.

2d, Sabin, son of Henry de Lithines, grants lands to Robert de Lithines, in the vill of Cli-
 vacher, rendering to the house of St. Mary of Kirkstall, two shillings of silver.

3d, Simon Lord Abbot, and the convent of Kirkstall, grant to Matthew, son of Henry de
 Dyneley, the lands which Richard, son of Gilbert de Berecroft, resigned to them in Clivesh.
 (Cliveshire the true orthography) east of Calder, and all the lands in Dyneley—Test. Richard de
 Townley about the beginning of Edw. I.

4th, Hugh Abbot, &c. grants to Gilbert, son of Michael de la Legh †, “ liberum commeatum
 “ ad omnimodas bladas et braseas in Molendino de Clivager.”

5th, The same abbot, &c. grants to Michael de la Legh, common of pasture in Clivager for
 100 beasts, viz. oxen and heifers, and 200 sheep, in the village and territory of Clivager.

This statement, together with two subsequent grants after it returned to the family of the
 founder by the agreement last referred to, will enable us to ascertain with accuracy the situa-
 tion and contents of this carucate of land.

It must have consisted, 1st of Bruerley and Brownbirks, granted

30th Edw. I. to Michael de la Legh - - - - 60 acres

Which, with the Grange or Greeushouse ‡, made up the whole of

Cliviger dean, and consisting of 18 acres, will amount to - 78

2d, The demesne of Holme and Thieveley - - - - 60

3d, Lichtenes and Birches, now Lightbirks, as per inq. - - 11½

4th, Dyneley, with its appendage Stonehouse, granted out as

above by the abbot and convent, uncertain, but may be esti-
 mated at - - - - - 40

Acres 195½ of eight yards

* I suspect this to have been a decent name for two sons of the chaplain.

† It was this which led Christopher Townley into the mistake that Gilbert de la Legh, the first of Hapton, was son
 of Michael. This Gilbert, however, was certainly a different person.

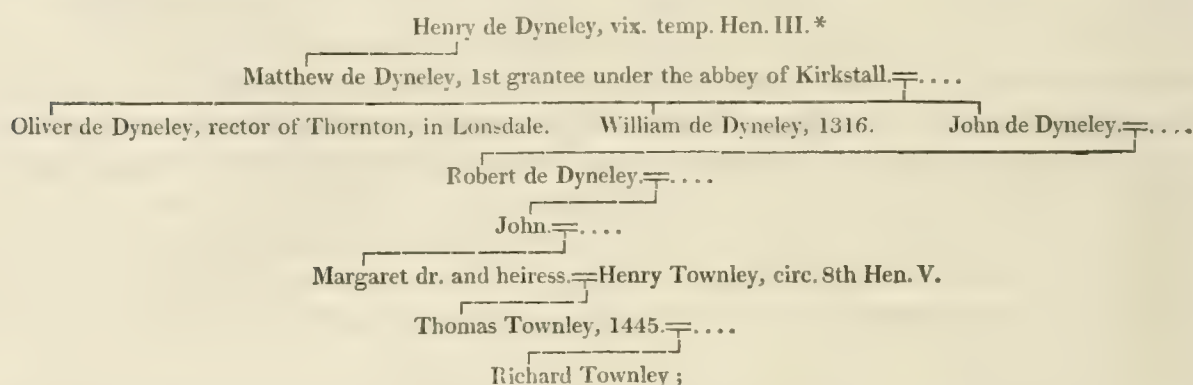
‡ Vide inq. of 1311.

to the perch, which is the customary measure of Cliviger; which allows 24 acres to the oxgang, (vide Padiham, where the oxgang is proved to have varied according to the quality of the lands.)

This was at least a third of the original township, which appears from the following inq. to have consisted of one carucate more than any other township within the parish.

[In one of the Townley charters, temp. Edw. III. are conveyed certain lands in Dyneley inter aquam de Calder and Hernesdene Knoll. This is the shapely hill now called Dineley Knoll. The antient Dineley Knoll was the round hill S. W. from the village, and enclosed about 50 years ago. The Aqua de Calder is mentioned in several very antient charters relating to Cliviger, and the East Calder is recognized in Stansfield by several charters at Townley relating to lands in that township, particularly Fieldhurst, I think as early as Edw. III.]

The other parts of this carucate will be attended to hereafter; but Dyneley having continued to be held by the above grant may properly be noticed here.



who, in 1492, sold Dyneley to Laurence Townley, of Barnside, and he to Sir John Townley, of Townley, in whose descendant it still remains.

After all these transactions, the following agreement betwixt the abbot and convent on the one part, and Hen. de Lacy, the last earl of that name, will prove that the grange of Clyvacher, with the exception of Dyneley, was once more restored by the monks to the chief lord,—† “*Conventio facta die Sabbati proxime post festum S. Lucæ evangelistæ inter religiosum virum Hugonem abbatem de Kirkstall, Cester. Ord. Ebor. Dioc. et nobilem virum Dom. Hen. de Lacy, Com. Linc. &c. Abbas pro se et successoribus suis remittit et quietum clamat comiti et heredibus suis omnes terras, tenementa, &c. quæ tenuerunt de prædicto Com. in Akerington, Clyvacher, et Hunnecotes, in Com. Lanc. &c.*”

The annual rent of 50 marks sterling for the lands demised in this charter, seems to have been very irregularly paid; for in 1297, the same earl gave a bond to the said abbot and convent for 150*l.* sterling, or nearly five years arrears of rent due on account of these lands in Lancashire.

This transaction seems to have been intended as an act of kindness to the monks, who probably found the inconvenience of occupying granges so distant from the house, while their benefactor could easily take up the rents and profits of them by his own receivers, and transmit the stipulated proportion of them to the abbey.

* Adam de Dyneley, of Clitheroe, founder of the family of Downham, also held lands in Dyneley, (Townl. MSS.) and was therefore sprung from this place. The Dyneleys, of Bramhope, were a branch from Downham.—Thoresby.

† Kennet's Par. Ant. p. 310, and R. Dodsworth's MSS. vol. 117, p. 10.

A grange was the farm of an abbey, seldom demised to tenants, but in the occupation of the convent; and it scarcely differed from a cell of the lower order: for as these consisted for the most part of a monk or two, placed in some convenient situation rather as bailiffs to the estate than for any religious purpose, so the grange, properly so called, was frequently governed by a brother, who was dignified by the title of Prior of the grange.

The grange of Clivacher, besides the *pastura equis et armentis ampla nimis*, would yield its monastic owners a plentiful supply of its own small, but excellent mutton; and to their present representative at Holme, it is not unpleasing to imagine, that the cowl of St. Bernard has often been seen mingled with the grey doublets of the old shepherds or herdsmen of the place,—or while he traces the now smokeless kitchens and abandoned refectory of Kirkstall, to remember that the flocks which once supplied them, have descended from his own mountains.

The carucate of land thus finally alienated by the abbey of Kirkstall, was soon after regranted to two branches of the De la Leghs by Henry de Lacy.

The following valuable charter will prove what we assumed before, 1st, That Holme was part of the carucate of land in Cliviger, belonging to the abbey of Kirkstall; and 2dly, When and to whom it was alienated after it returned to the Lacies.

“ Henry de Laci comite de Nichole et Conestable de Cestre a tous ceus ke cest. escriith ver-
“ ront ou orront Saluz en Dieu. Sachez nus aver graunte e done e per cest. nostre escrite ciro-
“ graffe confirme a Willam de Midlemore et a Margery sa feme tous les terres e les tenemens
“ ke Rob. de Holme tint de nus en la ville de Clivager rendaut, &c. vint sous.”

“ E pur ceo ke les ditz terres e tenemenz furent autientens donez en Fraunche Aumoine per
“ nos auncesters al Eglise de Kirkstall, voloins ke le dit Willam & Marg. fac a nus & a nos
“ heirs les autres services & costomes ke nos autres Rodemauns * non fount en ce les parties, &c.
“ Donne a Caune le Dyme jour de Mars l’an du Regne le Roy Edward trentyme.” or 1302.

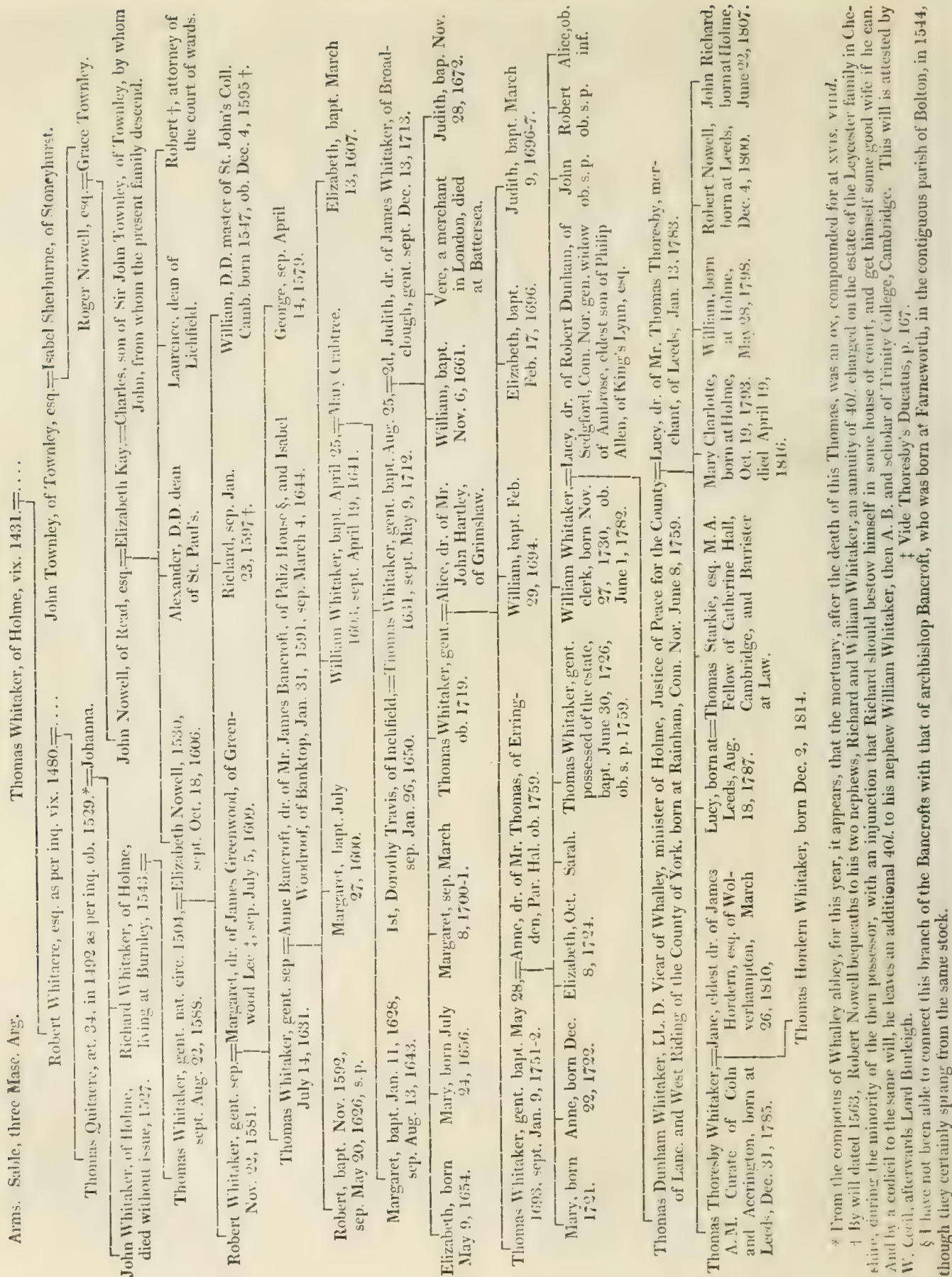
Of the same date, and nearly in the same words, is a grant of Bruerley and Broanbirks, to Michael de la Legh. This Margaret, upon whose heirs the estate of Holme was hereby settled, was daughter of Gilbert de la Legh, the first of Hapton; and both these grants evidently appear to have been obtained by the interest of the Townley family with the earl of Lincoln, as a settlement for two younger branches. No issue of Middlemore ever appears†. Both he and his wife were living in 1321; but in 1347 and 1350, I find in Cliviger, a Richard de Whitacre or Quitacre, of whom I can only conjecture that he married a daughter of Middlemore.—
Next is

* Rodmans, Radmans, Radknights, or Radehnistres, were mesne lords, or free tenants, who held, not by knight's service, but by the tenure of riding in the train of the lord paramount, and attending him on his journeys. But the word *non* appears to invert the real sense of the passage, as it was evidently the object of these two charters to place the grantees on the same footing with other lords or free tenants, whereas lands held in frank almoigne were subject only to the Trinoda Necessitas. I am not in possession of the original charter relating to Holme, and suspect that this word has been added by mistake in the copy.

† From the following acquittance by a receiver of the honor of Clitheroe, I find that Holme belonged to the Tattersalls in 1380, and that it had previously belonged to an Edward Legh, to whom it probably descended from Margery de Middlemore, herself a Legh.—“ 1380. De her. Pet. Tattersall pro le Holme quondam sol. per Edw. Legh 17. 2s. 5d.

It appears that my ancestors were first settled in Cliviger at Grimshaw; for in a rental of the bailiwick in Blackburnshaw, inter Dodsworth's MSS. for the 9th Hen. VI. Tho. Whitaker is charged with 4s. 10d. pro Grimshaw. Holme is not mentioned, nor Ormerod, nor Barcroft, so that in a record so mutilated and imperfect, another entry in the name of the same person for Holme may be omitted.

PEDIGREE OF WHITAKER.



* From the compotus of Whalley abbey, for this year, it appears, that the mortuary, after the death of this Thomas, was an ox, compounded for at xviii. viiiid.

† By will dated 1563, Robert Nowell bequeaths to his two nephews, Richard and William Whitaker, an annuity of 40*l.* charged on the estate of the Leycester family in Cheshire, during the minority of the then possessor, with an injunction that Richard should bestow himself in some house of court, and get himself some good wife if he can. And by a codicil to the same will, he leaves an additional 40*l.* to his nephew William Whitaker, then A. B. and scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. This will is attested by W. Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh.

‡ I have not been able to connect this branch of the Bancrofts with that of archbishop Bancroft, who was born at Farnworth, in the contiguous parish of Bolton, in 1544, though they certainly sprang from the same stock.

The bare and rocky brows, the glens and gullies upon the estate of Holme, have, in the interval betwixt the years 1784 and 1799, been filled with trees of various species, the whole number of which amounts to 422,000; and though the owner, consulting at once his own resources and the genius of the place, rejected every temptation to minute and expensive decorations, he has cut, in various directions, simple pathways along the plantations several miles in circuit, which exhibit many home and distant views by no means uninteresting.

Holme, like most of the ancient structures in the neighbourhood, was originally built of wood: the centre and eastern wing were rebuilt, as appears by a date remembered in the plaister of the hall, either in the year 1603 or before. The west end remained of wood till the year 1717, and had one or more private closets for the concealment of priests, the family having continued recusants to the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign, if not later. The house has become, by successive alterations, though an irregular, not an inconvenient habitation.

Appendant to this demesne was a chantry, founded undoubtedly * after the dissolution of Whalley abbey (as it never appears in any compotus), and dissolved an. 1st Edw. VI. when a pension of 1*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.* was granted to Hugh Watmore, stipendiary priest, which he continued to receive A. D. 1553, (Willis's Mitred Abbeyes, vol. II. p. 107); and an 3d Edw. the said Hugh Watmore†, then of Prestwold, in the county of Leicester, sold a portion of the chantry lands within Cliviger, of which the situation is not marked out (by deed pen. Auct.) to Thomas Whitaker, of Holme, Gent. whom I suppose to have been the founder, for the site was taken out of the demesne lands of Holme, and the chantry could not have subsisted above ten years when dissolved.

After the dissolution, it was considered as the property of the family; and, by a singular fate, though never reduced to a ruin, continued without a minister 200 years, when Anthony Wetherhead, A. M. of Christ College, Cambridge, was licensed to it by bishop Peploe, on the nomination of Thomas Whitaker, of Holme, gent. A. D. 1742. He died in 1760, aged 80, and was interred in the church-yard without any memorial. His successor was William Halliwell, who died Dec. 1796, and was succeeded by Thomas Dunham Whitaker, LL. B. of St. John's College, Cambridge, licensed on his own petition by bishop Cleaver.

The first step towards a re-endowment of this poor neglected foundation was a rent charge of 1*l.* per annum, left upon the estate of Hane, by Mr. Henry Wood, a native of that place, who had been clerk of the works under Sir Christopher Wren during the re-building of St. Paul's Cathedral, and whose curious accounts of that great work are now in the author's possession. This was followed by several successive benefactions from the excellent fund of queen Anne's Bounty, which, with a donation of 400*l.* from the present incumbent, making in the whole 1600*l.* are all vested in lands, amounting to a glebe of 130 acres.

The old chantry (called by Harrison's Description of Britain, 1577, Holme Church) was a rude but picturesque little building, only 42 feet by 18 within. It was built of irregular but very deep courses of masonry, of which there were only six from the foundation to the roof.

* Having since had an opportunity of consulting the last compotus of Whalley abbey, I retract my conjecture, p. 147, that this Chapel was founded in or before the reign of Hen. VII.

† I find from Nichols's History of Leicestershire, that this chaplain died and was buried at Prestwold, A. D. 1560, if my recollection is right in the date.

The walls were filled with groutwork, and the lime with which they were filled had been burnt with a mixture of hazle roots and coal, gathered as it might seem in the neighbouring cloughs. The quire is remembered to have been adorned with Gothic carved work and inscriptions; the latter of which, had they not been barbarously destroyed, might probably have ascertained the name of the founder and the date of the foundation. The curious perforated old pulpit of Hen. VIII.'s time only remains, together with some relics of a library, consisting principally of controversial divinity, and once repositied in an "aumery" at the east end.

To complete the picture of this small but venerable oratory, the church-yard was surrounded, and the windows darkened, by a grove of ancient sycamores swarming with rooks, so that when there was any competition of voices at all, "cawing drown'd the parson's saw," though, as we have seen, the rooks were for 200 years almost the only orators of the place.

In the year 1788, the old chapel growing ruinous, was pulled down, and rebuilt on higher ground, at an expence of 870*l.* more than a moiety of which was defrayed by the author, and it was consecrated by Dr. William Cleaver, bishop of Chester, July 29th, 1794.

In an aisle on the south side, appropriated to the house of Holme, and repaired by the owners of it, a plain tablet of white marble commemorates the parents of the author, in the following inscription—

Juxta dormiunt in Christo
WILHELMUS WHITAKER,
 Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Presbyter,
 et Lucia conjux.
 Obiit ille
 Cal. Jun. A. D. M.DCC.LXXXII.
 annum ætatis agens LII.
 hæc vero
 Id. Jul. M.DCC.LXXXVIII.
 ætatis LXIV.
 H. M. P.
 Filius unicus.

On a second has lately been inscribed the following :

MARIA . CAROLOTA . WHITAKER .
 VIRGO . DECORA . PUDICA . FRUGI .
 NATA . PIENTISSIMA .
 ELEGANTI . INGENIO . INDOLE .
 FOELICI . VIXIT . ANNIS . XXII . MENS . VI .
 IN . VIVIS . ESSE . DESIIT . XIII . KAL .
 MA . A . S . MDCCCXVI . UTROQUE .
 PARENTE . CONTRA . VOTUM .
 SUPERSTITE .

On the opposite side, upon a neat mural monument, with the arms of Ormerod impaling Legh of Lyme, is the following inscription—

Here

Here lies the body
of
LAURENCE ORMEROD, of ORMEROD, Esquire,
who died March 22, 1793,
in the fortieth year of his age.
His afflicted widow
hath caused this monument
to be erected,
as a testimony of merited respect,
for the memory of an irreproachable
husband, father, brother, and friend.

The present chapel will contain somewhat more than 400 persons; and the author records it to the credit of the inhabitants, that in fine weather (a circumstance of great consequence to a congregation so widely dispersed), and out of a population certainly not exceeding 900, he frequently numbers more than 300* hearers, including the children of a Sunday school. Here are about 40 communicants, for whose benefit monthly communions have been instituted by the present incumbent, who, deeply deploring the state of religion in the present day, is yet firmly persuaded that as no other attempts to redress the evil are lawful in the established clergy, so none are, at the long run, likely to be attended with any good effects, but a rigid adherence to the doctrines and discipline of the Church.

From the substance to the shadow, which follows it, from the chapter of religion to that of superstitions, the transition is easy and obvious.

Of these, the system of Faery mythology, well adapted to the character and scenery of this place, to the deep and shady glens, the dark and antique farm-houses, where the lubbar fiend might have stretched out his hairy strength, was universally received here till within the last 30 years, though now nearly forgotten. Puck himself was known by the name of Hobthurst, or Dæmon of the wood.

The doctrine of witchcraft, of which the faculty was supposed to descend in families, though upon little other evidence than that of hereditary malignity, is now nearly exploded also. This opinion, though productive of the most slavish inquietude, was somewhat the more harmless as it seldom broke out here into any outrages against the persons of the wretched creatures who laboured under the suspicion, though there is reason to fear that an apprehension of some secret and unimaginable revenge operated as their best security.

Every principal house had a local ghost, and every death, at least of considerable persons, was supposed to be preceded by secret signs and warnings, which, however, were imparted in a manner at once so useless and so uncertain, as to discredit the whole doctrine in the mind of a sober inquirer.

* I am far from adopting a conclusion formed by the clergy of Manchester, in a late account of the state of religion there, viz. that two-thirds of the people never attend religious worship at all;—different members of the same family undoubtedly attend in the morning and afternoon.

One practical superstition, peculiar so far as I know, to this place, deserves to be remembered.

The hydrocephalus is a disease incident to adolescent animals, and is supposed by the shepherds and herdsmen to be contagious: But, in order to prevent the progress of the disease, whenever a young beast had died of this complaint, it was usual, and it has, I believe, been practised by farmers yet alive, to cut off the head, and convey it for interment into the nearest part of the adjoining county. Stiperden, a desert place upon the borders of Yorkshire, was the place of skulls. Of so strange and fantastic a practice it is difficult to give any solution; yet it may have arisen from some confused and fanciful analogy to the case of Azazel (Numb. xvi. 22.) an analogy between the removal of sin and of disease—that, as the transgressions of the people were laid upon the head of the scape goat, the diseases of the herd should be laid upon the head of the deceased animal, and that, as the one was driven into the wilderness never to return, so the other should be conveyed to a desert place, beyond an imaginary line, which its contagious effects should not be able to pass.

Why these superstitions, after prevailing, as they unquestionably have done, for centuries, are gone into oblivion so rapidly within a few of the last years, it might perplex the acutest inquirer into the changes of human manners to assign any one satisfactory reason. The fact, I am persuaded, is not to be accounted for from any increase of general intelligence and rational incredulity,—not, excepting in a few persons, from more knowledge of religion and worthier conceptions of the Divine agency; but, if any probable cause can be assigned, it is surely a melancholy one, that the people are grown more selfish and less conversible, that their old periodical seasons of narrative festivity are intermitted, that their simplicity is diminished, though their understandings are not enlarged, and, above all, that the introduction of manufactures, with the attendant spirit of gain, which torpifies whatever it touches, has eaten out, among some better things, these poor remains of old and rustic imagination.

Thus much for the carucate of land here, originally belonging to the abbey of Kirkstall, which appears to have been an hamlet and mesne manor within itself.

In consequence of the original grant of Roger de Lacy, the De la Leghs long continued to claim free warren in Cliviger, (not within the carucate of the grange) as will appear from the following records—

“*Plita coram Dno. Rege apud West. in term. SS. Trin. anno regni Regis Edwardi fil. regis Edw. 17^o.*”

“LANCAST.

“*Juratores, &c. præsenterunt quod Johannes fil. Gilbert de la Legh, cepit quatuor bestias sylvestres in libera chacea regis super les Estmores in Clivager.*” Then follows the same John’s avowry of the fact according to the presentment, and his right for so doing in right of Cicely his wife, as lord of the third part Villæ de Towneley, and, after some intermediate steps, the verdict of the jury in these words—“*Dicunt super sacramentum suum quod prædictus Johannes fil. Gilberti tenet III^m. partem manerii de Towneley per legem Angliæ (i. e. he was*
“tenant

“tenant by the curtesy) post mortem Cecilie; et antecessores ipsius Cecilie et omnes alii Townles (sic) in ten. prædict. quæ idem Jobes. nunc tenet chaceaverunt et feras ceperunt a tempore quo non extat memoria infra certos limites in chacea regis p'dict. ratione ten. suorum p'dict. scil. incipiendo in quodam loco vocat. Thirosden Heuer. (rather Heved or Head, now Thurstin Head) versus Orient. versus quendam locum vocat. Bradley Brooke (the boundary betwixt Haberghameaves and Hapton) versus Occident. et incipiendo in quodam loco vocat. Saxifield Dyke versus Boream, usque quendam locum vocat. Crowbrooke (the forgotten name of Redwater Clough, descending from Crowhull) versus Aust.; et dicunt quod p'dict. loci de Est-mores et Clivacher in quibus p'dict. Jobes. cepit quatuor feras sylvest. est infra lim. p'dict.”

These ample boundaries comprehend not only the township of Cliviger, but Worsthorn and Extwisle (in the two last of which the right seems to have been superseded by later grants), Haberghameaves, and, as I conceive, Burnley also*; and, when to all these was added the great contiguous manor of Hapton, by the marriage of this John de la Legh and Cecilia de Towneley, *he* must have been a Nimrod indeed, of whom it could be said *æstuat infelix angusto limite*; for, from Brownbirks to Altham, in one direction, and from the summit of Hameldon to the foot of Boolsworth in another, the two diameters of this tract are little less than ten miles each; and, allowing for all the irregularities of the figure over which they are drawn, the whole area can scarcely be estimated at so little as 50 square miles or 32,000 acres, a wide and comparatively harmless field for the activity of an ancient hunter: when, excepting a few patches of culture about the villages, the whole country lay open before him, with no impediments in his way but rock and bog and native wood; when there were no retired pleasure grounds to invade, no neat hedges to tear up, no young plantations to trample down,—besides that, *his* trifling irruptions upon the enclosed † domains of the neighbouring landowners were authorized and legal; but how deeply has the modern planter and improver to lament, that, under a change of circumstances, so much of this old and barbarous spirit should yet remain; that it should have been transferred from gentlemen, in whom alone it is tolerable, to the meanest of the rabble; and that he should every winter be exposed to the unlicensed intrusion of men who defy the law of trespass, because they are beneath its operation ‡.

Again, by inquisition taken before Godfrey Foljambe, date lost, but circ. 38th Edw. III. the jurors found that “Gilbertus del Legh habebat liberam chaceam pertinentem ad manerium suum de Towneley, et etiam liberam chaceam pertinentem ad manerium suum de Hapton;” and this highly valued privilege conferred upon the mesne lords a right “ad chaceandum et venandum infra chaceas suas tam cum extraneis quam cum domesticis ad liberam voluntatem eorum sine impedimento dñi Ducis (John of Gaunt) seu aliorum Dñorum ibm.” yet with a reservation of their original rights of chace to the lords paramount, “excepto quod forestarii seu

* The manor of Burnley is once or twice passed in charters of the family in the fifteenth century, but never before or since.

† There was not a sheep fence within Cliviger in the beginning of the present century.

‡ A statute is much wanted, empowering Magistrates to convict summarily, and in small penalties, in cases of petty and wilful trespass, especially upon pleasure grounds and plantations. An action of trespass brought against offenders of this rank and description, would resemble a method which I once knew adopted to dissipate a cloud of gnats on a summer's evening, viz. firing at them with partridge shot.

“ Drivarii d'eti Ducis et aliorum D'norum antecessorum ibm. temp. solebant omnimodas feras
 “ de lib. chaceis supradictorum chaceare et superare, &c.”

Lastly, the manors of Towneley and Cliviger * have been recognized in all the family conveyances down to the year 1685; but, as no courts have been holden for time immemorial, as the superior lords have long exercised an uncontested right over the commons, mines and minerals, and the several freeholders over the latter within their own estates; and, moreover, as a modern park affords an easier supply of game and venison than an ancient free chase, this shadow of feudal superiority is now passed away and forgotten.

The great inquisition for the township of Cliviger is as follows:—

Inquisitio capta an. 4to. Edw. II. post mortem Hen. de Lacy, Com. Linc. &c.

In Cliviger are fourscore acres of land demised to divers tenants at will, which pay for the same yearly at the feast of St. Gyles £.1. 6s. 8d. the price of an acre being 4d. and there is one water mill, which is worth by the year £.1. besides all reprises at the feast of St. Michael, and there are certain freeholders which have holden of the said earl divers tenements, for certain rents, to be paid every year at the said feast of St. Gyles, that is to say,

			£.	s.	d.
† Gilbert of the Legh, 140 acres	—	—	2	6	11
William, of Middlemore, for 60 acres ‡	—	—	1	1	0
Henry, son of Hobkine, for 13½ acres	—	—	0	4	6
Adam, son of Robert, for 6 acres	—	—	0	2	0
Richard, of Coleknoll, for 6 acres	—	—	0	2	0
Jordan, of Licktenes, for 1½ acre	—	—	0	0	6
Dicke, of the Birches, for 10 acres	—	—	0	3	4
Adam, of Grymeshagh, for 12 acres	—	—	0	3	2
Robert, of Grymeshagh, for 10 acres	—	—	0	3	1
John, son of Matthew, for 20 acres, and one pair of gloves of 1d. price	—	—	0	5	4
§ Adam, of the Legh, for 60 acres	—	—	0	18	1½
William, of Dyneley, for 16 acres	—	—	0	5	6
Henry, of Cowhope, for 10 acres	—	—	0	3	4

* Thus, per inq. post mort. John Towneley, 1399, it was found that he held the manor of Cliviger in socage for the render of £.4. 12s. 8¼d.

† The demesne of Townley within Cliviger. The boundaries of Cliviger, where this demesne, now within Townley Park, abuts upon Haberghamecaves, are thus described in an award of the 31st Hen. VI.—“Whereas variances, &c. han byn movid between Richard of Townley, of Townley, and Harre of Townley, of Dutton, James of Walton, and John of Halstede, deme theis the meres betwene ye seid Townes, yt ys to wite begynning at ye Rawe, at ye nord ende of ye Floyt's Rawe to ye next Clough N. E. following up ye same Clough to ye Stakes that goes to ye rote Walt Tree yt lies in the Rawe, these meres thus lad to be meres for evmore.” These wiseacres having appointed a few stakes and a “root walt” tree to be boundaries for evermore, they are, as might be expected, not very certain at present.

‡ The demesne of Holme.

§ Lands in Cliviger dean, granted to Michael de la Legh, 30th Edw. I. I suppose this Adam to have been his son.—Townl MSS. And this confirms my hypothesis that Michael was a collateral, though he had another son Gilbert.

Margery

Margery, of Wulpitgreeve, for 6 acres,	—	—	0	2	0		
William, son of Robert, for 6 acres	—	—	0	2	0		
Pok, of Lomeclough, for 13 acres	—	—	0	4	6		
John, of Hargreaves, for 20 acres	—	—	0	7	0		
Stephen, of the Grange, for 18 acres	—	—	0	6	6½		
Dick, of the Gate, for 16 acres	—	—	0	4	6		
John of Ghate, (sic) for 6 acres	—	—	0	0	6		
Mokok, of the Lome, for 10 acres	—	—	0	1	6½		
John, son of Gilbert, for 10 acres	—	—	0	1	6¼		
William Topping, for 6 acres	—	—	0	2	0		
Mokok, of Mereclough, for 6 acres	—	—	0	1	0		
Tille, of Ormeroyd, for 20 acres	}	—	—	0	1	1½	
Adam, of Ormeroyd, for 8 acres							
and a lb. of pepper of 1s. price*							
Jeffrey, son of John, for 1 mess. and 2 acres of land			0	1	1½		
John, of the Legh, for 20 acres	—	—	0	4	7		
Dick, son of Mokok, of Brerocroft, for 20 acres, and							
one pair of gloves, of 1d. price*	—	—	0	6	0		
Adam the Wright, for 16 acres, and 1 pair of spurs							
of 1 ob. price	—	—	—	—	0	3	8
Henry, of Healey, for 8 acres	—	—	—	—	0	1	5
Adam, of the Bridge, for 20 acres	—	—	—	—	0	1	7¼
Robert, of Holme, for 8 acres	—	—	—	—	0	7	0
The giste of cattle on the common pasture of Cliviger,							
usually worth 1s. yearly†							

Acres 602—of 8 yards to the perch,
which is the customary measure of Cliviger, or 1273 statute acres.

In the reign of Edw. II. therefore, this tract afforded a decent and independent subsistence to 34 freeholders, with their families, occupied, as may fairly be presumed, in breeding sheep and cattle; for which, their yet undiminished commons afforded them ample scope. The rank of tenantry, occupying only 80 acres, was very small. The lord, therefore, the freeholder, and the cottager, nearly constituted the scale of society among us.

* So dear were the productions of the East before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, that, according to this ratio, a pound of pepper, now worth perhaps 2s. 6d. was equivalent to 12 pair of gloves, or about 18s. Gloves being manufactured from a native commodity, and being then sold at 1d. per pair, it appears that the value of money was from 18 to 20 times its present value; so that from these 602 acres, the lords derived a revenue equal at present to 200*l.* per annum, or in the low state of cultivation at that time, a fourth part of their extended value. The gradual depreciation of money has reduced antient feudal payments almost to nothing: but the modern burdens of land tax, poor's rates, &c. have left the land owner, on the whole, no reason to applaud his own times and circumstances.

† There is probably some mistake in this trifling sum. The town field of Cliviger lay between Lawhouse Clough and Redlees. It was certainly enclosed early in the time of Charles the First. How much sooner I have never learned. From the allotment of Holme I conjecture the whole to have consisted of about 40 Cliviger acres.

And,

And, if we add one cottage to every tenement, which is somewhat lower than the present ratio, on account of many late unauthorized erections on the wastes, it will give 68 houses, and, at the rate of $4\frac{1}{4}$ persons to a family, 306 inhabitants. A lower proportion cannot with any probability be assigned; for, if the smallest proprietors required the assistance of no husbandman or shepherd, the middle class would uniformly require one, and the higher more.

To these proprietors may farther be assigned a stock of at least 500 cattle young and old, and of 3000 sheep; their husbandry was wrought by oxen, they had no cart roads, and therefore little occasion for that wasteful animal the horse. Their bread corn, (oats alone) was raised by themselves; the superfluity of their stock, which must have left a very large balance in their favour, was annually disposed of at the head of the Calder, on a spot yet remembered by the name of the Fair Hill; and their condition, on the whole, seems to have been that of a wealthy and contented race of yeomanry, neither oppressing nor oppressed.

To the preceding account of population and property, within this township, in the beginning of the 14th century, we will now oppose that of the commencement of the 19th.

The quantity of cultivated ground is more than trebled * by successive enclosures, the number of tenements encreased to 81, the proprietors, excluding some trifling copyholders, reduced to seven, and, of these, four only are either occasionally or statedly resident upon their own estates; the whole number of inhabited houses is 197; the present state of population, therefore, at the same rate with the former, is 886 and a fraction: And, by a schedule taken according to Act of Parliament, A. D. 1798, it appeared, that there were in the township of Cliviger 276 milch cows, 267 young cattle, 2294 sheep, 6 horses for carriages or riding, 73 ditto for draft, 37 † carts, besides a considerable number of wretched starveling horses, kept upon the commons for the purpose of carrying coals and lime.

These numbers, so far as they regard sheep and cattle, are, however, considerably short of the truth, the jealousy of farmers seldom allowing them to make a full and fair disclosure of their effects.

Of the state of husbandry little can be said;—in fact, the climate, one of the dampest and most foggy in the kingdom, is unfavourable to agricultural experiments: in a few chosen spots wheat will ripen, but only in favourable years; barley succeeds rather better, but neither are generally worth the trouble and expence of cultivation; turnips, could the prejudices of the farmer be overcome, and the depredations of pilferers prevented, might be usefully employed in augmentation of winter fodder; and the modern practice of Scotland has demonstrated their efficacy in the improvement of barren lands. Fallows, however, are held in detestation, partly on account of the first expence, but principally for the very reason which ought to recommend them, namely, that they destroy the roots of the native vegetables.

* By a survey made A. D. 1602, it appears that the enclosed grounds within Cliviger amounted to 952 acres: in the year 1734, they were encreased by enclosures, to 1324, partly including and partly excluding 300 acres decreed to be enclosed A. D. 1618; and, in 1795, a grant was made to the several freeholders, of 300 acres more, all of eight yards to the perch; the remainder was granted out for enclosure in 1809:—the whole extent of Cliviger, including the commons, is 3328a. 1r. 12p. at eight yards, or 7041a. 2r. 39p. statute measure.

† In the year 1720, only two carts were kept in the township, so that in an interval of 80 years, here is an addition of about 60 horses, which devour the fodder of 90 milch cows, or nearly a cow to every cottage.

The hardy black oat alone, which, when once committed to the earth, defies alike a bad climate and bad management, is in universal esteem; and here is no succession of crops, no laying down with grasses,—the fields, after being ploughed, or, on steep grounds being dug up, for oats, two or three years together, are left to swarth again of their own accord; and, before this operation is half completed, the same slovenly and unseasonable process returns. Lime is the general manure; an excellent tillage indeed upon fallows, on pasture grounds, especially after draining, and in meadows, when mingled with dung; but which, as it has no pabulum of its own, when spread before the plough, only enables the farmer to exhaust his land more completely than he could have done without such a stimulus.

In * the days of our grandfathers, who occupied much of their own lands, here was an honest and useful emulation in the breed of cattle;—that spirit, another bad effect of the increase of tenantry, is now extinct, and the breed is declined both in bulk and beauty accordingly: But the farms are of a convenient size for the production of milk and butter; and, happily for the cottagers, too small in general for the making of cheese;—I say happily, for a very defective supply of milk, which is all that they can generally procure, is infinitely preferable, as food for children, to a superfluity of whey, however prepared. It is for this reason especially, that humanity deprecates the consolidation of farms, to which a wealthy and selfish tenant often holds out but too powerful temptations.

From the comforts of women and children in the lowest class nothing ought to be subtracted; and, while those licensed nuisances, the public-houses, are permitted to swallow up so large a proportion of the earnings of the men, it is difficult to add to them. When three-fourths of the labourers' wages are thus intercepted, which is not unfrequently the case, extreme misery must be the consequence to his family,—a misery aggravated by the impossibility of relieving it without encouraging vice.

Of these houses we have only four, and those not less, nay probably more orderly than their neighbours: yet, it is a fact, capable of demonstration, that, in the riotous and unthinking plenty, which immediately preceded the calamities of the present war, a sum equivalent to the whole rental of the township was annually consumed in them. For, in fact, so strong are the remaining tendencies of our Saxon origin, that, as in the higher ranks every thing has been said to terminate in a dinner,—in the lower, every thing ends at an alehouse.

In joy and sorrow, for business or dissipation, the riot of a marriage-feast, the maudlin solemnity of a funeral, the senseless noise of a parish meeting, and the never-ending jollity of a wake, *omnes eodem cogitur*,—all fly to the place which affords at once accommodation and freedom, oblivion of care, or a vent for mirth, which removes at a distance the control of domestic authority, or the voice of conjugal reproach.

What a benefactor would he be to society, who could devise some amusement for the poor at home; but this is impossible, while their animal propensities are so strong, and their reasoning faculties so weak!

The circuit of Cliviger is nearly 20 miles, — of which that part of the outline which extends

* The breed of horned cattle has long been one of the boasts of our county—"Regionis bonitatem etiam, si placet, ex armentis dijudices. In bobus enim qui sunt proceris cornibus et composito corpore, nihil quod Mago Carthaginensis apud Columellam requirit, facile desideres."—Camden in Lanc.

from Hameldon Hill to Sherniford*, coincides with the boundary of the parish, and is strongly marked by natural features; thence, along the summit of the hill, by Pikelaw or Thieveley Pike, are the vestiges of the Old Dyke, of which tradition records, that it once formed the limit between Cliviger and Rossendale, though the former has now acquired a prescriptive right to a large tract of common on the south and west of it; and in this tract is *Derplay*, qu. *Deerwplay*, the Uplay of the Deer, strongly implying its ancient relation to the forest. From Thieveley Pike, where are the remains of an antient beacon, is a very noble and diversified prospect, comprehending, to the north, almost the whole expanse of Craven, with the rocks of Settle, Malham, and Gordale, both Wharnesides, Ingleborough, Penygent, Cam, and Graygreth Fell, north of Kirkby Lonsdale; to the west and north-west Bowland, with its range of Fells from Cross of Greet to Parlike, Longridge, part of the Filde, with the Western Sea; and, in a sunny evening, when the tide is in, a noble expanse of the æstuary of Ribble like a sheet of gold. More to the South the prospect is circumscribed by Cridden and other high grounds betwixt us and the great plain of Lancashire; but these are seen occasionally, though rarely, surmounted by three conical summits of the Carnarvonshire hills, one of which, from its form and elevation, I suspect to be Carnedd Llewellyn. Directly southward, a single opening exhibits the town of Manchester, enveloped in eternal smoke, with the high grounds near Dishley, and the Park of Lyme in Cheshire; while beyond, and south eastward, farther prospect is barred by the long and lofty ridges of the Peakish hills†. The northern and southern extremities of this great map are at least 120 miles distant from each other.

The northern boundary of Cliviger, where it abuts upon Worsthorn, is marked by a line of grey and venerable stones, inscribed with crosses; the different elevations along the once trackless line of the Long Cawsway are distinguished in the same manner; and I have observed, that whenever any of these pious memorials have been obliterated from accident or with design, they are still restored by some devout and secret hand. This bleak and comfortless road, which till the last 35 years continued to be one of the principal passes between the two counties, was the line which the Lacies and Plantagenets were condemned to pursue in their progresses from Pontefract to Clitheroe, and the latter from thence to Lancaster. What trains of sumpter-horses must, upon these occasions, have been seen traversing these boggy wastes, impassable at that time for carriages, and when the great lords, with many residences, had furniture only for one‡! Such a progress, which would scarcely be undertaken but in summer, must have been the work of three days at least, over a line of about ninety miles, which we may imagine to have been thus distributed: One easy stage would conduct them to their manor of Rothwell (whence many of their charters are dated), and here, for want of accommodations beyond, they must have rested the first night. From Rothwell, another stage would conduct them to their manor of Bradford; thence probably over the moors to Luddenden; thence to the eastern extremity of the Long Cawsway, by the cross still called Duke's Cross, in Cliviger; and thence, after a long descent, to their manor of Igthenhill. At the end of a short, but uneasy stage,

* Vide Perambulation of the parish, App. No I.

† Many a winter's walk recalls to memory Drayton's comparison, in his beautiful poem of "Dowsabell," "As white as snow on Peakish Hull."

‡ By this word is not meant the more massy parts of their furniture, which were absolutely immoveable logs, but bedding, carpets, &c. This was the case much later.—See Northumberland Household Book.

on the third, the castle of Clitheroe would await them; and thence, after two weary stages more by the Trough of Bowland, they would repose themselves at Lancaster, consoled at least by the reflection that no other English subject could sustain an equal degree of fatigue in traversing his own estates*.

Another memorial of our antient lords within Cliviger, is Earls Bower†, a deep gully in the rocks opposite to Holme, so called, probably, from some forgotten visit which might have been paid to it in hunting by one of the earls of Lincoln or Lancaster.

Within this township, as distinct from the caracute of the grange, are *Barcroft* and *Ormerod*, the first of which, spelt at different periods, according to the uncertainty of antient orthography, Brerecroft, Bercroft, and Barcroft, was, from the earliest times to which records extend, down to the middle of the last century, the property and residence of a family of the same name, whose descent, so far as I have been able to collect it, is as follows:

BARCROFT, OF BARCROFT.

Gilbert de Bererocroft ‡, by deed s. d.

Richard de Bererocroft, gave lands in Cliviger, east of Calder, to Kirkstall abbey, s. d.

Mocock de Brerecroft, vix. temp. Edw. I. per inq.

Richard de Brerecroft.

Matthew de Brerecroft, vix. temp. Edw. III.—Townl. MSS.

William de Bercroft, 6th Rich. II.—Ib.

Thomas Bercroft. John, his brother, 37 Hen. VI.

§ William Bercroft, 23 Hen. VII.

William Bercroft, 21st Hen. VIII.

Robert Barcroft, 24th Hen. VIII.

William Barcroft, ob. Feb. 1561.—Agnes, dau. of

Robert Barcroft. He is said in the Lanc. pedigree to have died circ 1614; but, by the register of Burnley, sep. Robert Barcroft de Barcroft, April 1612.	Eliz. dau. of Mr. John Roberts, of Foxstones, ob. Oct. 1605.	Henry, settled at Foulridge, and was, as I conjecture, ancestor of the Barcrofts of Noona.	Anne.—Henry Farrer, of Ewood, 1st or 2d Phil. & Mary.—Watson's Hist. of Halifax.
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See next page.

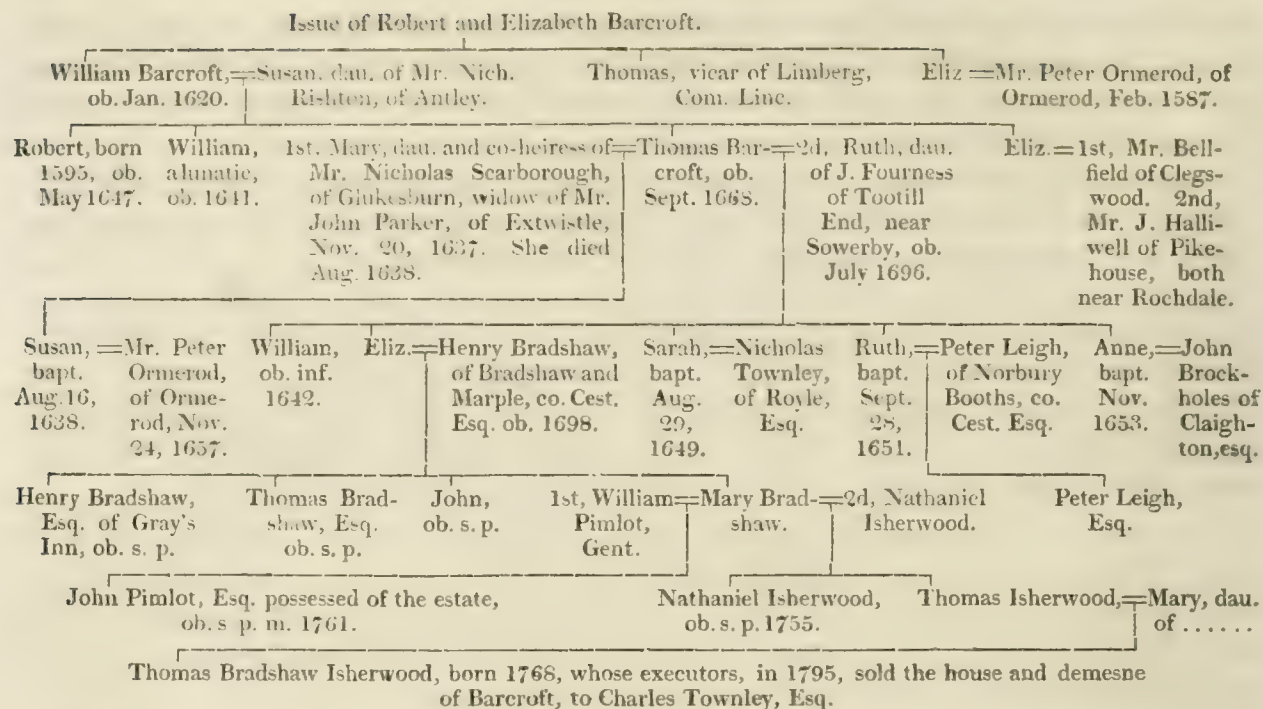
* Every part of this rout was not actually within their own estates: but, as the parish of Bradford comes in contact with that of Whalley, the estates of the Lacys actually extended, without interruption, from Pontefract to the Trough of Bowland; and those of the Plantagenets, after the marriage of Alice de Lacy with earl Thomas, from thence to Lancaster.

See Fairfax's Memoirs, for an account of a singular custom at Bradford, which had its origin in the practice of the earls and dukes of Lancaster passing through that town from Pontefract to their estates in Lancashire.

† I ought to have mentioned White Kirk, a perpendicular rock in the same range. Is it not possible that this may have been so called from some resemblance in colour and form to the White Church or Kirk, as it would antiently be called, under the Legh. I think it even probable.

‡ The ten first names in this descent are given from charters, and arranged, as far as possible, in chronological order. The same observation will apply to the nine first names in the descent of Ormerod, none of which, any more than the earlier Barcrofts, are noticed in the Lancashire pedigrees.

§ In one charter 19th Hen. VII. spelt Berkcroft.



The house and demesne of Barcroft descended through the Bradshaws, and, from them, to the Pimlots and Isherwoods, and in the year 1795 were purchased by Charles Townley, esq.; and the portion of the youngest, consisting of divers tenements in Cliviger, was sold in 1737, a little before the marriage of Miss Catherine Brockholes with Charles Howard, of Greystock, Esq. afterwards Duke of Norfolk, to Thomas Whitaker, of Holme, gent.

The house is a large, well-built, respectable mansion: over the hall door is the date 1614; but the kitchen end, both from the masonry and wood-work, appears to be older by a century. The situation is warm and low; and the view to the north-west over the woods and grounds of Townley, with the gentle swell of Ightenhill Park, terminated by the majestic back-ground of Pendle, is extremely pleasing.

ORMEROD.

An house and family of equal antiquity with the former. Orme is a common Saxon name; and the second syllable, Royd, has been already explained in p. 168.

The present house of Ormerod appears to have been re-built in the life-time of Laurence Ormerod and Elizabeth Barcroft, whose names it bears, with the date 1595. It stands to some disadvantage, with a rising ground in front, and a declivity behind; but this last is filled with a back-ground of aged sycamores and elms, peopled by a numerous colony of rooks. The house was fronted anew, and modernized by the grandfather of the late possessor, who left it an extremely neat and comfortable residence.

In this township is still preserved an instrument of ancient and approved efficacy in suppressing the licence of female tongues, namely, a Brank (qu. à Teut. *Brangen*, *ostentare*, as the culprit was led about in this disgraceful state of penal silence.) There is an engraving of such an one in Plot's History of Staffordshire, and another in Brand's History of Newcastle.

Additions

Arms. Or, three erect, Argent.—Allowed in the Visitation of Somersetshire, 1623, by Henry St. George and
rd, knt. Garter, and Ralph Bigland, esq. Norroy.

ds in Cliviger at the time Mokok de Ormeroyde.
er aforesaid.

..... as by Inquisition aforesaid, 17 Hen. VIII.

aster, 2d son. Will dated..... daughter of Whitaker,
ter, May 1, 1608. of

2. John Ormerod, hter of Robert Barcroft, of Barcroft, Oliver Ormerod, of Haslingden, Sibylla, daughter of
at Burnley, Apr. ancaster, gent. married at Burnley, only son and heir. Hargrave.
died an infant.

2. John Orme- d, of..... dau. Oliver Ormerod, M.A. of Emanuel College, Johanna, dau. of Robert
rod, baptized n, of Cambridge; instituted to the rectory of Ric. Hinkson, of Ormerod,
at Burnley, and of Pollard. Huntspill, co. Somerset, March 31, 1617. Goham, co. Cant. of Bridge-
Septemb. 23, g Author of the Picture of a Puritan, 1605, Will dated Oct. water, liv-
1593. and the Picture of a Papist, 1606. Will ing 1638.
dated Jan. 17, 1625, proved at the Prero- dated Jan. 17, 1625, proved at the Prero-
gative Office, London, June 28, 1626. gative Office, London, June 28, 1626. Feb. 8, following.

1. Lawrence Orme- Two sons, Mary Ormerod, wife of Robert Richard Or- Elizabeth, eld- Jane and Eliza-
of Ormerod, died in- Townley, gent. whose eldest merod, only est daughter, beth Ormerod,
eldest son and infants. son, Nicholas Townley, of son and heir wife of Henry beth Ormerod,
buried at Bur Royle, was aged 30 years, æt. 4, anno Had under age
April 3, 1674. anno 1664. Had issue. 1623. issue. 1638.

Peter Ormerod, of Ormerod, Elizabeth Ormerod, George Ormerod, buried John Ormerod, buried
rod, gent. only, wife of George living unmarried, at Burnley, June 4, at Burnley, April 6,
heir, married a Allred, of Ec- July 29, 1694. 1666, died an infant. 1667, died an infant.
ley, Nov. 24, 1694.

rod, born George Ormerod, of Bury, gent. only Anne, daughter of John Anne Ormerod,
Susannah, wife of 1708, bap- son and heir, born March 4, and Hutchinson, of Bury, baptized at
..... Hartley, Bury. son and heir, born March 4, and merchant, born 1719, Bury, April
living 1709. died June 29, 1789, buried at St. married at Bury Dec. 17, 1716, ob.
Ormerod, John's, in Bury. Will dated Feb. 27, 23, 1743, died Dec. 23, s. p.
and had 1789, proved at Chester, July 23, 1788, buried at St. John's, in Bury.

ly child, born April 20, Elizabeth, eldest surviving daughter of Thomas Johnson, of Tyldesley,
May 19, following; died co. Lancaster, esq. by Susanna, daughter and finally sole heiress of
buried at the Collegiate Samuel Wareing, of Walmersley, esq. born Oct. 22, 1752, married
at the Collegiate Church of Manchester, Oct. 18, 1794.

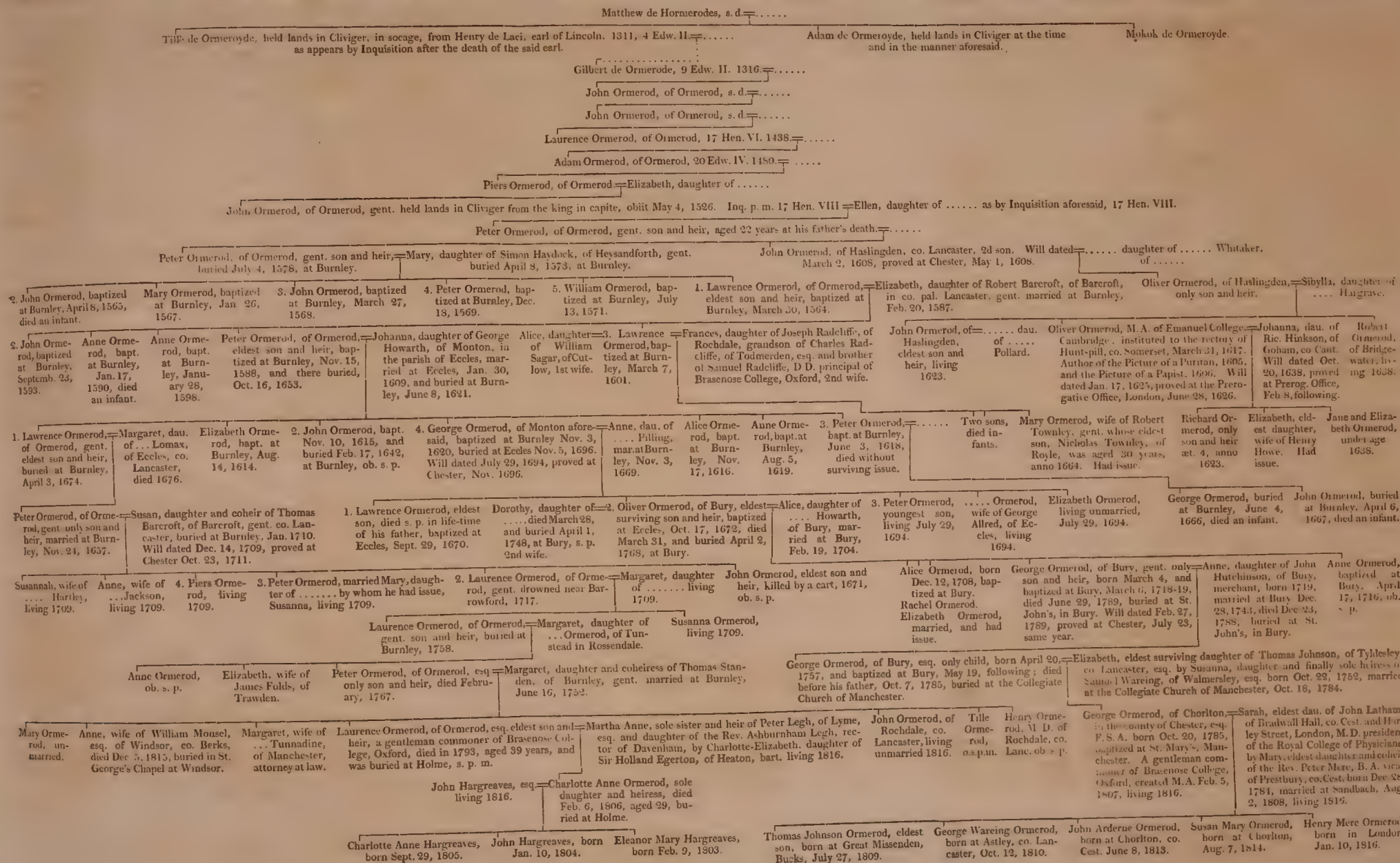
Mary Orme- Tille Henry Orme- George Ormerod, of Chorlton, Sarah, eldest dau. of John Latham,
rod, un- Orme- rod, M. D. of in the county of Chester, esq. of Bradwall Hall, co. Cest. and Har-
married. rod, of Rochdale, co. F. S. A. born Oct. 20, 1785, ley Street, London, M. D. president
o.s.p.m. Lanc. ob. s. p. baptized at St. Mary's, Man- of the Royal College of Physicians.
chester. A gentleman com- by Mary, eldest daughter and coheir
moner of Brasenose College, of the Rev. Peter Mere, B. A. vicar
Oxford, created M.A. Feb. 5, of Prestbury, co. Cest. born Dec. 28,
1807, living 1816. 1784, married at Sandbach, Aug.
2, 1808, living 1816.

George Wareing Ormerod, John Arderne Ormerod, Susan Mary Ormerod, Henry Mere Ormerod,
born at Astley, co. Lan- born at Chorlton, co. born at Chorlton, born in London,
caster, Oct. 12, 1810. Cest. June 8, 1813. Aug. 7, 1814. Jan. 10, 1816.

PEDIGREE OF ORMEROD.

[To face p. 361.]

Arms. Or, three bars Gules, in chief a lion passant of the second. Crest: On a wreath, a wolf's head couped at the neck, Barry of four pieces, Or and Gules, in the mouth an ostrich feather erect, Argent.—Allowed in the Visitation of Somersetshire, 1623, by Henry St. George and Sampson Lennard, the deputies of William Camden, Clarencieux: and again allowed in 1814, together with a confirmation of the Crest, by Sir Isaac Heald, knt. Garter, and Ralph Bigland, esq. Norroy.



Additions to Cliviger.

This township, in which the author has so near and domestic an interest, is entitled to a little more attention than it has hitherto received, both in respect to scenery and antiquities.

The rocky portion of Cliviger to the East abounds with waterfalls, some of which are of considerable depth and beauty. Redwater Clough, the course of the antient Crowbrook, forms a bold and rocky boundary to the two counties. Here remains much native wood, mingled with jutting points of crags, one large waterfall, and a small one of singular beauty near the top, overshadowed by a single oak, which might almost be painted of its own dimensions. On the opposite side of the valley is Beater Clough, another ancient boundary, derived probably from the Saxon *Beatepe*, on account of the “beating” of the waters. This contains a series of falls at least half a mile in length. Next the West is Ratand Clough, which retained the Saxon name of Routand Clough (the brawling torrent) even in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and in floods projects a single sheet of water nearly sixty feet in depth, environed with noble rocks. Next, and still to the West, is Earl’s Bower, the streams of which at the same seasons fall more than an hundred and fifty feet; though in high East winds a great part of it at the point of projection is caught up into the air, and visibly dissipated in vapour. Lastly, in the Gully of Dod-bottom, are two falls of about eight yards each. But all these require a swell of water to give them their proper effect. I shall next notice some ancient names and their etymologies. Calder*, first mentioned in a charter of Simon, abbot of Kirkstall, I am now inclined to think is simply the Danish *Kalldur*, *frigidus*. Munsus Rake, the name of a winding road in Cliviger Dean, is evidently Monkshouse Rake, a vestige of their property here, after an interval of five centuries†. Scarth Rake: this is pure Danish, *scarth*, in that dialect, being a scar. And does not the “White Kirk” adjoining, the name of a perpendicular rock bleached by the storms, contain a very antient allusion to the White Kirk under the Lee at Whalley? It may also be proper to mention, in passing, a few old local words, with their derivations. Rake is a winding road up the long side of a mountain, from the Anglo-Saxon *pacan*, *porrigere*. Scouts are long ridges of rock stretching parallel to the horizon, perhaps from *reoetan*, to shoot out in length. Clough, a narrow broken valley, is pure Saxon; but the etymologists have not observed that it comes from *cleoƿan*, *fudere*, to cleave asunder. The Dutch *kloof* is the same word.

The original boundary between Cliviger and the forest of Rossendale was unquestionably the old dyke which traverses the ridge of the hill nearly from East to West by Pikelaw. The freeholders of Cliviger, however, are now possessed of a large tract of moor ground on the other side: a poor compensation for the loss of their freehold rights in all their ancient commons, which the acquirement of this occasioned.

In the earlier part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth a suit was instituted by the proprietors of the vaccary of Horelaw Head, otherwise Bacop Booth, against those of Cliviger, to recover this parcel of common, on the following grounds.

It appeared from the evidence of several ancient persons, who remembered the boundaries before the disforested of Rossendale, that the meres lay from Tower Hill (near Bearnshaw

* The stream, which rises from the same source, is called East Calder in charters relating to the part of Stansfield adjoining to Cliviger, temp. Edw. III. Townley MSS.

† I have already shewn that these lands were alienated by the abbot and convent of Kirkstall, in the reign of Edw. I. Tower)

Tower) to Hag-Gate, or the old road along the Haia Dominicalis, still called Old Dike, thence to Routandclough Head, thence to Pike Law, and thence to Derplay Hill. And this division Nature as well as Tradition pointed out.

But, on the other hand, it was proved on the behalf of Cliviger, that, about sixty years before, certain marked stones then remaining, and including the disputed ground, had been laid as meres by Sir John Townley, Knt. in the presence of Sir Peter Legh, Steward of the Honor of Clitheroe, and Sir John Booth, Receiver.

Secondly, it appeared from the court rolls, that two acres of land, parcel of the two hundred and forty acres in dispute, had been granted to Robert Whitaker, of Holme, as part of the commons of Cliviger within Dirpley Graining, anno 17 Edward IV. and two acres more to Thomas, his son, anno . . Henry VII.

To all these things the people of the Vaccary replied, that they were done without their knowledge or privity.

On the whole, there can be no doubt that the Old Dike had been the original boundary of the forest, but that the meres of Cliviger had been wrongfully extended at some indefinite period before the 17th of Edward IV. in consequence of which a prescription was established against the foresters. Under this impression, therefore, they abandoned the suit, and consented to inclose along the meres which Sir John Townley had laid; and the outfence then built forms the present boundary.

How long the coal so abundant in this rocky district has been wrought for sale, does not appear from any document which I have seen: I only know that in the 3d and 4th of Philip and Mary, those sovereigns granted to my ancestor Thomas Whitaker, of Holme, gentleman, his heirs and assigns for ever, all their “coole-mynes and coole-pitts in Clyvecher;” which, in the year 1567, this improvident grantee transferred to John Towneley, Esq. for the trifling sum of 20*l.* and by this bargain, his descendants have, during the last forty years, been deprived of at least 1000*l.* per annum.

How this valuable property reverted to the chief lords I have never learned. In one of the old works was found an ancient Sandal with straps for upper-leathers; and to another is still attached the tradition of a providential interference, so nearly resembling Harrison’s story of the Crow of Cumerstwyth, that I shall relate it in the words of that old and simple writer.

“A Workman working on a tyne at Comerstwyth six myles from Stradfeur, did laye his purse and girdle by hym. A Crowe (which he had made tame) was very busy flittering about hym, and soe much molested hym, that he waxed angry with the byrde, and in his fury threatened to wring off his necke. To the short, the crow hastily caught up his girdle and purse, and made away with all soe fast as her winges coude carry her. Whereupon the poore man falling into great agony (for he feared, peradventure, to lose all hys money), threw downe hys mattock at adventure and ran after the birde, cursing and menacing that he should lose his lyfe if ever he gotte hym againe; but as it fell out the crow was the meanes whereby hys lyfe, for he not long been oute of the mine when ere it fell downe and killed all his fellowes*.”

In the Red Moss, a part of this two hundred and forty acres once within the forest, Iron Arrow-heads have often been found. These, it is probable, had been aimed against the deer rather than used in battle. I have only to add, that in October, 1802, in a field belonging to the author, was found a Torques of the purest gold. It was lying upon the surface, having

* Description of Britaine, prefixed to Holinshed, vol. I. p. 116, 1st ed. 1577.

been turned up by the plough or harrow, and picked up by a reaper. The weight is above one ounce and a half. It was originally a complete circle, then bent back upon itself, and twisted round; excepting at the ends, which are looped, as if intended to be fastened about the neck by a cord. It is now in my possession.

ON THE GEOLOGY OF CLIVIGER.

This district is selected for the purpose of geological research, first, as being more intimately known to the author; and, secondly, as being more strongly and distinctly marked by the vestiges of convulsion and disorder, which at some remote period have rent the crust of the earth, than any other in the parish of Whalley.

Modern geologists have divided the strata of the earth into two general classes, primary and secondary, of which the first, consisting principally of granite, is found to contain no organized remains, either animal or vegetable, and undoubtedly existed before the creation of organized matter.

Of these primitive strata we have no appearances, any more than of distinct and insulated blocks of the same species, though these are often found on the surface of the earth, at a great distance from their parent beds.

The secondary strata, as enumerated and arranged by geologists, are calcareous rocks, containing innumerable remains of marine animals, and sand-stone, containing relics of vegetable substances; and these are found alternately one above the other. In the district, however, now under examination, there are no calcareous beds, and only two strata of sand-stone, superinduced on innumerable and distinct deposits of argillaceous matter, which abound in vegetable remains.

On the formation and present position of the strata of the earth, there are two hypotheses; one, which is that of Dr. Hutton and Mr. Playfair, that they have been produced by the action of a central heat, which has reduced the whole crust of the earth to a state of fusion: the other, that they are the result of chemical depositions, and that, as these depositions must originally have been horizontal, their present inclined position is to be ascribed to an irregular subsidence, while the whole of the ancient continents sunk so as to form the present bed of the ocean, which, with the exception of certain islands, covered the surface of our present continents.

This is the hypothesis of M. de Luc: and the present inquiry will prove which of the two is best adapted to solve the phænomena of the district now before us.

The township of Cliviger, situated in the dorsal ridge of the island, is remarkable for a great disruption in the mineral strata, which forms a deep and narrow pass between the counties of York and Lancaster, after which the mountains gradually subside, while they expand to East and West, embracing the plain and low lands, bounded to the North by the great bulk of Pendle.

On the opposite sides of this great disruption, there is no correspondence between the strata, for which reason the appearance of the whole completely negatives the opinion of Mr. Playfair, and

his

his school, that valleys have been universally excavated by the long-continued action of streams which have at first been accidentally directed into their present courses. For, on entering this district from the East, there appear four successive disruptions, exhibiting abrupt sections of all the mineral beds which have been broken off successively by the falling down of the strata in front, while they have themselves undergone a considerable declination to the North-west. These strata moreover are all argillaceous, and consist alternately of argillaceous rock, schistus, iron, and coal.

On the other side, the plane of the strata in the direction of the valley is nearly horizontal: the dip is to the South-west, and above all the argillaceous strata, which in no respect coincide with those opposed to them, are superinduced two ponderous strata of sand-stone, one nearly fifty feet thick, with a deep bed of schistus interposed between them.

Such appearances it is impossible for a moment to impute to the action of waters, or indeed to the upheaving of these vast masses by the operation of central fire, inasmuch as the heated air from the moment of its escape must have lost its expansive force, and could only have produced such fissures as “*walts*,” which would have sufficed for its emission, and after which its power must have ceased.

But there is in these strata a much stronger proof, that as they have not been reduced to their present disordered and dislocated state by the operation of central fire, so they do not owe their present mature and stratified forms to the same power. In one word, that they have never been in a state of fusion.

It has been convincingly argued by M. de Luc, that, had the calcareous strata ever been liquified by fire, besides that the fixed air which they contained would necessarily have been dislodged (and dislodged it would easily have been notwithstanding the interposition of the sea), all appearances of animal organization, which abound in such bodies, and sometimes even shells in their recent state, must necessarily have disappeared.

In addition to which it may be urged, with respect to the argillaceous strata, that had *they* been liquified by fire, all the vegetable remains with which they abound must likewise have disappeared.

To prove this, let any one throw a plant of fern (the commonest of all extraneous fossils) into a cauldron of molten lead or iron, and after the mass is indurated, let him seek for the substance, or even for the impression of the plant.

In this district the argillaceous strata which form the *visible* basis of the whole parish of Whalley, will form the principal object of our consideration, and may properly be denominated secondary strata, as the sand-stone in Cliviger, and the calcareous rocks about Clitheroe, are evidently superinduced upon it.

I think it is generally understood by Christian geologists, among whom the amiable M. de Luc holds the first place, that, by the *days* into which the work of creation is divided by Moses, are to be understood indefinite periods of time.

During the æra of the creation, whether longer or shorter, two principles were evidently employed by the Creator, which ceased when the formation of the crust of this globe was accomplished. These were crystallization, and chemical deposition, of which the former appears to have taken the lead in the formation of granite, the simplest and most ancient of all mineral productions, and the basis on which they rest. Hitherto there was no organization:
but

but now (I speak of the particular district before me) the work of chemical deposition began : so that the chaotic pulp (I use these terms from the want of better and more adequate ones), which contained in itself the principle and the matter of all mineral substances, began to precipitate according to chemical affinities, particles *electing* particles, agreeably to the law of their nature.

Of this process the great symptom is stratification ; an effect produced either by the temporary cessation of the cause, which left an indurated surface for the next deposition to rest upon ; or by the superinduction of different, though generally homogeneous matter.

In the earlier part of this period, and precisely in the order which we are taught to expect by the narrative of Moses, vegetable substances, the first organized matter, were created. Accordingly, in these argillaceous strata are found, in a mineralized state, many specimens of the filices, some roots of unknown plants, and many distinct and beautiful specimens, apparently of pine, though different from any species with which we are acquainted in their recent state.

Of these, it is remarkable that they are all more or less flattened ; which proves the deposition by which they were surrounded to have been extremely rapid ; for had it been so slow as merely to have kept pace with induration, an arch of hardened matter would have been formed over these remains so as to have prevented them from being crushed by the incumbent weight.

This is an important chronometer, and is directly opposed to the hypothesis of those who assign very long periods of time for the successive operation by which the creation was carried on.

But, though each operation appears to have been rapid, yet the following considerations will go far to prove that there were considerable pauses, which afforded space for the operation of more gradual and less active principles.

Vegetation, it must be remembered, had now commenced : and the only rational hypothesis concerning the origin of fossil coal, is that its basis consisted in beds of peat earth.

But all these must originally have been the superficial soil composed of decayed roots and other vegetable substances intermixed with the more permanent remains of wood, which actually abound, some of them scarcely mineralized, in our coal strata at present.

These phænomena prove, that, on the hypothesis of our present continent having constituted the bed of the primæval ocean, the coal districts must have been islands extant above it : and they also prove, as they are found in successive beds, three, four, or more above each other, that there have been as many successive pauses in the work of deposition, during which, by the aid of vegetation, successive beds of peat earth have been spread over the repeated surfaces and successively overwhelmed by new depositions.

The opinion that peat has been the parent of fossil coal, is confirmed by the universal fact that the stratum immediately beneath the coal is clay, an unmineralized deposit almost always found in the same situation beneath the peat in its recent state.

In Cliviger and the adjoining districts these stratifications of argillaceous matter are evidently of two different periods, both, however, antecedent to the creation of animals, not a vestige of the remains of which is ever found in the latest of them.

These are, first, the great rocky disruption already mentioned, the two sides of which must immediately

immediately after the great convulsion which produced it, have met in an acute angle in the valley beneath, which is now partially filled up by later depositions and become a plain.

But the materials of this plain, with the exception of mere superficial alluvions, though evidently applied to the feet and sides of the former broken strata, and therefore of later date, are nevertheless of great antiquity. From within a very few yards beneath the present surface, they are uniformly stratified, and have therefore been produced during the period when the work of deposition was going on, which must have ceased before the production of quadrupeds, by whom a world in such a state would have been uninhabitable.

Now these argillaceous strata, containing successive coal beds, and applied to the feet of the rocky hills, constitute the great plain of Lancashire, and maintain an uniform inclination towards the Irish sea, whose bed they seem to constitute, either by having gradually sunk beneath its surface, or having been fractured by sudden disruptions.

But plains thus formed, during the period of the creation, are carefully to be distinguished from mere alluvions, which are mixed unstratified deposits of *debris* poured down from the higher grounds, and prove, I think, beyond a doubt, that the earth, as to its present surface, is of no higher antiquity than that which is assigned to it by Moses. For, although the rocks themselves might have resisted the operation of atmospherical causes for millions of years, yet there are hills at their feet of soft schistus, and other loose materials, continually exposed to the action of rains and torrents, still remaining, though under a constant course of erosion, in a considerable degree unimpaired. Yet, what attentive observer of this district does not, in the course of thirty or forty years, recollect that the plains have been perceptibly elevated by local alluvions, the collateral valleys widened by the fall of their sides, and their beds deepened by the gradual attrition of their torrents?

If these causes had been operating, as some men would persuade us, for millions of years, what must have been the consequence?

Almost an universal level.

Whereas the simple process of multiplying the period of a man's own recollection by one hundred will fairly account for all the effects produced since the great work of mineral deposition, or in other words, of creation ceased.

This leads me to observe, that there is some leaning to system, and consequently some inaccuracy in the hypotheses both of M. de Luc and his antagonists, with respect to the origin of valleys: the one affirming that they are universally the effect of torrents; the other as generally that they have been produced by sudden and violent disruptions.

The district now before me will prove that both these systems are partially true and partially false.

Of the principal valley, indeed, it is impossible for the most careless observer not to perceive that torrents can have had no share in its formation or increase: but Cliviger abounds with deep collateral gullies, of which it is evident that the basis has been an original fracture in the rock, which has given a determination to the waters collected on the opposite slopes. How else are we to account for the deep and rapid waterfalls, where the torrent, which has obviously been unable to form any depression in its rocky bed, either above or beneath, must, on the other hypothesis, be supposed to have broken off a perpendicular surface, many yards in depth, of matter equally intractable, or rather the same.

Yet,

Yet, on the other hand, where these permanent and unconquerable obstacles do not intervene, it is equally obvious, that the beds of our torrents are becoming wider and deeper; that rains, thaws, and other atmospherical causes, are perpetually detaching from their sides large masses of loose matter destined to form alluvions on the plains beneath, but that these effects are gradually ceasing, since, the deeper the channel becomes, the harder and more impracticable is the surface on which it has to act for the future, and the wider it has already been worn, the less impression will future torrents be enabled to make upon its sides.

Heretofore, however, these impressions have been very great, for I can show, immediately behind my own house, a rock forming one side of the bed of a torrent, and now little less than fifteen feet above it, of which all the salient angles have been rounded and broken off by the violent attrition of masses of rock, rolled down, in successive floods, from above.

In one word, both systems may be conciliated thus:

The original fractures have not and could not have been occasioned by water: but what that powerful agent has been able to effect under circumstances most favourable to its operation, in narrow clefts and deep waterfalls, is this: it has worn away the first asperities, it has wrought by the attrition of pebbles a few rock basons on the sides, and in the course of thousands of years, it has excavated a foot or two from the rock at the point of its projection. But what is this to the production of rocky valleys; and, allowing all that is required, even millions of years, how is this cause to account for the appearance of strata on the opposite sides, where the salient angles are not only entire, but where they have no correspondence in position, and no affinity in their respective species?

One appearance in the geology of this district yet remains to be noticed, and one difficulty to be stated.

The long declivity towards the West, which extends into Briercliffe, through the several gullies of Sheden, Thursden, and Thornden, has evidently been sea beach, as it consists of immense and irregular beds of pebble of various descriptions imbedded in an unmineralized deposit of clay.

All this confused mass, of which there is no instance known to De Luc, and only one in Ireland, is of the species which Saussure calls *debris*, being nothing more than the rubbish left by the gradual retreat of the sea, by which, antecedently to its subsidence westward, this whole tract has manifestly been covered.

Superficial marine symptoms of the same kind appear from Ormerod to the immediate brink of the valley above Barcroft, and thence to Hecklehurst; and the Calder and the Brun appear to have worn their way from these levels to their present beds through masses of this loose *detritus*. In a small valley above Scholeyhead, it is found in a very singular situation, having followed and closed a breach made by some prodigious torrent in all the regular strata down to the principal coal bed, a depth of forty yards, which last has for a considerable space been washed away.

The last of these appearances may be accounted for by some tremendous swell of the sea, agitated, as it must have been at the period of these subsidences, and directed by some obstruction on each side into the specific channel, within which it bore the hardest and most ponderous of the strata before it.

With

With respect to the former, while it affords the strongest and most direct evidence which I have ever met with, that the present surface has originally formed the bed of the ocean, it appears to have undergone no other alteration since the general subsidence took place, than the precipitation of a bed of clay or marle, which remains unmineralized.

Mr. de Luc maintains, and with great probability, that all the early strata of the earth must originally have been in an horizontal position, to which it is manifest that all the subsequent depositions must have been perpendicular, so that had they rested on surfaces ever so much inclined, their own must have preserved the general parallel. This is certainly true in theory, and the appearances of the depressed and elevated strata generally coincide with the opinion.

Yet, in this district, there are appearances extremely difficult to reconcile with this hypothesis.

In many places the strata are no more parallel with each other than with the horizon. For though at any considerable depth beneath the surface, this relative parallelism, excepting in case of some accidental disturbance, is generally maintained, and though the great abrupt sections of rock and other minerals, wherever they break out, evidence the same fact, yet on the opposite sides, where the more superficial dip of the mineral beds coincides with the general subsidence, yet does not keep pace with it, so as to merge in the plain below, all the strata, as they approach the surface, become attenuated, and at length expire.

Weighing these appearances with all the attention of which I am capable, I cannot think them of moment enough to shake M. de Luc's general principle, with respect to this specific subject, though I find it difficult to account for them consistently with it.

The only conjecture which I can offer on the subject is, that the great shock which took place at the time of the general subsidence, having happened when these strata were in a semi-fluid state, that shock which would of course be greatest at the lowest point of depression, might compress and attenuate the softest parts of those strata so as to produce the appearance with which we are now embarrassed.

One observation more, and I have done.

It is extraordinary that so good a man as M. de Luc should be so great an enemy to final causes; and that he should object to the opinion of Mr. Playfair on the formation of vegetable mould, that it is merely a disintegration of the rock or other strata immediately beneath the surface, perpetually diminished by atmospherical causes, and as constantly renewed by the process of disintegration. Yet, if this were not the case, why should the quality of the soil be determined by that of the minerals beneath? Why does the surface which covers calcareous beds, exhibit a verdure and a set of plants of its own? Why, in this district in particular, are all our best pastures found on the slopes where the lower mineral beds do not break out: and why are the opposite sides where they do break out marked by sterility? Why does the valley of Rossendale wear that wretched aspect which it does, but that the atmosphere has nothing to decompose for the renovation of vegetable mould but schistus? In one word, this process of disintegration is altogether providential; but, like the other operations of Providence, governed by general rules, and therefore accompanied with exceptions to its own generally beneficial effects.

Lastly, one principal point at issue between M. de Luc and his antagonists, is this:

Whether the surface of the present globe be or be not composed of materials collected from

from the wreck of former continents? and consequently whether any process is now going on, from which it may be inferred, that the present globe is at some period to be disintegrated for the formation of a future world.

The determination of this question is highly important; inasmuch as the affirmative leads to Dr. Hutton's and Mr. Playfair's opinion, that there exists no assignable origin to the material world, and consequently that it may undergo future changes in infinitum: whereas the system of Mr. de Luc strongly supports the doctrine of Moses, that matter itself had its origin at no very remote period; that its successive modifications have taken place in the order assigned by the prophet; and that there are no appearances which contradict an opinion that the present state of the terraqueous globe is not the last.

This conclusion is established by Mr. de Luc's acute distinction betwixt causes which have ceased, and causes which continue to operate. Among these, the great master cause, chemical deposition, has evidently ceased, ceased even before the creation of quadrupeds, who could not have existed during its continuance, while the alluvions which are daily taking place, and the gradual diminution of the bed of the sea, have no tendency further than a continued approximation to a general level on the surface of the globe.

No combinations are forming, no tendencies to any such combinations any where appear; and it could only be by the renewed application of some chemical principle like that applied by the Creator to the chaotic mass at first, that the unstratified and decomposed ruins of the present surface could be re-united and combined for the formation of new continents.

Yet there are processes in these districts still going on, which may seem to countenance the opinion that the work of chemical deposition has not altogether ceased. These are, the incrustations of calcareous matter on the sides and bottoms of caves, and the deposits of ochre on the bottoms of old and abandoned coal-mines. But, in the first place, these are not chemical, but mere physical depositions; and secondly, from the rapidity of their increase they conclude strongly against the high antiquity of the globe. When I say that they are mere physical depositions, I mean that they are impregnations precipitated by the power of gravity from an homogeneous fluid; and with respect to their rapidity, if, which is literally the fact, an artificial excavation in a coal-mine three feet deep, can be more than half filled by ochery depositions in a century, what must have become of all the ochre precipitated in millions of years?

It is another powerful argument in favour of M. de Luc's system, that these recent precipitations, of which the date can accurately be assigned, as soon as they begin to harden begin to stratify also, so that the operation of fire is obviously unnecessary to the production of this effect. And with respect to calcareous caves and their incrustations, though it were to be wished that some accurate experiments were made in order to prove their advancement in any given time, it is a well-known fact, that any extraneous substance placed under a perpendicular fall of limestone water will be incrustated over in a very few years. Yet are caverns of no ample dimensions very little contracted from their original dimensions at this day.

Lastly, to apply M. de Luc's doctrine of "subsidences" to the general appearances of the surface throughout the Parish of Whalley.

The great disruption which forms the Gorge of Cliviger, and gradually expands East and West towards Boolsworth on one side, and Hapton Scouts on the other, has already been mentioned.

The first valley of Rossendale, to the turn of the Irwell at Bacop, has been formed by the subsidence of the strata, whose sections appear at their highest point of elevation opposite to Holme: the second, by another great fracture, of which the section appears opposite to New Church. The depression of Hapton Scouts has produced a third, betwixt Hamildon and Cridden. Another great break off to the West forms the opening from Accrington to Haslingden, and thence in the direction of the Irwell towards Bury. The singular phenomenon of the rearing mine, which in some places is almost vertical, has formed the valley of Suden, and perhaps the aperture between Pendle and Billinge. Those two great longitudinal masses appear to have been affected, if not produced, by the same convulsion. Similar dislocations have rent off Longridge and Tottridge, and formed the valley of Hodder; while limestone beds have, at a later period, and by some local principle of chemical deposition, been spread at the feet of Pendle from Downham to Clitheroe (a continuation of the great calcareous basis of Craven), while a similar process has spread a coat of the same valuable matter over the original argillaceous bottom from Whitewell to Chipping.

Meanwhile atmospherical and vegetable causes have contributed to round off the original angular asperities of the hills. Mere rocks, indeed, have been little affected by these operations, and remain standing and striking monuments of those vast convulsions by which the present face of the earth in these rugged districts has been produced.

But on the beds of schistus which constitute the bulk of these mountains, such causes have produced great effects. By laying bare the subjected rocks, they have indeed increased their asperities in some instances; they have ploughed many deep furrows on their sides; but the gradual disintegration of schistus at the surface has rounded off innumerable angles, while the formation of peat-moss on their summits has given them a flowing and gentle outline, which though far less striking than the jutting prominences of the Cumberland fells, is infinitely more graceful than the harsh and formal appearance which these great protuberances must have retained for many centuries after they emerged from the universal level.

Neither let it be forgotten how delightful and how beneficial these convulsions have become to man. Had it not been for the inequalities in the earth's surface thus produced, the whole face of the globe would have been a perfect blank, uninteresting as the dykes of Holland or the fens of Lincolnshire: the pleasing variety of hill and dale, the scenery of lake, and rock, and cataract, could scarcely have occurred, even to the imagination; in short, all the sources of gratification arising from what is called the picturesque, must have been wholly wanting. Nay, more,—such inequalities were necessary to the infinite varieties both of plants and animals, in which the Creator appears to delight. Every temperature, every soil, has a set of animals and vegetables peculiar to itself, which could no otherwise have existed. Without these convulsions commerce also must, in a great measure, have been unknown. The produce of mountains is necessary to the inhabitants of the plains below; while, in order to render life comfortable, the fruits of the more genial plains and valleys are equally necessary to those of the mountains. But, above all,—had the earth's surface remained a perfect plain, the precious metals could only have been obtained in very small quantities, and by very feeble and superficial operations. It may be said that steam engines might, as they do at present, have superseded the necessity of levels, to draw off the water. But steam engines imply a previous supply of iron and coal, neither of which could have been obtained,

obtained, or indeed would ever have appeared to solicit investigation before the edges of mineral beds were exposed by fractures of the crust of the earth; for it must be recollected, that where there are no mountains, there could be no torrents to wash them bare. Yet the precious metals, as they are called, and other more valuable minerals, were surely not created for the purpose of lying useless and unknown till the consummation of all things; they were displayed and they were rendered accessible by these mighty convulsions first to attract the curiosity and afterwards to exercise the industry and to supply the wants of man. Geologists may, if they think proper, call the present world a ruin; but till the round and finished fabric, as it came from the hands of the Creator, were reduced to its present broken and dislocated state, however comfortable an habitation it might have afforded to birds, to the amphibia, and to a few quadrupeds, its last-created inhabitant, man, must have remained what he began, a savage, unwarmed, unclothed, and unsheltered, as the brutes, since it is to these inequalities on the surface of the planet which he inhabits that he is ultimately indebted for all the arts of life, and consequently for all the accommodations of civilized society.

BRIERCLIFFE.

This township, with its dependent hamlets of Extwisle and Worsthorn, constitutes a fourth part of the extensive parochial chapelry of Burnley.

The earliest notice I have met with of this township is a grant by Robert de Lacy, who died A. D. 1193, of half a carucate of land in *Brereclere* to Oswald Brun. test. *Galfr. Decano*. This was probably the *basis* of that township as distinct from the two subordinate hamlets; but the next paragraph proves it not to have been followed by manerial rights.

In * the 35th of Henry III. Edmund de Lacy obtained a charter of free warren for his lordship of Brereclive, which gives at once the true orthography and etymology of the word. The meaning is sufficiently obvious—a steep overgrown with briars; the latter syllable accurately descriptive of its general position: a long and moderate declivity from the confines of Yorkshire to the verge of the township of Burnley, the former indicating its uncultivated and intangled state at the time when the name was formed.

A family calling themselves de Brerecleve, appear as parties or witnesses to charters relating to estates in this place, from the time of deeds without date, to the reign of Henry VI. The name still subsists, but in the lowest rank.

Briercliffe, with its dependencies, is chiefly remarkable for some undescribed and hitherto almost unnoticed remains of Roman antiquity. Subordinate as it should seem to the station of Castercliff, the *Castra æstiva* of *Calunio* †, has been a chain of small Roman posts on the elevated grounds of Briercliffe, Worsthorn, and Extwisle, commanding the great inclined plains, which are intersected by the deep ravines of Thornden, Swinden, and Thurstin. First of these, and in the middle of Worsthorn moor, are the remains of a small angular fort about forty-eight yards by forty-two within, consisting of a foss and the remains of a wall. Vacancies for the Prætorian and Decuman gates, opening nearly North-west and South-east, are distinctly

* Dugdale's Baronetage, vol. I.

† See p. 30.

visible. And again, beyond the deep Gully of Swinden, is another fort exactly forty-two yards square, with the ruins of a wall, but no appearance of a foss; the gates situated as above*. At a small distance appears a barrow of loose stones; and, in the enclosed grounds beneath the former, are the remnants of two others, which, though the greater part of them has been carted away, appear, from their outline, to have been of large dimensions. Whether any discoveries have ever been made in removing these tumuli, I have never learned. Both these fortifications are situated in the immediate vicinity of springs; and both have evident marks of fire upon the stones. On the high grounds Eastward of the latter, is a circular intrenchment, nearly in a line with the two former and Castercliff, about fifty-eight yards in diameter. Still to the Eastward, and directly in view of Castercliff, is the elevated summit of Shelfield, on which something of antiquity, connected with the foregoing remains, might have been expected, but has been sought in vain. The name of *Burwains* (Burghwains), a house in the neighbourhood, naturally excites in the mind of an antiquary the expectation of something Roman about it, as *Burnswork* and *Burrens*, the last a corruption of *Burwains*, as the former of *Burrenswork*, are the modern appellations of the two celebrated camps near Middleby, in Scotland, the *Blatum Bulgium* of Antonine's Itinerary†. These remains, evidently connected with others of similar dimensions and structure in Cliviger, Hapton, &c. have this circumstance in common, that they are all placed upon the Western slope of the great chain of hills, which Camden very properly denominates the English Apennine, and all upon sites most accessible to enemies from the East. They are also provided with a correspondent apparatus of beacons, from which the alarm of an irruption might instantly be communicated to the summit of Pendle, and thence to Ribchester: one on Pikelaw (or Thieveley Pike), in Cliviger; another on the higher part of Worsthorpe moor; a third on Bonfire Hill; and a fourth on Boolsworth; all of which have remains very conspicuous. Beacons, always placed in situations the most remote, and composed of materials at once durable and worthless, though loosely compacted, are among the most lasting of the works of man.

On the uses of these small and evidently military works, two conjectures may be offered: one, that they were intended for the retreats of cattle and the defence of the herdsmen who attended them from the prædatory attacks of the Britons. This is, perhaps, to assign to them too mean an object, and is, besides, partly negatived by the foregoing observations. The second is, that they were intended to form parts of a great plan of fortification for the defence of the *Western Setantii*, and their early Roman colonists, from the attacks of the *Eastern Brigantes*. The idea of this general plan, without any knowledge of the remains now before us, has been struck out by the bold and happy genius of Mr. Whitaker; and the more it is considered, and the recesses of our Apennine explored, the more abundant confirmation I am persuaded it will receive. The words of that able antiquary are as follows: “Bremetonac in the North, a
“fortress about Colne in the centre, and a second, perhaps, about Littleborough or Windy-
“bank, and another at Castleshaw in the South, seem to have formed a regular chain of forts
“for that purpose upon the Situntian side of this natural barrier. And these seem to have

* The first of these is known to the shepherds by the name of *The Ring Stones*; the second, of *Twist Castle*, being situated upon *Twist Hill*, which, perhaps, enters into the composition of *Extwistle*.

† See Horsley's *Brit. Rom.* p. 115, and Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, vol. II. p. 103.

“ been answered by another chain of fortresses upon the Brigantian, Camulodune being opposed “ to Castleshaw, and Olicana answering to Colne.”

But these principal stations were many miles asunder; and the long unfortified ridges of the intervening hills would afford to an active and light-armed enemy, many opportunities of unseen irruption, and of undisturbed retreat. Against these insults, therefore, it became the skill and vigilance of the Romans to provide; and nothing could more effectually answer the purpose than a chain of small fortifications almost within call of each other, and placed exactly in situations where Nature had left the openest and most unbroken slopes of ground from the East.

Such is the opinion which an attentive consideration of the whole chain of hills around, and the hint so happily thrown out by the Historian of Manchester, have enabled the author to form concerning these singular and unnoticed remains.

EXTWISTLE.

Before we can settle the etymology of this and some other local names, which will occur in the course of the present work, such as Bird-twistle, Oswald-twisle, Twiston, anciently Twisle-ton, &c. it will be necessary to ascertain, or at least to offer some conjectures as to the meaning of the word *Twistle*, which, I believe, is unknown to all our etymologists.

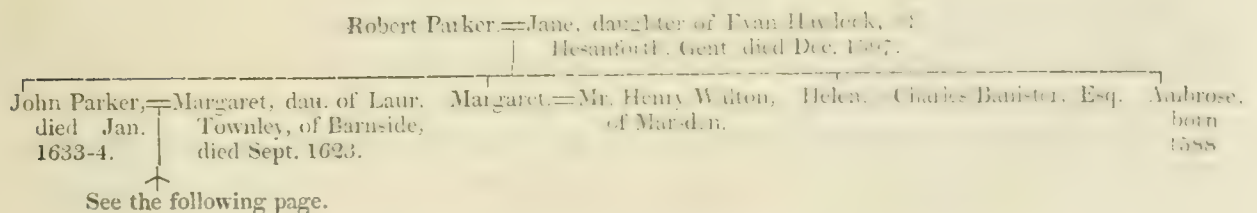
“ Anglo-Saxonibus *betpeonan*, *betpynan*, *betpin*, *betpix*, *betpux*, *usurpantur pro inter-duo, in medio duorum.* *Alam.* en *twischan*, *Belgis* *twisschen.*” *Jun. in Cod. Arg.**

The most probable account, therefore, which can be given of the formation of the word is, that the first syllable being dropt, as in *twiat* Poet. from *betwiat*, in the haste and indistinctness of vulgar pronunciation, the same process afterwards took place as in the change from Saxon to Belgic, and that from *Twixtle*, were formed *Twistle*, *Twisle*, or *Twisel*.

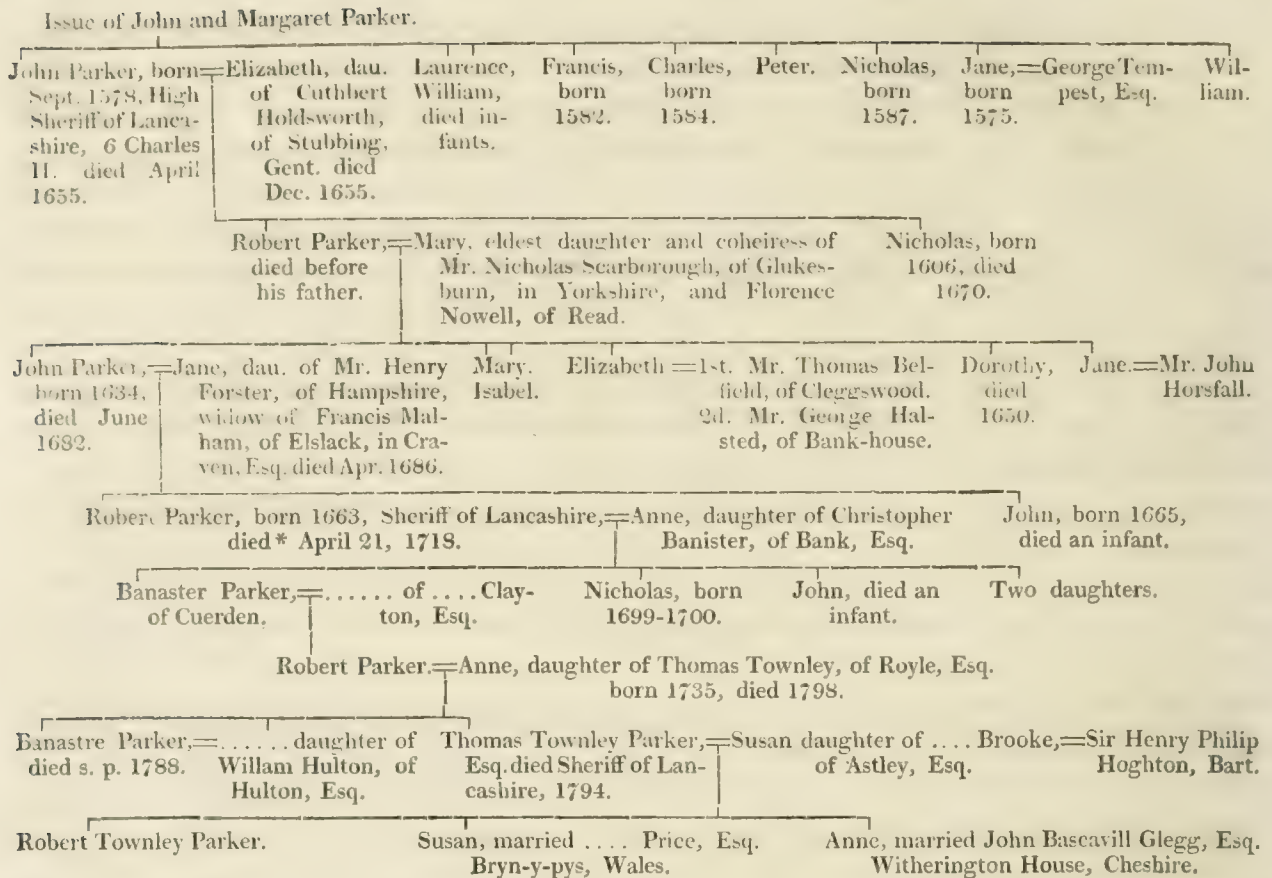
Twistle, therefore, is a boundary, and *Extwistle* the boundary of oaks, from ac. plur. *acap quercus*. And it is remarkable, that the two deep cloughs which bound this domain, have, till some very late depredations, abounded with fine trees of the species to which it owes its name.

The house of *Extwistle*, long the property and residence of the Parkers, in a commanding situation, with a fine view to the West, is a lofty pile, now abandoned to dilapidation.

PARKER, OF EXTWISLE.



* *Evangelia Gothica et Anglo-Sax. Ed. Junii.*



This manor belonged to the Præmonstratensian Abbey of Newbo, in the county of Lincoln; for Rich. de Malbyse granted to the abbot and canons of this house half a carucate of land in Extwisell, which donation was confirmed by Robert de Lacy, and therefore must have taken place in or before the year 1193, when he died.

John de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, quitclaimed to the abbot and canons of the same, all the services due to him in Extwistle†; and, after the Dissolution, this manor was granted, with many other lands, to John Braddyll, by whom, or his descendants‡, it was alienated to the Parkers§. I meet with the family here, however, as early as the reign of Edward IV.; and, as early as Edward III. there was a family in Briercliffe||, or in this hamlet, calling themselves De Monkys, or, in French charters, Le Moin, from whom, probably, Monk-hall received its name, as they may have done, from having stood in some relation as agents or otherwise, to the canons of Newbo.

* Thursday, March 20th, 1717-18, Captain Robert Parker, two daughters, Mary Townley, Betty Atkinson, and a child, were much damaged by gunpowder, and two rooms much damaged. Monday, April 21st, 1718, Captain Parker died. Mr. Wood's MS. pen. auct.

† Improperly spelt *Entwisell* in the Monasticon.

‡ In this grant it is very incorrectly called the Manor of Briercliffe with Extwisell, as Briercliffe, properly so called, was never granted out.

§ William Parker, of Extwisle, occurs 10 Henry IV.; and John Parker, of the same place, 7 Henry VI. They were probably lessees under the abbey of Newbo.

|| Gilb. le Mon. 7 Edw. III.

A species of internal regulation anciently prevailed in the manors of Blackburnshire, of which I have met with no distinct account but in this township and that of Downham. Though unnoticed, so far as I know, by any writer, it was probably of high antiquity, as the name is pure Saxon, Byrelaw, from *Býre* * *manerium*. The custom will best be explained by the following curious document.

The Byrelaw of Extwisell, confirmed by John Towneley, of Towneley, Esquire, John Parker, of Extwisell, and others, May, A. D. 1561.

First, it is agreed that foure Byrelaw men be chosen and appoynted for the saide townshipp.

2d. It^m, that noe townesman shal tayke anie beast, shepe, or horse, to ye coñon, except yt be a poore man that hath kyne to geve him milk, or a horse or other beste to leade his eldyng — sub pœna *iii*s. *iv*d.

3d. It^m, if anie inhabitant ther stawve anie thornes in Swindene to forfeit *ii*s.

4th. It^m, if anie inhabitant ther cutt downe or fell anie thornes in Swindene, to forfeit *iii*s. *iv*d. except ye saide byrelaw men assent to ye saide fellyng or stawving.

5th. It^m, if anie man sell anie slate oute of ye saide townshipp, to forfeit for ev'y waineload *xii*d. It^m, for ev'y waineload of lime.

6th. It^m, all goodes of straye to be impounded, and ye owners to paie for ev'y horse or mare *vi*d. for ev'y horne beste, except shepe, *iv*d. and for ev'ry shepe *id*. and for ev'ry fold break *vi*s. *viii*d.

7th. It^m, noe serving man to have above x shepe on ye coñon wthout assent of ye byrelaw men.

8th. It^m, all ringe yardes to bee made afore ye xv of March yerely sub pœna *iii*s. *iv*d. and at ye same day al cattel to be avoyded out of ye fields under like paine.

9th. It^m, noe grass to bee mowne, shorne, or pulled, betwene ye Feste of ye Nativitie of o'r Lorde and ye laste daye of September, on peine for ev'ry defaute, of *ii*s.

10th. It^m, if anie kinde of evil neighborhode be comittyd and founde by ye byrelaw men, to paye for ev'y such defaute *iii*s. *iv*d.

11th. It^m, for ev'ry defaute in breaking of hedge or cutting wode in ye enclosures, ev'y trespasser to paye *iii*s. *iv*d.

After the word “comon,” in the second article, I suppose the words “before some certain day” to be omitted, as it is scarcely to be conceived that the land-owners would wholly exclude themselves from the common for the benefit of the cottagers. Yet, with this restriction, the provision was highly favourable to the poor. See also Article 7. The words *stawve* (to stub, or grub up), and *elding*, now become obsolete, are pure Saxon; the former from *ῥτοφ*, *stipes*. the latter from *æled*, *ignis*. The corn-fields evidently lay open. The corn was sown before the 15th of March, old style, and therefore the ring yards or fences were to be made up, and the cattle kept out. With respect to the 9th Article, it was an ancient custom to mow rough

* See Spelman's Glossary. *in voce* Býre.

hay, both upon the commons and in the forests; but this branch of common right is here restricted to the last four months of the year, as in spring it would have prevented the growth of the summer herbage, and in summer have impaired the common too much. It was plainly intended that nothing but dry refuse grass should be thus taken.

WORSTHORN.

The next hamlet dependent upon the township of Briercliffe, is **Worsthorn**, originally **Wrthston**, or **Wrdeston**, the Saxon *ƿ** absorbing the vowel *o* or *u* immediately following †.

A series of charters relating to this manor, which have fallen into my hands, will enable me to give a pretty connected account of the origin and progress of property within it, from a very early period to the present time.

It has already been observed, that all the manors within the Hundred of Blackburn were **Mesne Manors** dependent upon the **Castle and Honor of Clitheroe**; and, of the mesne lords since the Conquest, the first who occurs here is **Matthew**, son of **Hen. de Wrdest**, who, by deed without date, but probably of the time of Stephen or **Henry II.** grants to **Henry**, son of **Adam de Winhill**, pro homagio et servitio suo, one toft and croft in the **Villa de Wordest**, Test. **Hen. de Tunlay**, **Rich.** son of **Hugh de Alvetham**, **Hen. de Clayton**, **Hen. de Suttlewrde**, **Ad. de Wmbil**, **Rob.** son of **Sawin de Wrdest**, **Matthew** son of **Hozebert**, **Adam Mercator** (*i. e.* **Chapman**), **John** son of **Dolphin**, and others.

This charter is written in a semi-Saxon character, extremely fair; and the names of the latter witnesses, who had not acquired local names from the possession of lands, demonstrate how small an effect the Norman Conquest had had upon the nomenclature of the lower orders. The proprietors of estates, we see, had begun to be denominated from their respective places of abode.

Another circumstance of some importance may be inferred from the signature of **Hen. de Tunlay**. No person of that baptismal name occurs in the earlier descents of the present family. This deed, therefore, is unquestionably prior to the grant of the **Villa de Tunlay**, in the time of **John**; and there must have been an earlier race possessed of the same estate, as we have already shewn.

But to return. Before the time of **Edward II.** or at least in the very beginning of that reign, the manor must have returned, by escheat or otherwise, to the superior lord: for, by a very fine charter, bearing date anno ‡. **Edward II.** it was granted by **Henry de Lacy**, the last **Earl of Lincoln** of that name, to **Oliver de Stausfeud**, **Constable of Pontefract Castle**, and **Receiver of the Honor**.

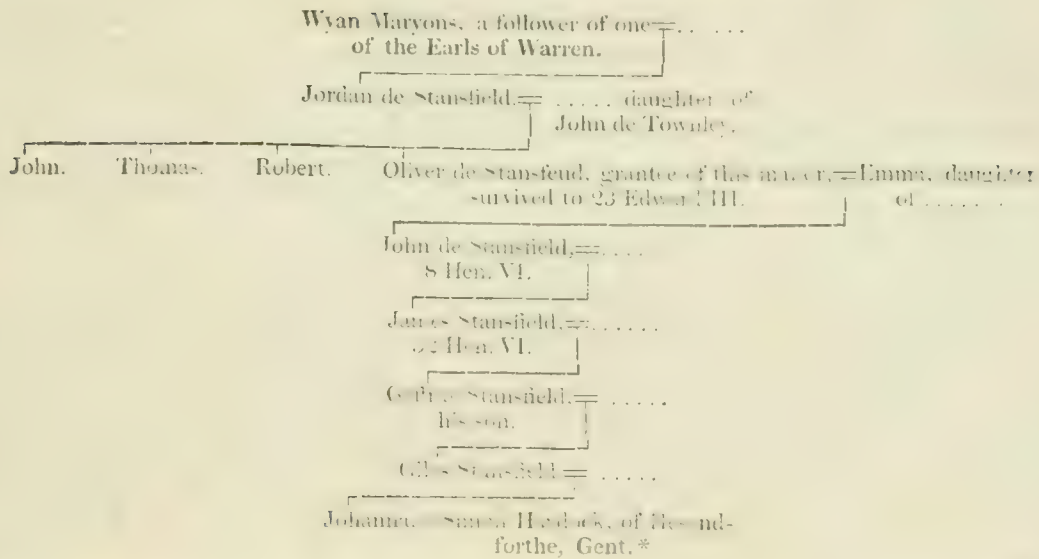
The pedigree of this grantee, collected partly from **Mr. Watson's** account of the family, in the **History of Halifax**, and partly from original authorities pen. auct. is as follows:

* I have seen instances of this rule of Saxon orthography in charters as late as **Edward III.**

† **Wrdeston** or **Urthreston** is the town of **Wiche**, a genuine Saxon name, probably that of the first proprietor.

‡ For some reason, which I do not understand, the date of this charter had been erased, and the word "**vicesimo**" written on the erasure. This was impossible, as **Henry de Lacy**, the grantor, had then been dead sixteen years.

PEDIGREE OF STANSFIELD.



In the reign of Henry VI. the material rights conveyed by the last grant appear to have been contested by the Townleys, of Townley, representatives of the De la Leghs: and, from the mention of Mayhem and Monnes Dethie in an award of Sir Thomas Stanley, father of the first Earl of Derby, the contest appears to have been conducted in the spirit of the times. That award, however, determining that James Stansfield and his heirs should have and enjoy the seigniorie, rent, and service, due and accustomed, of the said londes and tenements, extinguished the flame for about a century, when similar disputes to the former having arisen, and a claim on the part of the freeholders to the substitution of a certain prescriptive payment in lieu of services, reliefs, heriots, &c. having been set up, 1st Elizabeth, “ Laurence Townley, “ of Barnside, and Alexander Houghton, of Pendleton, Gents. did ordain, deme, and award, “ that Symon Haydock and Johanna his wife, should discharge and release to John Townley, “ Esq. and the other proprietors, all homage, service, harriots, knight's service, wards, mar- “ riages, and all other things which the said Symon Haydock and Johanna his wife, as in the “ right of the said Johanna, have claymed to have of the said John Townley, &c. within the “ towns of Hyrstwood and Worsthorn, and their awneytors, by reason or occasion that the “ said messuages, lands, and tenets, in Hyrstwood and Worsthorn aforesaid, should be holden “ of the said Symon Haydock, as in the right of Johanna his wife, saving only the yearly free “ rent of 10*l.* 0*s.* 1½*d.* which hath byn used and accustomed to be paid to the said Symon, and “ to the awneytors of the said Johanna.” In compliance with this award, the sum of 20*l.* was paid “ upon the fonte in Bruley church,” by the several proprietors, to the said Symon and Johanna, Sept. 29th. 1560. This is a late relic of a very ancient usage. In times when sub- scribing witnesses were difficult to be obtained, it was necessary that important legal transac- tions should be matters of public notoriety: and, for this purpose, the parish church imme- diately before or after divine service, was very properly chosen. I have an ancient charter of

* By Inquisition taken of Elizabeth, it was found that Evan Haydock de Hesandforthe held the manor of Wersthorn, in socage, per fidelitatem et redditum 1*l*. and that Simon his son was of the age of forty years.

feoffment.

feoffment, dated “apud Ecclesiam de Rachdale;” and the reserved rents of several chapters which are required to be paid on certain tombstones within their cathedrals, are remnants of the same usage. This latter award affords an opportunity of comparing the state of property in the township at this time, with what it had been two hundred and fifty years before.

John Aspedene, Chaplain, (one of the freeholders enumerated in the latter award) was the first protestant curate of Burnley, and disposed of his property, 8th Eliz. to John Woodrooff, of Brunley, (another of the freeholders,) by the style of “Johes. Aspedene, Cler. modo seu nuper incumbens in ecclesia sive capella de Bruley.” The history of that church will shew the reason he had for being dubious of his own title. They were probably the chantry lands, which the incumbents were empowered to alienate in their own names.

On a comparison of the freeholders in the reign of Edw. II. and 1 Eliz. it appears that, excepting in a single instance, no consolidation of property had taken place during a period of two hundred and fifty years. In the reign of Edward II. the proprietors were twenty; in the 1st of Elizabeth, they were eighteen: but, in the first catalogue, John de la Legh held lands in his own right, and others in the right of Cecilia his wife; besides that, Agnes de Townley, sister of Cecilia, dying, as appears, without issue, her portion of the inheritance descended, upon her decease, to her sister's issue.

It is farther observable, that, with four exceptions in the first catalogue, and five in the latter, all these persons resided upon their own properties, in the condition of small gentry or substantial yeomanry; whereas, in two hundred and forty years more, the freeholds are reduced nearly one half; only a single, and he a small, proprietor is resident: and thus, by the operation of a principle too general throughout the kingdom, “nobile illud decus ac robur Angliæ, nomen inquam yomannorum Anglorum, fractum ac collisum est.”*

An indigent and selfish tenantry, little solicitous about any thing but to extract from the earth, by the most short-sighted and ruinous husbandry, what it will yield from year to year, are wretched substitutes for the owners themselves, who have a permanent interest in the improvement of their properties: the descendants of imprudent or unfortunate farmers swell the list of paupers: mendicancy and swindling are encouraged, in order to diminish the poor-rates; the sick and aged, neglected or oppressed; no object of respect, no example of decorum, no friend of humanity is at hand; and thus a *deserted village*, deserted I mean by those who, from their property or influence, might either employ, protect, or humanize the poor, becomes at once a nuisance to its neighbours, and a burden to itself.

In this township is ROWLEY, the property and long the residence of the Halsteds, a branch from High Halsted, but now, like too many old and respectable mansions, mourning the absence of its owner, though the situation is exceeded by none in the neighbourhood, warm, sequestered, and environed by rising oak woods, to the growth of which the soil is peculiarly favourable. The date upon the front of the house, a plain, strong, hall-like dwelling, is 1593. By deed, without date, Robert de Lacy, who died 1193, grants to Oswald Brun, half a carucate in Brerecleve, and one essart called Ruhlie.

* Ascham, Ep. Comm. ad Duc. Som.

William Halsted, =
3 Hen. V.

Oliver Halsted, died =
13 Hen. VIII.

Laurence Halsted, living = Richard. George. Edward.
5 Hen. VIII.

Oliver Halsted, living = Ann Barcroft.
28 Hen. VIII.

John Halsted. = Mary, daughter of Laurence Seller, of 20 Eliz. Ellen. = Richard Folds, of Dancer House, 22 Eliz. Ellen. = Hugh Currey, of Kildwick, 30 Eliz.

J. Halsted, = Mary, dau. of Laurence, born 1579, died about 1628. of Greenwood, of Learings, near Heston. Anne, = Haydock, of Hesarthorpe, born 1581. George, died young. Dorothy, = 1. Sellers. 2. Aynsworth, of Pleasington. 3. Nathaniel, born 1593. George, born 1595. Mary, born 1598. Ellen, = Houghton, of the family of Houghton Tower, born 1601.

1. Hester, = J. Halsted. 2. Eleanor, = Roger Gelbrand, of Hurstwood, born 1596. Anne, = Roger Gelbrand, of Hurstwood, born 1596. George, = Sarah, born 1609. Sarah, = Mary, born 1611. Mary, = William, born 1613, died young. ob. s. p. William, = Mary, born 1614, ob. s. p. Mary, = Laurence, born 1617, settled in Jamaica. Laurence, = Hester, born 1621, died unmarried.

John, died young. Laurence Halsted, born 1638, = Alice, daughter of John Barcroft, Esq. a branch from Lodge. Hesther, died an infant. John. Matthias.

John, died an infant. Laurence, died an infant. Charles Halsted, born 1675, = Isabel, daughter of Banister, of Altham, Esq. died 1732.

Banister Halsted. = Charles, died s. p. Nicholas. =

Charles Halsted, possessed of the estate, but died s. p. Laurence Halsted, died s. p. Feb. 1786, having passed over Banister, the heir at law, and devised the estates to Nicholas. = Elizabeth, daughter of Arthur Asshton, of Cockerham, Gent. Laurence. =

Banister, drowned Nov. 1798. Nicholas Halsted, possessed of the estate in 1798. Henry. Charles.

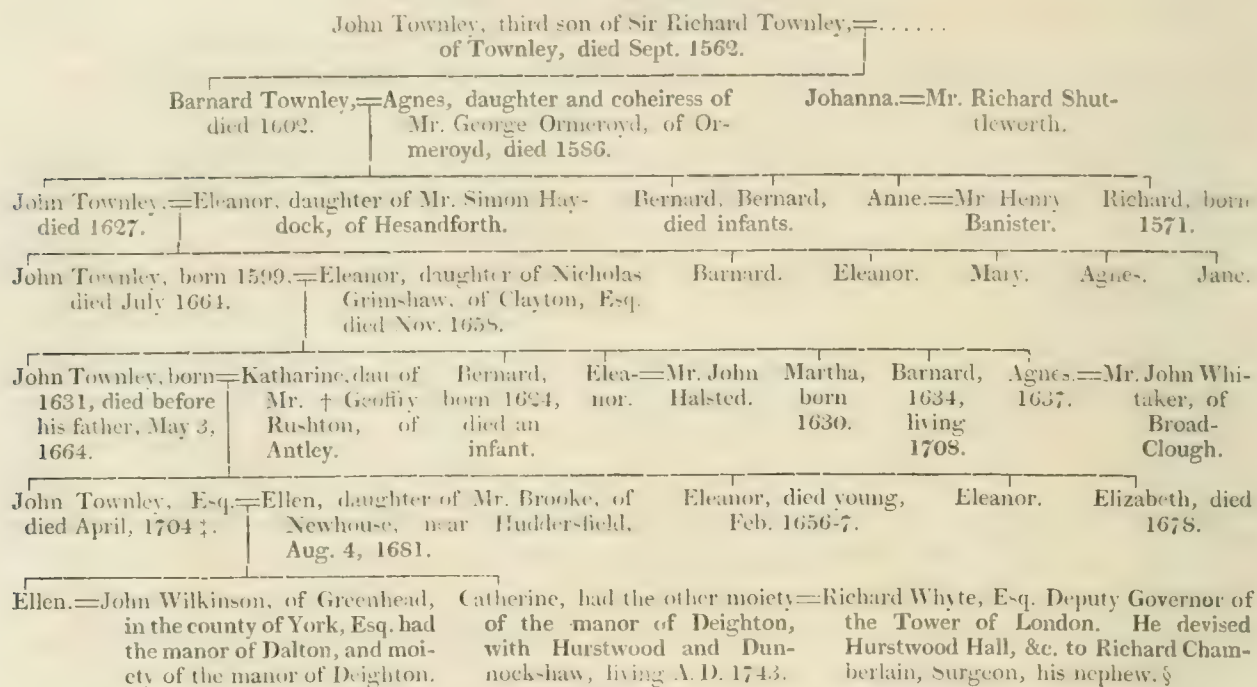
Laurence Halsted = Anna, youngest daughter of John Preston, Esq. of Bradford, Yorkshire, died Feb. 23, 1810. Charles. Ellen-Esther. Jane. Elizabeth. Harriot-Anne. Amelia-Mary.

Elizabeth, died an infant.

It is pleasing to observe, that Laurence Halsted, son of this sufferer from the King's forces, was so steady a royalist as to be excepted, according to Whitlock, out of all acts of indemnity in the treaties between Charles I. and the Parliament.

Within

Within the hamlet of **Worsthorn**, is **HURSTWOOD**, another instance of the composition of local names so often remarked, by translating a word originally significant, and descriptive of some striking circumstance or appearance about a place, but become unintelligible by length of time and change of language: the Saxon *Hupyr* or *Hýpyr* merely denoting a *Wood* *. The village, however, has now completely lost its claim to the appellation. **Hurstwood Hall**, a strong and well-built old house, bearing on its front, in large characters, the name of **Barnard Townley**, its founder, was, for several descents, the property and residence of a family, branched out from the parent stock of **Townley**, in the person of



By the great Inquisition of 1311, it was found that **Oliver de Stansfeud** held half a carucate in **Worsthorn**. The enclosed lands in this township are since increased to 600 acres, 8 poles, Lancashire measure, and the whole, including the commons, consists of more than 1700 acres.

Though the mineralogy of the parish does not immediately fall in with the plan of this work, it may not be improper to notice, under the township of **Briercliffe**, a mode of obtaining limestone, peculiar, so far as I know, to that and a few adjoining districts. In the deep gullies within **Cliviger**, **Worsthorn**, **Briercliffe**, &c. which have been furrowed out by the long continued descent of mountain torrents to the West, are found, irregularly scattered, vast beds of limestone, evidently detached from their parent rocks, and worn, by gradual attrition, to a

* But in some old charters it is spelt *Hirtswood*, which I am inclined to think was the genuine orthography of the word, from *þeoptr*, *ceruus*.

† At Haslingden, by Laurence Rawsthorne, Esq. a Justice of the Peace, Oct. 27, 1656. Reg. Whalley. The well-known practice of the usurpation.

‡ He was buried at Huddersfield.

§ By whose representatives it was sold to William Sutcliffe, of Burnley and Barwick, of Leeds, for about 3000*l.*; and in January, 1803, to Charles Townley, esq. for 4000*l.* It consists of 45 Lancashire acres.

pebbly form. These are now deposited at random in beds of clay or other loose matter; and the land which contains them being of little value, they have been from time to time disinterred by *hushing* or washing away the soil from reservoirs collected above, the outlets of which are directed at pleasure, and pointed with much dexterity, at the remaining beds.

Amidst the scenes of desolation which this strange process has occasioned, the broad beds of gravelly stones tossed about as in the abandoned course of some great river, the fantastical directions which the streams have successively taken, and sometimes insulated masses of earth or limestone, terminating in sharp ridges by the gradual attrition of their sides, exhibit a novel and striking appearance, such as is rarely produced by any artificial cause.

But the streams beneath are almost perpetually discoloured and deformed by this uncleanly operation, which is carried on near their sources; and from which, the connivance of centuries has left the inhabitants upon their banks below without hopes of redress.

In a work of this nature, professedly written for amusement, and of which even the information claims only to be of the lighter kind, a serious mind will sometimes feel itself called home to reflections of more importance. And, in taking leave of this district, ten times more extensive than many Southern parishes *, it is impossible not to lament the effects which the want of a place of worship, and the consequent omission of religious duties, together with the non-residence of all the principal proprietors, have had both upon the manners and morals of the neglected inhabitants.

Where true religion takes possession of the heart, it requires no aid from inferior principles; a Christian is already a good neighbour, a good citizen, an honest man: Where this is wanting, authority and example, such as are produced by the intermixture of regular families in the middle ranks, powerfully contribute to external decency and the comforts of the present life: Where neither of these principles has scope to operate, nothing remains to render society tolerable but the strong coercion of laws executed with promptitude and vigour. Even the last is wanted here!

PAROCHIAL CHAPELRY OF COLNE.

COLNE.

Following the course of the Pendle water, improperly taken for one of the branches of the Calder, “and thence,” as Harrison saith, “one water that cometh by Wicoler,” we arrive at Colne, a considerable market town, advantageously situated on a dry and elevated ridge. This is unquestionably the *Colunio* of the anonymous Ravennas (See the Chapter of ROMAN ANTIQUITIES), and was probably never abandoned entirely in the long and obscure period of Saxon history. Ecclesia de Calna is expressly mentioned in the charter of Hugh de la Val, which

* By the Inquisition of 1650, Lambeth MSS. it is found, that “the Chapel of Holme has no minister or maintenance; that the inhabitants of Cliviger, Worsthorn, and Hurstwood, desire to be made a parish, and that chapel to be erected into a parish church.” This could have done no good, as the chapel was equally remote with Burnley, from the two latter places.

was probably not sixty years posterior to the Conquest; and, as it was a chapel dependent upon Whalley, the silence of Domesday Book with respect to it by no means disproves its existence at an earlier period. Here was one of the four manor-houses of the Lacies, from which several of their charters are dated, now, in the mutability of all human things, degraded into the workhouse of the town*.

The ancient state of property here is well ascertained by the Inquisition post mortem of the last Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, 4th Edward II.

	£.	s.	d.
One capital messuage, or manor-house, worth, ultra reprisas, -	0	0	0
251 acres of demesne lands demised to divers tenants at will -	9	3	8
10½ oxgangs in bondage - - - - -	1	11	6
Works remitted - - - - -	0	3	6
14 tofts held at will - - - - -	0	7	0
Two mills at Colne and Walfreden - - - - -	5	0	0
Mol. Folreticum, i. e. fulling mill † - - - - -	0	6	8
Halmot of Coln and Walfreden, cum membris - - - - -	1	0	0

FREE TENANTS.

Rob. de Emott, 10 acres - - - - -	0	3	4
Adam, son of Nic. de Holden, 30 acres - - - - -	0	7	6
Rob. de Catlow, 16 acres - - - - -	0	8	2
Richard, son of Alan de Alcancoats, 32 acres - - - - -	0	10	8
William, son of Adam de Alcancoats, 17 acres - - - - -	0	3	6
Richard, son of Adam Ayre, 20 acres - - - - -	0	1	8
Adam, son of Peter de Alcancoats, 23 acres - - - - -	0	7	8
Sum total	19	14	10 †

This, like all the chapels of the old foundation, was robbed of its glebe, and converted into a mere pensionary establishment at the appropriation. This glebe consists of about 36 acres, or two bovates, the almost unvarying allotment to these old endowments, and an adequate and plentiful provision for the wants of an unmarried incumbent.

The Church of Colne, dedicated to St. Bartholomew, is a spacious and decent building, which seems to have been restored about the time of Henry VII. or VIII. though three massy cylindrical columns on the North side are genuine remains of the original structure. The font is angular, and bears the arms of Townley, and the cypher *LT*. probably for Lau-

* It has since been removed.

† This implies a manufacture of cloth here at a very early period, and plainly contradicts the generally received opinion, that English wool was universally manufactured in Flanders, till the Act of the 10th Edward III. inviting over Flemish manufacturers, and granting them considerable privileges. The first fulling-mill known to have been erected in the parish of Halifax, was 17th Edward IV. See Watson's History of Halifax, p. 66.

‡ Taking this at a carucate, the oxgang must have been eighteen acres, which exceeds the usual proportion.

rence Townley, the first of Barnside: the carved work of the screen and lattice which surrounds three sides of the quire is extremely elegant, and precisely of the same pattern with that of the chapel at Townley, which I have assigned to the latter end of Henry VIII. Here are two chantries: that on the North side of the quire * belonging to the Banisters, of Parkhill; that on the South, to the Townleys, of Barnside †. Against the East wall of the North chapel is a singular inscription, cut upon oak, of which the ground has originally been vermilion, and the letters illumined.

It is, I think, clearly to be read as follows:

“ Qualibus in cælo precibus succurrere mundo

‡

Hæc recitare via debes letare Maria

Larvas interitu diluit ista manu

Hyrd genitric Christi Wilhelmum deprecor audi

Ne superet mors me virgo parens retine.”

The whole was evidently a prayer addressed to the Virgin, by one Hyrd §, probably a chaplain or chantry priest of the place against diabolical illusions (larvas) in the hour of death.

In the 8th of Edward III. I find || that John de Haslingden, and Adam de Swyne, chaplains, as I conjecture, of Colne, for the chaplains of the place were the usual trustees upon these occasions, granted certain lands and tenements in Blakey, in conformity to the will of Ric. de Merclesden, deceased, to one John de Merclesden, for the term of his life, and after his decease, to find one chaplain who should celebrate, for the soul of the said Richard and Avice his wife, their children, ancestors, and all the faithful, deceased, in the church of Colone or Broughton, or in the chapel of the manor-house of Ric. de Broughton, or at Swyn-den. Whether this foundation actually took effect, or where, I have not learned.

The incumbents of this church, so far as their names and other circumstances relating to them can now be recovered, are as follows:

Roger Blakey, 1556.

Richard Brierley occurs at the commencement of the register, A. D. 1599; he was interred Feb. 2, 1635, near the vestry door, with an inscription which is yet partly legible.

Thomas Warriner, A. M. of whom I learn, from Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, that he was known to Archbishop Laud, and that, in the year 1645, (with this circumstance

* At the allotment of the pews in this church by John Townley, of Townley, esq. in 1576, I find mentioned “ St. Cyte's Quire;” but it does not appear whether it was that on the North or South side. A *St. Sitha* occurs in the Romish Bederoll: *Enchiridion præclaræ Ecclesiæ Sarum*, 1598.

† In a flat stone within this choir is a cross fleury, and round the verge an inscription in the character of Edward the Sixth's time, or thereabouts, now become very obscure, but the words Thompson and Esholt are plainly legible. Now I find that in 1547, the site of the nunnery of Esholt was granted to Henry Thompson, Gens d'Arms, at Boleyn, who, by Hellen, daughter of Laurence Townley, of Barnside, had a son William. In this chapel there is only one other memorial of the family, dated 1677.

‡ The first pentameter line is wanting.

§ A William Hyrd was presented by Abbot Paslew and the burgesses of Clitheroe, to the chantry of St. Nicholas, of Edisforth, A. D. 1508. I suspect him to be the same person, and to have been afterwards removed to Colne.

|| Townley MSS. G. 26.

accords the alteration in the Registrar's hand, March 30, 1645,) he was, in the time of divine service, dragged out of the desk by two soldiers, who pursued him down the aisle, and owned that they had intended to fire upon him, had not some of the congregation restrained them: after this he fled into Yorkshire, where he is supposed to have died, as he never returned to Colne, and was succeeded by one Horrocks. Thus Dr. Walker. But the immediate successor of Mr. Warriner was

Thomas Whalley, interred here Feb. 22, 1646-7, which is all I have learnt concerning him. Upon his demise entered the above-mentioned

John Horrocks, A. M. a Puritan, from Horrocks-hall, styled in the Inquisition of 1652, "an able divine," though he is said by Walker to have been ignorant and immoral in a high degree. But it was enough for these Commissioners that he was a determined partizan of the governing powers; yet he conformed when many better men resigned their preferments, and died minister of Colne, Sept. 7, 1667, aged 77.

There is an absurd and bombastic epitaph over him which I shall not transcribe. To him succeeded

James Hargreaves, a native and schoolmaster of this place, interred Jan. 11th, 1693, with this testimony in the register, which I sincerely hope he deserved: "*Fidelis hujus ecclesiæ pastor.*" The next minister was

Thomas Tatham, son of Christopher Tatham, of Otterburn, in Craven, afterwards vicar of Almondbury, in Yorkshire; he resigned this living in 1708-9, and died at Almondbury about the year 1716. To him succeeded, April 2, 1709,

John Barlow, born at Harwood, near Blackburn, and educated at Glasgow; he was interred here, April 10, 1727, with this eulogy in the register, "*fidelis laboriosusque hujus ecclesiæ pastor.*"

Thomas Barlow, his son and successor, survived him only a few weeks, and was interred May 5th, following. Next followed

Henry Smalley, interred Feb. 3d, 1731-2. Then

William Norcross, who, after many altercations with his parishioners, died in the Fleet Prison, in 1741; and was succeeded by

George White, A. M. educated at Doway for orders in the Church of Rome, but, upon his recantation, was noticed by Archbishop Potter, who recommended him to the Vicar of Whalley. He was the translator of Thurlow's Letters into Latin, and the editor of a newspaper called the *Mercurius Latinus*: a man neither devoid of parts nor literature, but childishly ignorant of common life, and shamefully inattentive to his duty, which he frequently abandoned for weeks together to such accidental assistance as the parish could procure. On one occasion he is said to have read the funeral service more than twenty times in a single night over the dead bodies which had been interred in his absence. With these glaring imperfections in his own character, he sought to distinguish himself by a riotous opposition to the Methodists, then almost an infant sect, who took advantage, as might be expected, of his absence and misconduct, under the direction of Mr. Grimshaw, an earnest, sincere man, of whom I have so good an opinion as to believe that, had he lived till now to see the consequence of those eccentricities in which he allowed himself, he would have altered his conduct, and contented himself with a better-regulated zeal. His life (that of Mr. Grimshaw) has been written

by

by the late Rev. Mr. Newton, in a series of Letters to the Rev. Henry Forster, but in a spirit for which the serious and regular Clergy owe neither the one nor the other any obligations. Who can forbear to express his surprize, when he hears one clergyman relating to another, with apparent satisfaction, the boast of a third, that, amongst the other fruits of his ministry, he had to number five converts who were become teachers of dissenting congregations? *

* In an account of local circumstances and manners like the present work, such an instance of religious eccentricity would have been entitled to nothing more than a transient animadversion: but, as a very large body of men has lately risen up in the bosom of the Establishment, who allow themselves more or less to act upon the same principles,—as an opinion has gone forth in consequence, that the English Clergy are now divided into two great bodies, one consisting of those who inculcate the doctrines, but neglect the discipline of the Church; the other, who maintain her discipline, but explain away her doctrines—it seems to be an object of general importance to state this matter with perspicuity and precision.

In an impartial and succinct history (as it is entitled) of the Church of Christ, lately published by the Rev. Mr. Haweis, we are told, “that the number of Evangelical ministers is of late amazingly increased;” they are described as carefully conforming to established rules, and strictly regular, yet everywhere objects of reproach, because their conduct reflects on those who will not follow their examples. They labour under many discouragements. They have often been treated by their diocesans with much insolence and oppression; and, though “they can number no bishop, nor scarcely a dignitary among them, yet their number, strength, and respectability, continue increasing.” Such is the character here given of this body of men.

The effects of their ministry are next described as follows: “By the labours of these most excellent men, the congregations of Methodists and Dissenters are greatly enlarged; and though, during their lives and incumbency, they fill their churches, yet on their death or removal, they *unintentionally* add the most serious part of their flocks to their (Dissenting) brethren who are of a like spirit.”

The assertions contained in the last paragraph, are unquestionably true; and, wherever the blame lies, will, perhaps, account for some part of that discountenance complained of above.

But, with respect to those in the former, I would ask, whether it can be proved that this body of men are objects of reproach, or treated with insolence and oppression, merely because they are serious and devout, abstracted from the world and its pleasures, or because they preach according to the articles of their own church, while at the same time they carefully conform to established rules, and are strictly regular? But, among this great body, all of whom are represented as partaking of the same consistent and excellent character, are there none who have disgraced the Gospel by their licentious lives? none, who have obtained their preferments by simony, or hold them by fraud? Is it, or is it not irregular in clergymen to preach in dissenting places of worship, or even to frequent them? to baptize without sponsors? to expound the lessons? Discountenance, surely, is the slightest animadversion to which such conduct is entitled, and, perhaps, in the present state of manners and discipline, it is the heaviest that will be inflicted.

Again, we are told, “that these men have been treated by their diocesans with much insolence:” but are there no instances in which their diocesans have been treated with insolence by them?

And, is a style of speaking, in which they are known to indulge, of *this prophane, or that ignorant bishop*, either seemly in itself, or always concealed from their superiors? If they complain of the *hauteur* of rank, is not the inflation of low popularity more offensive? Or, if they are really conscious that their ministry, zealous and earnest as it is allowed to be, has a tendency to swell the number of Dissenting congregations when they are succeeded in their pulpits by men of different principles, do they guard against these abuses by faithfully inculcating the nature of a Church, the sin of schism, the duty of conformity?—nay, do they believe that there exists such a sin or such a duty? And yet are not the governors of the church placed in their important stations to preserve this very conformity? Can they, therefore, do less than discountenance those who, under the character of ministers of the Gospel, appear to have forgotten another character, to support which they are fed, namely, that of ministers of the Church of England by law established?

On the other hand, it may be asked, whether there is not another and a very general kind of irregularity, little considered in that light, by which is meant non-conformity to the *doctrines* of the Church, either in preaching mere morality, or a system of modern christianity, radically different from the letter as well as spirit of those articles, which all clergymen have subscribed? Is not this conduct equally dishonourable and more pernicious than the former? Ought it not to be opposed at least by equal discouragements?

But to return. Mr. White, after one of his excursions, made his appearance with a madam Hellen Maria Piazza, an Italian gouvernante, whom he married at Marsden, March 23d, 1744-5. He died at Langroyd, and was interred in his own church, April 29, 1751. His successor was

The doctrines of our Articles are indeed preached alike by the Evangelic clergy, as they are called, by the more serious and orthodox Dissenters, and by a third description of persons who will next be adverted to.

And such is their efficacy upon the heart, that when once deeply imbibed from the lips of an established minister, upon his decease or removal, if not succeeded by a person equally faithful and zealous, the people, supposing them not well principled in the nature of conformity, will seek for similar instructions where they can find them. But then I assert that there are clergymen in the Established Church, who, within the pale of order, faithfully preach the doctrines of their Church and of the Gospel, without discountenance from their superiors; because they labour at the same time to inculcate principles of obedience and conformity to every ordinance of man, ecclesiastical and civil, for conscience sake; labour to provide for the contingency of an unfaithful successor, set before their people the consequences and the sin of schism, shew them that the character of a clergyman vitiates not the efficacy of the sacraments, debases not the spirit of the liturgy, and that the sermon, though an edifying and instructive, is not the only or even principal part of public worship. When questioned as to the lawfulness of schism, even in extreme cases (that is, where the terms of conformity are not sinful), they will uniformly prohibit it; shew the possibility of a religious congregation of strict conformists, subsisting under an irreligious minister, and teach the people to expect a blessing from God, upon an humble spirit of order and obedience, under circumstances ever so disadvantageous, rather than in that intractable humour of self-will and separation, which is going on rapidly to the destruction of all religion.

Here, indeed, a real and great difficulty presents itself to the consideration of every serious minister in the Establishment; for, on the one hand, men are not to be left to perish in ignorance, in order to preserve an establishment; and, on the other, they are not deliberately to be driven into schism, to save their souls*; yet those only who have tried the experiment, are acquainted with the difficulty of instilling a real sense of religion into minds almost entirely governed by animal feeling, without setting their spirits afloat, and producing a tendency to enthusiasm and disorder. Love of novelty, impatience of restraint, artful insinuations, all operate in the same direction; and nothing but constant attention and affectionate exhortations, mingled with temperate authority in the established minister, can counteract that centrifugal force (if it may be so called) in religion, which is constantly operating to the dissolution, not only of establishments, but even of ancient sects themselves. This is undoubtedly a difficult work, and will not, it must be confessed, always be successful. What then is to be done?

To this question four answers will be returned: for, in the first place, the Politician will reply, "Do nothing, and preserve the Establishment." The Enthusiast will next exclaim, "Away with Establishments from the earth, and leave us to save souls in every place, and by every instrument—a method which God has been pleased signally to own and bless."

A third description of persons will say, "Let us not refuse the wages of an Establishment; but let us not be fettered by its restraints; let us accept the care of a parish, but, as opportunity offers, make excursions into wider fields of spiritual usefulness; let us accept of churches, as spacious buildings, affording to us opportunities of haranguing greater numbers than we could otherwise collect, and nothing more. With a church in any other sense than a commodious edifice with a certain stipend annexed to it, we have little concern."

Lastly, every truly serious and conscientious Minister of the Establishment will reply, "The dispensation of the Gospel has been committed to me within a certain district, and under certain forms and limitations: I owe, under the most solemn obligations, obedience to my immediate superiors in the church, and conformity to all its established rules: here I have no option—I eat my bread on that condition—if I transgress it I am a dishonest man—I see indeed the genuine doctrines of my own Church entirely neglected by some of its ministers, and mingled with fanaticism, democracy, or other poisonous combinations, by others: nevertheless I know them to be the word of truth—I will, by God's grace, not reject, but separate them from these admixtures, preach them boldly, yet rationally; and if, in so doing, my motives are mistaken, my principles decried, and myself am classed with a sect to which I do not belong, I will bear my cross in patience.

* Because the particular good proposed would be overbalanced by the general bad consequences of schism, as more souls would be lost than gained on the whole.

Roger Wilson, LL.B. of Emanuel College, Cambridge, a younger son of the family of Eshlton, near Gargreve; he died at Otley, and was interred there March 18th, 1789, aged 77 years. The last incumbent was

Yet this is not all my duty: I am well aware that, under lively impressions of religion from these awful truths, the people committed to my charge will, after my decease or removal, be tempted to seek for that comfort elsewhere, which it is possible they may no longer receive in the Church: I will therefore prepare them for that contingency; I will not fear the common accusation of bigotry from lax and licentious men; I will endeavour to instil into my people the nature and the rights of a Church, as distinct from a Sect; will shew them the excellence of their own liturgy, articles, and homilies; prove to them how much fewer of the means of edification than they suppose are lost by the removal of a religious pastor; how much remains in their own power; and, when I feel myself about to be taken away, will conjure them by their baptism, confirmation, and communion with the church—by all the blessings they have received, and all the delusions they have escaped within its pale,—*wherein they have been called, therein to abide with God.*

I will endeavour, as far as they are capable of understanding the argument, to acquaint them with the nature and history of schisms; to shew them that they have uniformly had their origin in the corrupt passions of men, in enthusiasm, presumption, obstinacy,—and have ended in heresy and irreligion; that, while great part of the comforts which men profess to enjoy, who have struck off into these devious paths, probably arises from the complacency naturally felt in following our own wayward wills; no temper will so soon draw down a blessing from God, as that which leads them in humility and order to acquiesce in the present appointment of Providence, to pray indeed for a restoration of their former advantages, and, in the mean while, *to edify one another.*

To do justice to a subject, which the present awful state of our ecclesiastical establishment renders peculiarly interesting, would require a volume. The foregoing observations, indeed, already exceed the legitimate bounds of a note; yet I am tempted to trespass still farther.

The Governors of the Church complain, and surely with reason, that an order of men is rapidly increasing within the Establishment, who, to use the lightest terms of disapprobation, have too little reverence for *their* authority, or for the constitution, forms, and ordinances, of that venerable body to which they belong.

From generous or conscientious minds they will undoubtedly receive the most valuable species of obedience, namely, that which is paid under the sense of its being due to a Power little able to enforce its own rights; for it must not be dissembled, that the Government of the English Church is at present too much under the influence of Erastian principles, controlled, that is, by the Civil Power in matters purely Spiritual.

But, on the other hand, it should be remembered, that one great cause of this lamentable defection from the Church, is, an internal decay in vigour and in spirit, which must be mortal if not opposed by well-timed and skilful remedies; that, notwithstanding the immense quantity of patronage in private hands—notwithstanding the scandalous traffic carried on in things sacred, and the utter inattention to merit, especially to Clerical merit, in conferring benefices so circumstanced; yet a power remains with the Governors of the Church, which would, if vigorously exerted, go far towards redressing the evil. Thus, for example, if, in conferring Holy Orders, an authority which the Civil Power hath left untouched in the hands of its proper depositaries, attention were always paid to the seriousness and religious views of the candidate, as well as his literary qualifications; and still farther, if, in the disposal of Episcopal preferments, it were uniformly the first object to place in the important charge of Parishes, none but those who their patrons were persuaded would *watch for men's souls, as they who must give account*; if, in comparison of this great object, family interests, solicitation of friends, and even the powerful claim of literary merit, as unconnected with Clerical usefulness, were conscientiously postponed, the Church might indeed perish,—but its Governors would *have delivered their own souls.*

Again. In populous manufacturing towns especially, the number of dissenters is perpetually increasing, merely in consequence of want of accommodation in churches. The erection of new places of worship upon the Establishment should therefore be encouraged and assisted; a permanent interest in such foundations should be held out as an inducement to erect them, by granting the patronage to trustees in perpetuity; above all, free Churches for the Poor should be opened in large towns, and great care be taken to supply them with zealous and faithful, but discreet and orderly preachers.

Lastly,

John Hartley, A. B. of Brazen-nose College, Oxford, who died May 22, 1811, aged 51, and was interred at Colne. The present minister is Thomas Thoresby Whitaker, A. M. of University college, Oxford.

By Inquisition, taken at Blackburn, June 25, 1650, it was found that the chapelry of Colne consisted of Colne, Foulrig, Marsden and Trawden, and 400 families; that John Horrocks, minister, "an able divine," (see before), received 11*l.* 10*s.* per annum, from the farmers of the rectory by order of the county committee, and that these townships together desire to be erected into a parish.

Lastly. A spirit of ornamental architecture in new-built churches should by all means be discouraged; by this step Religion would gain much, and Taste would suffer nothing; for, in all modern edifices of this kind, the point required has been (and very properly) to compress the greatest number of people into a given space; that end is scarcely compatible with graceful form or elegant proportion. But it has been the preposterous ambition of architects to make up for defects in proportion by profuseness of decoration; and thus, in many instances, by columns, pilasters, pediments, &c. stuck upon walls without use or meaning, they have swallowed up sums which might have raised another edifice of equal dimensions and usefulness, in turning what would otherwise have been a plain, barnlike, unpretending, serviceable building, into something like a *cotton mill ornée*.

Architects of the second or third order, return out of Italy with their heads full of ancient temples, forgetting that these models of symmetry and grace were never intended for the assembling of multitudes, and that when once their forms and proportions are violated for that purpose which became *them*, decorations are as preposterous as a birth-day suit upon the back of a clown.

A man of genius in Architecture, as in other sciences, will unite beauty and simplicity: inferior artists are ever labouring to conceal poverty of design under elaborate ornaments: but prudence and policy, good taste and religion, equally dictate an admonition to frugality and plainness, in modern ecclesiastical buildings.

In the year 1815 one of the Norman columns of this church, in consequence of some recent interments near its base, suddenly gave way, and occasioned a considerable declension of the other columns North and South, so as visibly to threaten the destruction of the whole edifice. This circumstance was highly favourable to the views of a party who wished for the demolition of the building, and the substitution of a modern erection in the slight and vicious style now become so fashionable. A general meeting of all the parties interested was convoked, and the old and venerable fabric was condemned.

Weighing, however, the appearances of declension, and well knowing an architect whose skill and courage were adequate to the task of restoring the whole; the Patron of the church convened a second meeting, and prevailed upon the Parish to try the experiment. The manner in which the restoration was effected deserves to be remembered. First, the column whose failure had occasioned all the mischief having been removed, the basis appeared to have been *undermined* and cut away from time, in order to make room for interments. A new and ample basis of strong masonry was now laid upon the rock, and the original column replaced with great care and exactness. All this was easy.

But the restoration of the two other columns which had but partially declined, was (without a total demolition) a much more hazardous undertaking; the architect, however, by sharing the risque of being crushed to death with the workmen, prevailed upon them to make narrow perforations under the basis, from North to South, through which he introduced strong bars of iron. He then placed large beams of wood along the surface, from East to West, on each side of the columns, and when the bars had been passed through the apertures, strapped them over the beams, and bound them immoveably together. By this method the columns, arches, and superincumbent walls were actually suspended.

He then proceeded to withdraw the decayed bases, and the whole structure above was left visibly hanging in the air, in which state it remained till new and massy bases were constructed beneath, which by strong underpinning restored the inclined columns to the perpendicular. Meanwhile, during the architect's absence for a few days only, a violent attempt was made to demolish the church. One of the fine carved principals was thrown down, and the walls were next attacked; but happily the old grout-work was not of a temper to give way to any thing but gunpowder, and the assailants were compelled to desist. Still, however, the spirit of party ran so high, that it was deemed necessary to place a guard in the vestry by night, till the restoration was completed.

The

The following are the principal monumental inscriptions :

INSCRIPTIONS ON THE MONUMENTS BELONGING TO THE FAMILY OF
EMMOTT, OF EMMOTT.

ARMS,

A fess engrailed, between three bulls' heads cabossed.

Between the middle aisle and this pillar
are deposited the bodies of

WILLIAM EMMOTT *,

of Emmott, in this county, Gent. buried 27th of August, 1683, and

MARY,

his wife, buried the 14th of August, 1677,

leaving issue four sons and

one daughter, viz.

William, John, Thomas, Margaret, and Christopher.

THOMAS EMMOTT,

their third son, buried 29th Aug. 1699, aged 29.

Hic beatæ spe resurrectionis depositæ sunt exuviae GULIELMI EMMOTT de Emmott, generoso
orti sanguine. Ineunte ætate, Coll. Jesu apud Cantab. sup. Ord. Commensal. Amicis deinde
charus, vicinis utilis, omnibus hospitalis vixit, omnibusque flebilis occidit Maii 13,

Anno { Christi 1720^{mo}.
Ætatis 51^{mo}.

Etiam Mariæ † Wainhouse, sororis ejus, quæ obiit Januarii 16^{mo},

Anno { Christi 1722^{mo}.
Ætatis 51^{mo}.

The above inscriptions are in the body of the church, and near the pulpit.

To the memory of

RICHARD EMMOTT, Esq.

late of Basinghall-street, London,

Merchant,

nephew to John and Christopher Emmott,

whose monuments are put up in
this church.

He departed this life

the fourteenth of March, 1761, in the 60th year of his age.

And his body lies interred in the

Church of St. Michael Bassishaw,

in Basinghall-street, in

London.

* There is a difference of one day in the date of this gentleman's interment, between the parochial register and this inscription.

† Qu. Margaret, vide supra.

In the Townley chapel, or choir, as it is generally called :

Hic sepulta jacet JANA filia et hæres JOHANNIS STONEHEWER, nuper de Barlyford in Comit. Cestriæ, gen. charissima Conjux Rici. TOWNLEY de Barnside et Carrhall arm. quæ obiit 21mo. Sep. anno D'ni 1677, relictis Jana et Anna filiabus suis, et simul secum filia altera eorum Alicia isto eodem tumulo obdormiente.

In the body of the church, opposite to the pulpit :

Close to this pillar lieth the body of
ROBERT PARKER,
late of Alkincoates, Gent. second son to Thomas Parker, of Browsholine,
in the county of York, Esq.
who departed this life, Nov. 10th, 1714,
aged 52.

In the chancel :

To the memory
of
CHRISTOPHER EMMOTT, Esq.
late of London, Merchant,
fourth and youngest son of William Emmott, of Emmott, Esq.
He had so good a judgment in mercantile affairs,
that differences between merchants
were often, by consent, referred to his determination, by which he prevented many law-suits.
He acquired a large fortune,
with a good reputation,
and died, unmarried, the 24th of February, 1745,
in the 72d year of his age,
and was buried
in the church of St. Michael Bassishaw,
London.

Likewise to the memory
of
JOHN EMMOTT, of Emmott, Esq.
second son of
Wm. Emmott, of Emmott, Esq.
a gentleman of great piety and charity.
He left 10*l.* per annum to the free school of Rawden,
in the county of York,
and 10*l.* per annum to the school at Lanshawbridge,
in this parish.

He died, unmarried, the 21st of Oct. 1746,
in the 82d year of his age,
and was buried in this church.

In gratitude to two such worthy relations, their nephew, Richard Emmott,
hath caused this monument to be erected.

An epitaph inscribed upon a brass plate, within the communion rails:

Hic jacet
JOHANNES HORROCKES,
qui fuit Artium Magister
et hujus Ecclesiæ Minister: vixit
annos 77, obiit die Septem. 7^o an. Dom. 1669.
Rostra disertus amat, sic rostra Johannes amabat
Horrockes, pro rostris quippe disertus erat
Barnabas ille piis, Boanerges et ille profanis,
Mercurius simul ac Mormoluxæion erat.
Parcite Pegasides! mihi credite, plangitis illum
Quem Sion aut Helicon quemquem Olympus habet.
Nec gazas Arabum, tua nec miracula Memphî,
Sed stupet hic Seraphim quem stupuere Magi.
Sarcophago contenta minor, pars major Olimpo,
Utraque sed pariter dalmaticata fuit.
Pullulat ut Phoenix redivivus, apostolus Horrockes
Patrizet * juvenis: fama perennis erit. †

* Pro patrisset.

Contiguous to the church-yard is the grammar school, a mean and very ancient building, supported upon crooks, and memorable for nothing but the education of archbishop Tillotson, whose mother was a Nutter of Pendle forest.

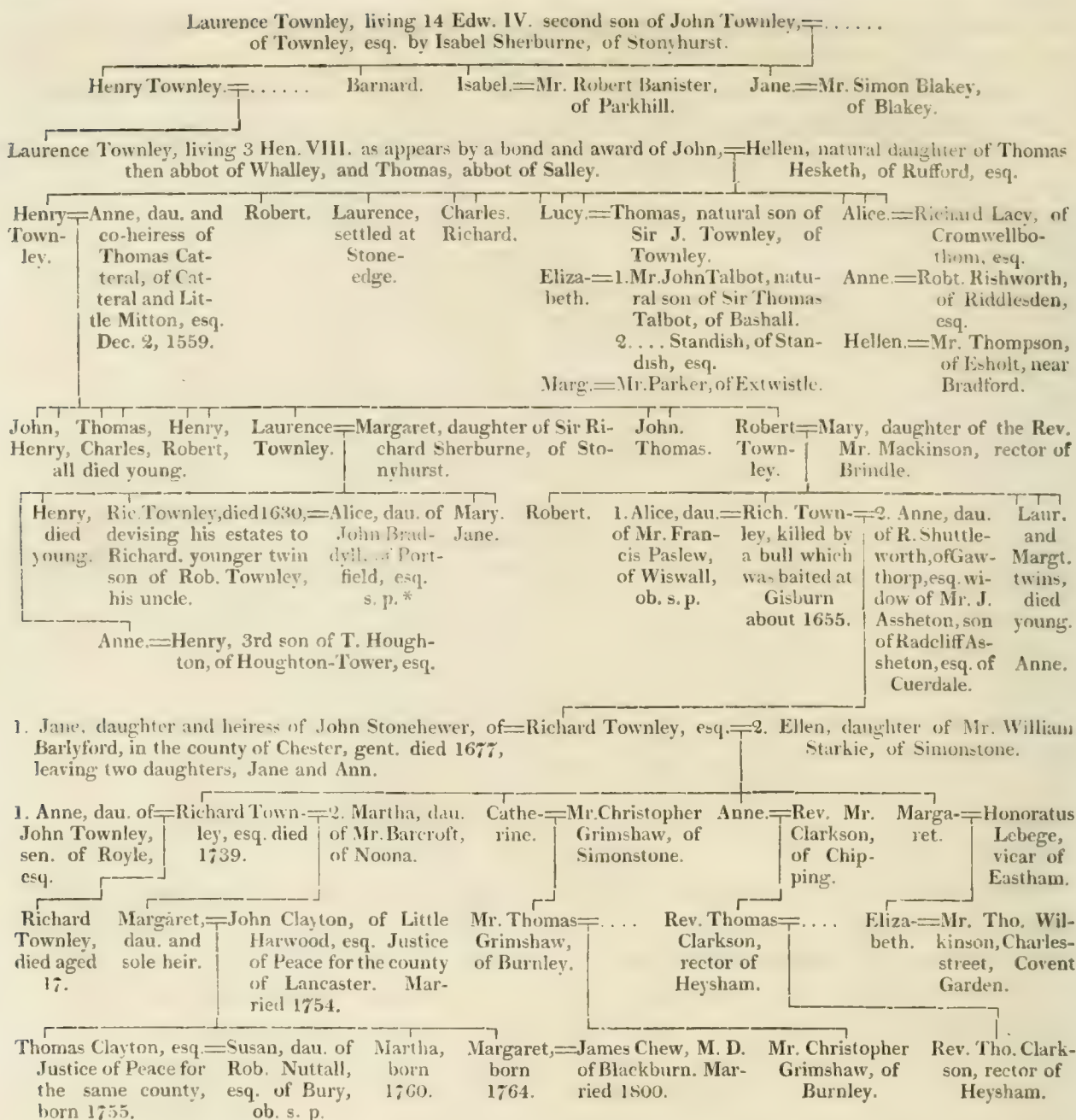
In the township of Colne are three very ancient mansions — BERNESETE, now BARNSIDE, EMMOT, and ALCANCOATS.

The first ‡ of these, in a high and naked situation, contiguous to the moors of Yorkshire, belonged to the priory of St. John, of Pontefract, a circumstance which undoubtedly gave name to the neighbouring house of Monkrode, upon the same estate. Under the priory it appears to have been held for two or three generations by the Townleys, a branch from the original house of Townley; but, upon the dissolution of monasteries, the manor of Bernesete, with its appurtenances, was granted by letters patent § of Henry VIII. anno regni 36, to John Braddyll, of Whalley, Gent. one of the original grantees of Whalley abbey. From the Braddylls, I suppose the manor to have been sold to the Townleys, who were probably lessees only under the priory. The descent of this branch is as follows:

† I have now printed this epitaph on account of its extreme absurdity. It is one of the most extravagant pieces of bombast that I have ever met with.

‡ This was probably an early grant of the Lacies to that foundation, but has never occurred to me.

§ Braddyll MSS. No. 57, pen. auct.

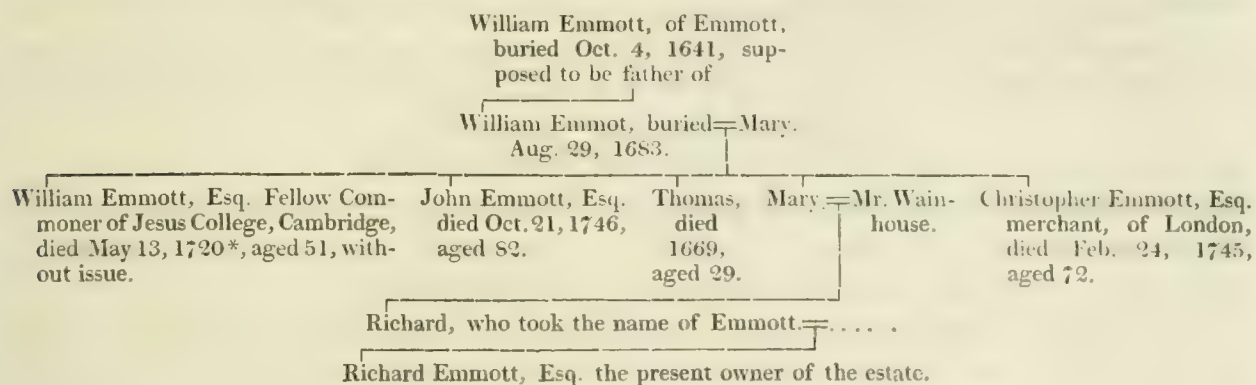


The house of Barnside has been strongly and durably built: one wing, with a deep embayed window, embattled, appears to be coeval or nearly so with the present family; the rest, which is of better masonry, seems to be more modern. Another wing, containing the offices, has been destroyed; the rest, if left to itself, may remain for centuries. It seems to have been abandoned by the family, for the warmer situation of Carr, about the middle of the last century.

Far beneath, yet on the summit of a smooth and gentle elevation, shrowded in aged trees, is the ancient house of EMMOTT, which has given name to a long line yet extant. Of these the

* She married, 2nd, Mr. Christopher Townley, of Moorhiles, the indefatigable transcriber.

first whom I have met with is Robert de Emot, who held lands here 4th Edward II. as per Inquisition. After him I have no materials of information relating to this family before the commencement of the parish registers, from which, and from their monuments in the church of Colne, the following short and imperfect descent has been compiled.

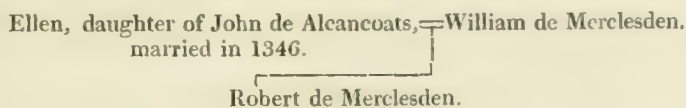


John Emmott was a pious and amiable man, a christian of the old school, regular and devout, retired and humble. William, the older brother, is said to have had a portion of the same spirit. Their infirmity was, that both were inattentive to their worldly concerns, so that Christopher the younger brother, who acquired a large fortune, with a very fair character, was compelled to re-purchase the paternal estate. But such examples, whenever they occur, of a character nearly lost, deserve to be recorded, to the shame of a degenerate posterity.

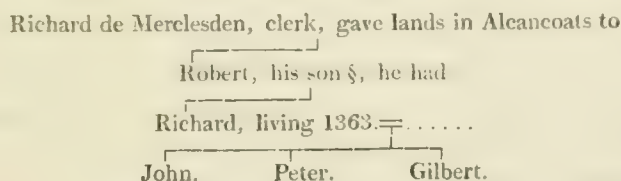
The house is respectable and convenient, with a front of rather heavy modern architecture, and contains many portraits of the family, by Mr. John Emmott, who was fond of painting. By the way side, near the house, is a perfect cross, with the cyphers I þ 8 and M, half obliterated, upon the capital; the only instance which I recollect of the kind by a way side, though the bases of great numbers remain in similar situations. A very copious spring in an adjoining field, now an excellent cold bath, is called the Hullown, *i. e.* the Hallow, or Saints' Well †.

Last of the old mansions is ALCANCOATS ‡, in which I find that John de Lacy granted twenty acres of land to the hospitalers of St. John of Jerusalem, by deed without date.

In the 35th Edward III. here was a John le Parker de Alcancoats. And



The family of Merclesden, however, had a footing here before this marriage; for, in 1314,



* Townley MSS.

† Hence the name of the place eamuntz, or the mouth of the water.

‡ Townley MSS.

§ No unusual circumstance in those days, when concubinage was avowed as much as marriage.

Also by Inquisition post mortem Henry de Lacy, 4th Edward II. it was found that Richard, son of Alan de Alcancoats, held 32 acres; William, son of Adam de Alcancoats, 17 ditto; and Adam, son of Peter de Alcancoats, 23 in this place.

It is now the residence of J. Parker, Esq. descended from Robert Parker, younger son of the house of Browsholme, who died 1714.

Within the chapelry of Colne, and immediately contiguous to Craven, is the obscure township and village of

FOULRIDGE, anciently FOLRIG,

Of which I find that Roger de Lacy *, constable of Chester, who died 1211, granted to 14 acres of land in Chorlesakehirst, within Folrig. By Inquisition 4th Edward II. William de Pothan held two carucates in Folrig for a fourth part of a knight's fee, and 9½*d*.

And, by Inquisition † taken 15th Edward II. it was found that John de Thornhill, held in the vill of Foulrig, one capital messuage and eight acres of meadow, of the king, in capite, and eight oxgangs and 50 acres of land of the rodlaund, by the eighth part of a knight's fee.

From the Thornhills I suppose it to have passed to the Saviles, for in the time of Henry VIII. the manor of Folrig was held by that family, along with Rochdale. I can trace it no lower.

Within the chapelry of Colne, but in the manor of Ightenhill, are also the townships of

GREAT and LITTLE MARSDEN, formerly MERCLESDEN,

which gave name to an ancient family, of whom see some notices under Alcancoats. Of this house, also, was Richard de Merclesden, master forester of Blackburnshire, to queen dowager Isabella, in the reign of Edward III. I also find a

William de Merclesden.
|
Henry de Merclesden ‡.
|
Richard de Merclesden, 10th Hen. VI.

John de Lacy, Cons. Cest. by charter without date, grants to Adam de Swinden, 16 acres of land within the boundaries of Great Merclesden, “sciendum autem quod salvis his 16 acris, et vendam et dabo, et essartare faciam quantum mihi placuerit.” Test. Hen. Persona de Blackburn, and Gilbert, his son §.

There is in this reservation a bluff kind of dignity not ill adapted to the character of an ancient baron.

Again §, Henry, Duke of Lancaster, in the 2d year of his dutchy, grants to Ric. de Walton (stauratori | nostro), all the lands which he held in Colne and Merclesden, within the forest ¶

* Townley MSS.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

| The stauratores were officers placed over the vaccaries while held in demesne, who accounted annually to the lords for the increase of stock, as the graves did of their rents. In Sowerbyshire these officers were called instaurationes. Wats. Hist. Hal. p. 240.

¶ On this account Marsden itself is once entitled a forest; for Robert de Lacy gave pasture, &c. in his forest of Merclesden, to the abbot and convent of Kirkstall. Burton, Mon. Ebor. 294.

of Trawden*: a description which goes near to prove, that the chapel mentioned so often in the latter computus's of Whalley Abbey by the name of Cap. de Trawden, was, as I have before conjectured, the Chapel of Marsden†.

And again, the same Duke Henry, an. duc. 4th, grants to Ric. de Walton, “stauratori nostro in partibus de Blackburnshire,” 53 acres in Colne and Merclesden, to be held according to the custom of the manor, and 40 acres, and 25 acres in the vill of Merclesden, approved from the wastes in the time of Queen Isabella. An early instance of an enclosure.

I suspect this to have been the origin of the property of the Walton family.

The Inquisition so often referred to after the death of Earl Henry de Lacy, anno 1311, ascertains the state and value of property in Great and Little Merclesden, as follows :

MERCLESDEN MAGNA.

	£.	s.	d.
350 acres in demesne, demised to divers tenants at will	5	11	8
Certain cotarii for 4 tofts - - - - -	0	2	0
12 customary tenants, for 12 oxgangs in bondage	1	17	6
Works (boon services remitted) - - - - -	0	6	4
Fishery, where? - - - - -	0	0	10½
	<hr/>		
	7	18	4½

MERCLESDEN PARVA.

240½ acres, demised to tenants at will - - - - -	4	14	0
2 cotarii - - - - -	0	0	8
4 customary tenants for 3½ oxgangs - - - - -	0	10	6
Works remitted - - - - -	0	1	2
	<hr/>		
	5	6	4

At this early period there appears to have been in the Marsdens no freehold lands at all; but, by a survey of the manor of Ightenhill, anno 36th Elizabeth, there were at that time 547 acres of freehold, and 467 of copyhold.

Marsden has a small chapel, of uncertain antiquity, but evidently prior to the Reformation, dependent upon the parochial Chapel† of Colne, and held along with it. Dedication unknown. Patron of both, the Vicar of Whalley.

* In an English charter, Townley MSS. G. 15. 309, certain lands are described as lying in the “towne of Mersden and chace of Trawden.” This puts the matter out of doubt.

† I have long suspected that this chapel was the Capella de Trawden often mentioned in the later computus's of Whalley Abbey; and that of consequence, that forest had anciently extended hither. This opinion is rendered more probable by the following, which I lately met with in two original charters at Towneley :

“Ric. Clericus de Merclesden, 32 Ed. I.” which seems to prove the existence of a chapel here so early.

And secondly :

“Kirk Clough infra Chaceam de Trawden juxta Merclesden 22 Hen. VI.”

This was a very poor and mean structure, apparently of the age of Henry VIII. and with the cypher I. H. S. on the little belfrey. In the yard was a very large block of freestone, the base of a cross.

All these symptoms prove it to have existed before the Reformation.

Were I to hazard a conjecture as to the consecration of this chapel, it would be that the ceremony took place A. D. 1544, when John Bird, first Bishop of Chester, is known to have dedicated the neighbouring chapel of Pendle, Oct. 1.

Goodshaw was built in the same year; and the old chapel of Holme bore marks of the same age with Marsden. It never occurs before this time, and was dissolved as a chantry four years after, so that it is highly probable that all the three underwent this ordinance at the same time.

In the year 1809 the chapel of Marsden, besides its insufficiency for the increasing population of the place, having become ruinous, the present patron prevailed on the inhabitants to have it pulled down and rebuilt.

One impediment, however, was to be removed. The cure, though it had a small separate endowment, had been immemorially holden with Colne, and served by the minister of that place or his curate. But how served? Once only in every fortnight, and then only once in the day.

Under these circumstances it was not likely that much zeal could be excited for a new erection.

But a promise having been made that on the next avoidance a separate presentation should be made, and a resident minister appointed, the people cheerfully set about the work, and a plain, spacious, and commodious place of worship was erected.

An avoidance happened not long after—the promise was fulfilled: the endowment has been since increased nearly to 100*l.* per annum. A grant of a small portion of the waste has been obtained for the site of a minister's house, and the sum of 500*l.* of which 300*l.* were granted out of the blessed parliamentary fund, is now ready for the prosecution of the work.

It is not without gratitude to Providence that the writer of this contemplates the change which in so short a period has taken place in the religious concerns of a numerous and neglected congregation.

CHAPTER IV.

PORTIONS OF THE PARISH

LYING BETWEEN

THE CALDER AND THE HYNDBURNE.

THIS is the last natural district into which the present parish of Whalley is capable of being divided. Its principal features, which are by no means strongly marked, may be considered as one great and spacious aperture through the hills, declining towards Tottington on the South, and expanding into a considerable plain near the junction of the Hyndburne and Calder to the North.

It abounds too much with coal and other kindred minerals, to be distinguished for the fertility of its soil, in which, as in its unmarked and naked appearance, it approximates to the neighbouring forests, especially in the higher parts.

Altham alone, from its situation, may be considered as partaking the character of Calderbotham in warmth and softness of landscape.

This tract consists of three parochial chapelries, all of the old foundation, viz.

1st, Altham, containing that township, with Clayton and Accrington Vetus.

2d, Church, containing that township, with Oswaldtwisle and Huncote.

3d, Haslingden, properly consisting of that township alone.

These will severally be considered in the order assigned to them above.

ALTHAM,

Formerly Alvetham, and originally Elvetham, the habitation of Elvet, a manor and township on the western bank of the Calder, which was granted by Henry de Laci the first, probably in the reign of Stephen, to Hugh, son of Lofwine, or Leofwine, a Saxon. This charter, the second in point of antiquity which I shall be able to cite in this work, is as follows: "Sciant p'sentes et futuri quod ego Henricus de Laci dedi concessi, &c. Hugoni filio Lofwini "et heredibus in feodo et hereditate Elvetham, Clayton et Akerington dim. Billington cum "d'natione M'rii * de Elvetham per servitium dimidii feodi milit." In virtue of this charter, the manor of Altham is still held by the descendants of the first grantee, with Clayton as a mesne manor dependent upon it. Akerington was restored to Robert de Laci, for the purpose of being re-granted to the monks of Kirkstall, (vid. Akerington). The moiety of Billington

* In the Liber Loci Benedicti is a transcript of this charter made about the year 1300, in which these words stand as follows, "D'natione Mosterii," the latter of which can only have been understood by the writer to mean Monasterii. But, as there is no evidence that the foundation of a monastery was so much as projected at Alvetham, I suppose the word to have been Manerii. Yet the manors severally passed with the grants of the other Townships; why then specify the manor of Alvetham only?

was surrendered to Ralph, son of Geoffry de Billington, by William D'ns de Alvetham, in a deed without date, but during the time that Henry de Kighley was senescall.

Hugh, son of Lofwine, founded the church, and endowed it according to the custom of the times, with four bovates, *i. e.* about 60 acres *, or nearly a tenth part of the lands of the manor, together with the tithes, and intended it as a parish church, for which he appears to have procured the consent of Geoffry, dean of Whalley, by the appointment of Robert his son to the rectory of Altham. Robert, afterwards presented by his father to the rectory of Rochdale, conferred the vicarage (though we are no where told how or when this vicarage was endowed) upon Henry, the clerk of Altham †, grandson of Hugh de Clayton.

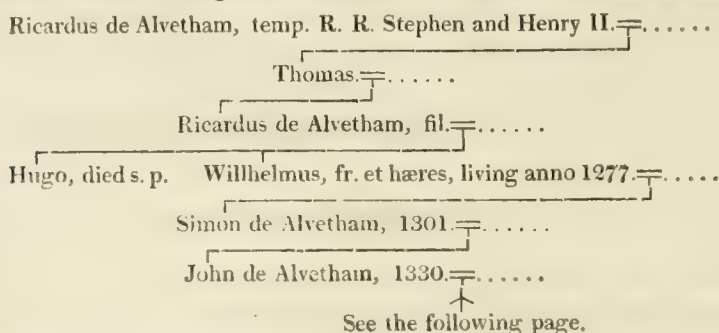
But the æra of the foundation of parishes was now at an end; the deanery, with its extensive privileges, was now dissolved, and Peter de Chester, the first rector of Whalley, a man vigilant and attentive to the rights of the mother church, contested the foundation of this small independent parish, and is said to have prevailed. After his death, however, the suit, if it had ever come to an issue, revived; the Alvethams defended their supposed rights with sufficient pertinacity; and, it was not until the year 1301, that Simon de Alvetham, on the receipt of 20*l.* and of 300*s.* for the expences of the suit in the courts of common law, of Litchfield, Canterbury, and Rome, for through all these it had travelled in succession, resigned his right in the church or chapel of Alvetham, to the abbot and convent of Whalley ‡.

The posterity of this ancient grantee, from whom the present possessor is lineally descended, are as follows :

PEDIGREE OF ALTHAM AND BANASTRE.

Arms. Altham bears a chevron between three mullets pierced of the field, colour unknown §.

And Banastre, of Altham, Argent, a cross fleury, and a pot in the dexter point, Sable.

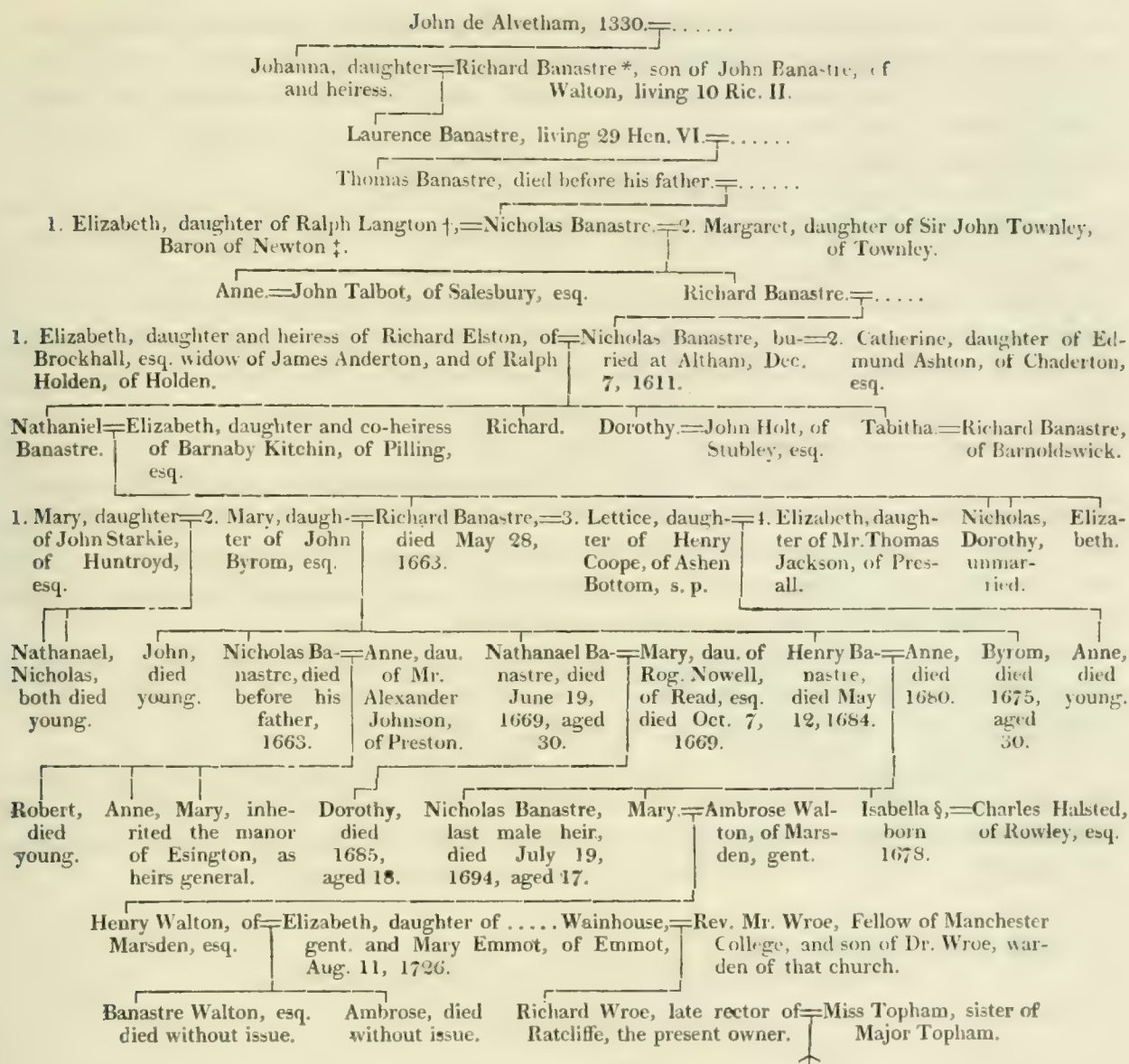


* I had once conjectured that upon the dissolution of the rectory (*vide Ecclesiastical History*,) this ancient glebe was restored to the manor : but in the Assheton MSS. I have since found an inquisition of survey taken at the instance of Cardinal Pole, as the site of these lands was then beginning to be uncertain. Hence it appears that they were dispersed for the most part in small butts and selions about the town fields, on which account they are now lost. In a later Inquisition of the Rectory of Whalley, taken A. D. 1616, the jurors present that Nath. Banastre, Esq. is Lord of Altham, and that all these lands have been occupied for many years by him and his ancestors, lying dispersed among the lands of the said manor. In this Inquisition, which refers to one of much higher antiquity, I find repeated mention of selions and gerons (once spelt gereons) of land. The last is undoubtedly some small portion of ground, but is become long since obsolete, and, so far as I recollect, is not mentioned by any author.

† One account says, that Henry de Clayton succeeded Robert, and that Henry his son was presented after his death by Hugh f. Lofwine. Townley MSS. G. 26.

‡ “ Simon de Alvetham pro resignatione juris sui quod habebat in dicta capella in *XX*l.** solutis et pro expensis sectæ pro dicta ecclesia in curia Romana, Regis, Cant. Litch. CCCs. Comp. de Whalley.” I meet also with a bond from Gregory, the first abbot, in the same year, for the payment of 20*s.* to Simon de Alvetham, “ pro bono servicio suo.”

§ These arms appear on the part of the South aisle of the chapel belonging to the manor house, and I can assign them to no other family : but query.



The manor house of Altham, for more than five centuries the residence of this ancient family, stands upon a gentle elevation on the western side of the Calder, commanding a low and fertile domain. It has been surrounded, according to the prudence or jealousy of the

* "Adam Banaster, a bachelor, of Lancashire, movid ryot agayne Thomas of Lancaster, by craft of kynge Edward II. but he was taken and behedid by the commaundement of Thomas of Lancaster." Leland's Itinerary. I suppose him to have been of Bank, where I meet with the name of Adam about this time.

† "Derwent cummeth by Mr. Langton's Place Baron of Walton a mile above Preston." Ibid. This was one of the palatine baronies held under the earls of Chester.

‡ This marriage was contracted in the minority of Nicholas while he was in ward of Sir John Southworth, of Samlesbury, for which reason it was annulled.

§ In the year 1699, upon a partition of the estate between the two co-heiresses, Mary and Isabella, the manor of Altham was valued at no more than 160*l.* per annum, of which 1200*l.* was considered as equivalent to a moiety, and Isabella the younger sister, held the whole estate, and received the rents and profits as a *vivage*, till that sum was discharged. A striking instance of the increased value of landed property within a century.

feodal

feodal times, with a very deep quadrangular moat, which must have included all the apparatus of the farm. Of the house itself little remains but an habitation for the farmer of the demesne; but it has been constructed of excellent masonry, with a moulded basement (not usual in dwelling-houses), and with two doors with pointed Gothic arches, probably not much later than the reign of Henry VII. *

Immediately without the moat to the North-east stands the parochial chapel, of which a small nave and two side aisles of three arches only remain, the choir being long since dilapidated, and visible only by the foundations.

Of the original church, erected by F. Lofwine, which, according to the style of the times, must have been narrow, dark, and strong, with small round-headed windows, and a semicircular arched entrance, here are no remains: the present building is a kind of middle Gothic, to which, from the absence of characteristic ornaments, it is difficult to assign any precise æra; the font is an octagon, with the monogram \mathfrak{M} of the V. M. the patroness; the letters I. H. S. and the instruments of the passion upon the different compartments. This form in fonts is comparatively modern, having been introduced, as appears, not long before the reformation: but the only genuine remain of the original church is a portion of the old baptistery, rude, deep, and cylindrical, which is walled into the present porch, and seems to indicate that the modern church and font are contemporary with each other.

In some old churchwardens' accounts of the year 1461, I find a churchwarden delivering over to his successor "the thynges belonging to our Ladye of Alvetham." An inventory of our Ladye's wardrobe would have been highly interesting at present.

At the East end of the church, and, as appears, beyond the boundary of the old choir, sleep the ancient lords of Altham, over whom are several tombstones, from which I have selected the most interesting inscriptions, as several of them contain nothing more than names or dates, which have been already inserted in the pedigree of the family.

H. I.

corpus NATH. BANASTRE DE ALTHAM, Arm.

spe vitæ melioris repostum.

Ob. 19 d. Jun. A. D. 1669, æt. suæ 30,

(conjux charissimus,

tenerrimus unius pater.)

Nec non Mariæ uxoris ejus

amantissimæ

piæ et properantis (ad)

præmissum

7 d. Oct. anno prædicto.

Here lieth the body

of

DOROTHY BANASTRE,

* Here is still a tradition of the "mazer bowl," which, according to the rude hospitality of ancient times, stood upon the hall table, often emptied and instantly replenished.

daughter to Nathaniel Banastre, esq.
 born at Altham,
 brought up at Read, with her grandfather Nowell,
 aged 18 years
 August the 5th day, 1684.
 Died the 8th of June,
 1685.

Sacred to the memory
 of
 NICHOLAS,
 the only son of Henry Banastre,
 of Altham, esq.
 and last heir male of that ancient family,
 who died the 19th of July,
 anno salutis 1694,
 ætatis 17.

By inquisition taken at Blackburn, June 25th, 1650, it was found that the parochial chapelry at Altham consisted of the township of Altham and part of Clayton, containing 150 families; that the minister was Mr. Thomas Jolly *, an able divine, who received 10*l.* from the lessees of the rectory of Whalley, and 30*l.* from the commissioners of the county, and that the inhabitants of these townships desired to be made a parish. Lambeth MSS.

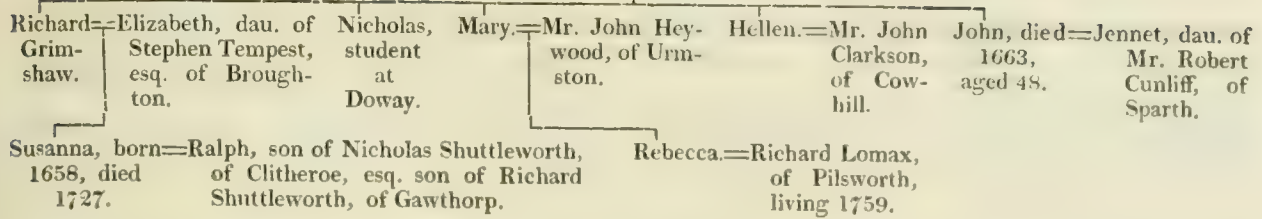
* As this was a man distinguished by his zeal and sufferings, the following account of him, principally abstracted from Calamy, may be accepted instead of a catalogue of the curates of Altham, all of whom, with this single exception, seem to have been obscure men.

It does not appear where he was born, but he was educated in Trinity College, Cambridge, and settled at Altham when not more than twenty years of age. Here he continued thirteen years, and approved himself a very diligent and faithful preacher. After some previous sufferings he went out at the expiration of the time allowed by the Bartholomew act for nonconformists, and withdrew to Healey, near Burnley, the house of Dr. Robert Whitaker, a man of his own sentiments, and probably his intimate friend. Here he was apprehended by Captain Parker's Lieutenant (I suppose Parker of Extwisle), and confined by order of two deputy lieutenants in a private house. And here he was once more apprehended by Captain Nowell (probably old Roger Nowell, of Read), and, after much rough treatment, sent first to Skipton, and thence to York, where he endured great inconvenience and even distress from want of accommodation. After his discharge, however, the spirit of nonconformity remaining unsubdued, he was taken up once more at a conventicle in 1664, and committed to Lancaster Castle. In 1665 he was again arrested by a warrant from the lord lieutenant, which was executed with great roughness by Colonel Nowell. In 1669 he was committed to gaol for six months, having preached within five miles of Altham, and refusing to take the appointed oath. In 1674, he was apprehended by Justice Nowell, at a meeting at Slade, (undoubtedly his old friend, who was yet alive), and fined 20*l.* In 1684 he was brought before Judge Jeffries, at Preston, and obliged to find double sureties in 200*l.* each: Jeffries at first demanded 2000*l.* This was for holding several conventicles—but the sectarian spirit is not to be subdued by persecution! several years afterwards he bore a principal part in the affair of the Surey demoniac.

He had the satisfaction (and it must have been an unspeakable satisfaction) to see all the sufferings of his party terminated by the Toleration Act, and died in peace at Wyminghouses, where he had a chapel, April 16, 1703, in the seventy-third year of his age, and fifty-third of his ministry. I suppose that the puritans of those days, like the methodists of ours, inverted a well-known maxim of law, and held that "*Gratia supplet ætatem!*" Vid. Calamy, Act. p. 393, and Cont. p. 557.

On

John Grimshaw.—Anne Colthurst.



At the South-west extremity of this township, in no very pleasing situation, on the verge of an old park, without deer, and overgrown with rushes, is the ancient house of

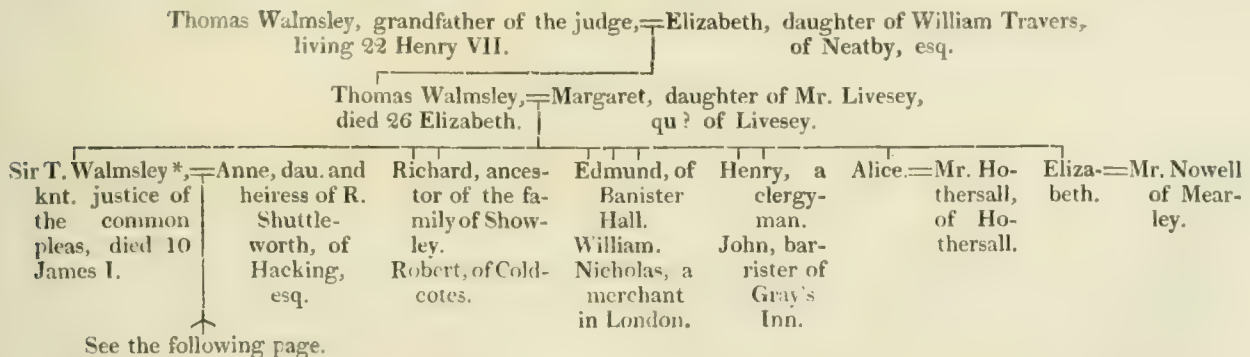
DUNKENHALGH.

Halgh, which occurs so often in the composition of local names hereabouts, as Poutalgh, Hesmanhalgh, &c. is only a modification of the word *how* or *hill*, with a strong Lancashire aspirate, (see Add. to Thoresby's Duc. p. 267, by Dr. Hickes.) Thus, *e converso*, the word Nuttall, anciently Nuthalgh, is frequently spelt Nutto or Nuthow, in charters.

Dunkenhalgh appears to have been the property of a family bearing the same name, from the æra of deeds without date, till it was purchased under the denomination of “manerium sive cap. mess. de Dunkenhalgh,” by Ralph Rishton; from the Rishtons it was again transferred to Sir Thomas Walmsley, knight, one of the justices of the courts of common pleas in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth and beginning of James I. who gathered a large estate by a wealthy marriage, and, as it is said, by great rapacity in the practice of the law.

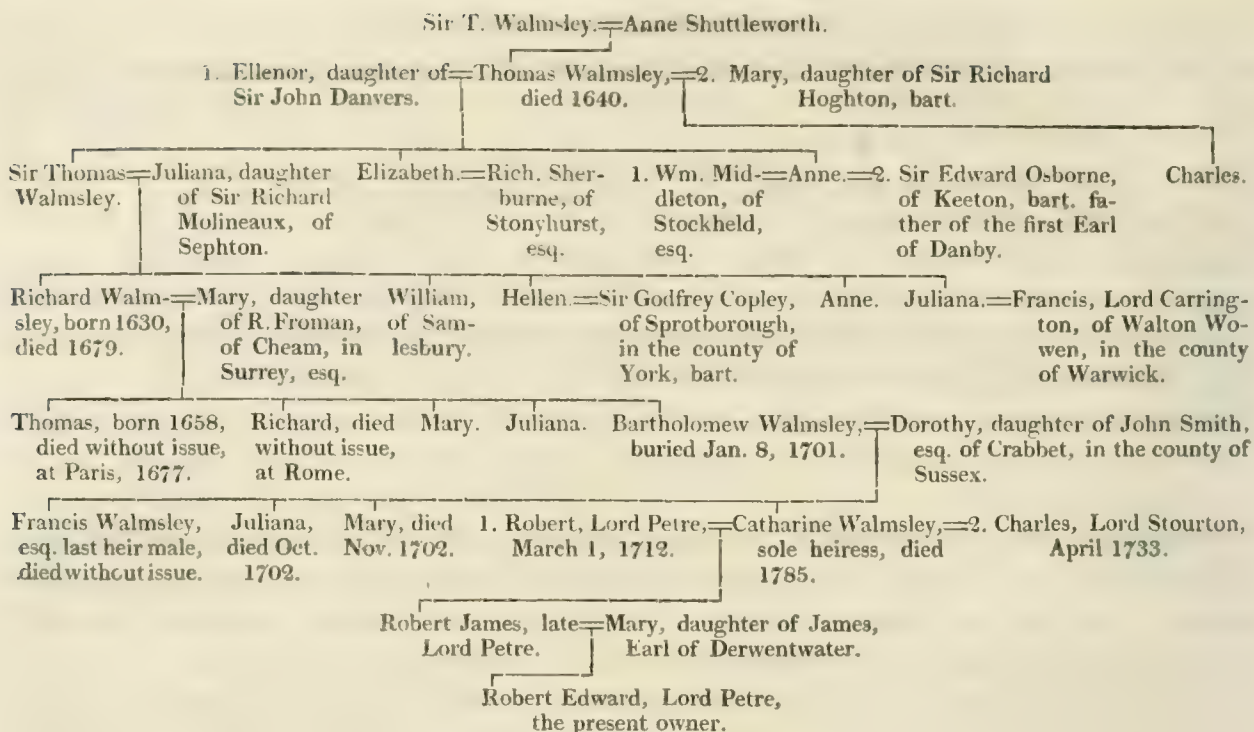
PEDIGREE OF WALMSLEY.

Arms. Gules, on a chief, Ermine, three ogresses.



* From Dodsworth's MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, vol. LXI. fol. 85, I retrieved the following epitaph, once inscribed on the monument of this judge, in the south chapel of the church of Blackburn, but now removed. After some tedious verses not worth transcribing, “Sir Thomas Walmsley, knight, here interred, was made judge of the common pleas an. xxxi. R. Eliz. and continued a judge of that bench ye space of xxv yeares and above, duryng which tyme he went all ye circuits of England, except that of Norfolk and Suffolk. He dyed Nov. 26, 1612, having lived Lxxxv yeares complete under v several princes — king Henry VIII. king Edward VI. queene Mary, queene Elizabeth, and oure sovaine lord king James. Hee left behynd hym, who are yet livyng, Anne, his ladye and sole wyfe, and also one son, Thomas Walmsley, sole heir to them bothe, whom, in his lyfe time, he sawe twyce married;

“1st, to



The house of Dunkenhall, with the stables and offices, nearly surrounds a large quadrangle, with an arched and embattled gateway. From the style and appearance, great part of the building must have been erected by Sir Thomas Walmsley, the judge; but the South and part of the West side are of much higher antiquity. Here are great numbers of portraits, some of the family, and others not: one of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, with the George, date 1562: another, a full length, in the Garter Robes (qu. Henry Danvers, Earl of Danby? *); Sir Thomas Walmsley, another full length portrait, in the habit of a judge, with a shrewd, severe countenance, and his lady, whose whole figure recalls to memory the picturesque and whimsical lines of Gray —

“ In peaked hoods and mantles tarnished
Sour visages enough to scare ye,
High dames of honour once that graced
The drawing-room of fierce queen Mary.”

Some of her female descendants, in the same apartment, form a beautiful contrast to the harshness and severity of the old lady's countenance. Last in the series, is Miss Catharine Walmsley, sole heiress of this large estate, and successively Lady Petre and Stourton, who appears to have had small pretensions to beauty, but is said to have been a very beneficent and amiable woman.

“ 1st, to Ellenor, sister to Henry Lord Danvers, and daughter to Sir John Danvers, by Eliz. his wyfe, one of ye daughters and co-heirs of ye Lord Latymer; and, 2nd, to Mary, sister of Sir Richard Hoghton, knt. and bart. by bothe whom he sawe him have issue, by his first wyfe one son and two daughters, and by his second, one son, Charles.”

* Since this was written (1799) the greater part of the house growing ruinous was pulled down, and the portraits are thrown into a garret.

Dunkenhall

Dunkenhalgh did not altogether escape the common fate of recusants houses in the troubles of the last century; for I learn from the deposition of one John Leach, in a cause Copley against Walmsley, “that, at the rising of Sir George Booth, several soldiers under Lambert’s command did come to Dunkenhalgh, and violently broke open the stewards’ closet where the writings of the family were kept, and did pull in pieces, spoil, and carry away, many writings and notes of account.”

HUNCOTE.

The cot or cottage of Þunne, a genuine monosyllabic Saxon name, is a village situated on the skirts of Hameldon, as it declines to the North, and, though now one of the obscurest places in the parish, one of the two which are noticed by name in Domesday Book,

“In eodem hundreto habebat Rex Edwardus Hunnicot 2 carucatas terræ.”

The manor was never granted out, and great part of these 2 carucates, which were ancient freehold lands, must have remained in the immediate possession of the chief lord, for by Inquisition post mortem Hen. Com. Linc. there are found in Huncotes, only the following free tenants :

John de Suttelword, pro 10 acres	—	—	—	—	1	8
Joh. de Clayton, pro 20 acres	—	—	—	—	1	0
Joh. and Joh. p’dict. pro Castelward	—	—	—	—	2	0

So that there only remained about two oxgangs, or one-fourth of a carucate of free land.

But there were in the hands of tenants at will 309 acres, 3 roods, which, at 4*d.* per acre, amounted to 5*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.* and this appears, from many other instances, to have been considered as a rack rent.

James de Huncote, and John his son, occur as witnesses to a charter 29th Edward I.

Huncote, though at the distance of nearly four miles, and separated by Accrington, is within the chapelry of Church.

ACCRINGTON VETUS.

The vill of Accrington was a grange belonging to the abbey of Kirkstall, which they obtained from Rob. de Laci in exchange for that of Clivacher, in the time of Lambert, the third abbot, about the year 1200. Accrington had however been previously granted by Henry de Laci, along with Alvetham, to Hugh F. Lofwine; but Hugh, in order to accommodate his patron and the monks, released it again*. Thus empowered, therefore, Rob. de Laci grants to the abbot and convent aforesaid, “totam Akarington cum bosco qui vocatur la Haia per istas metas et divisas versus Hunecotes usque ad rivulum qui vocatur Wirmeleia Cloche et sic in directum per medium cilium montis usque ad Hameldon et inde in transversum moræ usque ad Ormestanes et inde usque ad Warineden, inde usque ad caput rivuli qui vocatur Blacabroc, inde sicut ille rivulus descendit in Bestane Cloche, inde usque ad caput de Essenecloche, inde usque ad Readelache, inde usque ad Orsethes, inde per rivulum qui vocatur Amtleia sic (Antley sike) usque in aquam quæ vocatur Hyndeburne.”

* Bibl. Bodl. Dodsworth’s MSS. 167

The first step which these humane and holy men took, even according to their own account, after obtaining possession of this village, was to turn out the inhabitants, some of whose ancestors had been owners of the place, and reduce the whole to a solitary grange, the consequence of which was, that the poor people, driven to despair, burnt the grange, and murdered three lay brethren, Norman, Umfred, and Robert, who had been entrusted with the care of it. In a fierce age like the 12th or 13th century, revenge was more likely to be sought than redress; but what redress could have been obtained at a time when superstition had eaten out humanity, when the claims of the poor were as much despised as they are formidable at present, and when the ears of the powerful were completely pre-occupied by monks?

The Cistercian order were now in the height of their reputation, and presumed accordingly; the monks of this house in particular appear to have been unusually rash and violent in their proceedings, as in the instance of the church of Barnoldswic, which having seized upon and applied to their own use without a shadow of right, they afterwards destroyed in a fray with the inhabitants, who, upon an appeal to the Pope against these intruders, instead of receiving justice, were dismissed with a rebuke for presuming to withstand the establishment of a religious house*.

By inquisition taken post mortem Henry de Lacy, the last earl of Lincoln, it was found that the abbot of Kirkstall held here “dim. carucat. per servitium 9½d. et factione sectæ ad cur.”

In the same hands it continued till the general dissolution, when it was granted out to divers persons; and to this circumstance it is owing, that here are no old or considerable families.

Accrington has a chapel of ease under Altham, a relic of its ancient dependence, but of no high antiquity. It is indeed not improbable, that the religious had a private oratory appertaining to their grange, and that this might be the origin of the present foundation; but, as it is no where mentioned in the receipts of Whalley abbey “pro stipitibus sanctorum,” I conclude that, as a place of public worship, its æra is to be fixed after the dissolution. Yet it must have arisen at an early period after that event, for anno 7 Edw. VI. Sir Richard Sherburne, Edmund Trafford, and Francis Bold, Esqrs. commissioners of chantries, bargained and sold to the inhabitants for the sum of 46s. 8d. the chapel of Accrington, with one bell, to be continued as a place of divine service.

A little above the chapel is a house called the grange, and still nearer, another, which yet bears the name of The Black Abbey. This has been totally rebuilt within memory, and retains not a vestige of its ancient state; but I have no doubt that here was the cell of the monks of Kirkstall at Accrington.

During the Usurpation, and at the time of the Lambeth Inquisition, 1650, Mr. Roger Kenyon, an able and orthodox divine, was minister of Accrington; but I find † that in 1645, Dec. 5th, by order of the committee for the county of Lancaster, 40*l.* was allowed for “an able divine at Accrington chappel,” and Mr. John Bell was approved for the same by the classis at Whalley, Nov. 9, 1647.

* “Pium enim videbatur et dignum favore ut ecclesia caderet, dummodò abbatia pro eâ construeretur, ut minus bonum majori cederet.” Mon. Angl. A determination which expressly sanctioned the doing of evil that good might come. But this pope had not learned his casuistry from St. Paul.

† MS. entitled Minister's Orders pen. L. P. Starkie, arm.

OSWALDTWISLE,

At the South-west extremity of the parish, and adjoining to that of Blackburn. The name of this township is pure Saxon (vide Extwistle), and the first part of it probably taken from one of its ancient lords. An investigation of the progress of property in this township has led to a discovery of considerable importance to the herald and the genealogist; for by deeds without date, Philip de Oswaldtwistle grants to Adam de Radcliffe one and one-third bov. of land in that place; and Richard, son of Roger de Oswaldtwistle, grants to the same, for fifteen marks of silver, one bovat in Oswaldtwisle, and three-fourths of a bovat in Dokewarð. Adam had Robert, who had Richard, styling himself Dns. de Radclyffe, whose son Richard granted the above premises to William his son, together with certain services, and was found by inquisition to have free warren in Oswaldtwisle in the 32d of Edward I. William, the son, again conveys the manor of Oswaldtwisle to Richard his son, apud Bury, 16th Edward III. From him descended Richard Ratcliffe, esq. who, in the 15th Henry VII. settled his estates upon his brothers John and Roger, and their male issue; remainder over to Robert, son of John Baron Fitzwalter, and his heirs; remainder to Thomas Radcliffe, lord of the manor of Framesdon, in the county of Suffolk, &c. John died without issue, and Roger left another John, who died a minor, 8th or 9th Henry VIII. whereupon the jurors find that Robert, son of John Baron Fitzwalter, aged thirty years, is cousin and next heir of John Ratcliffe, deceased. Thus the manors of Ratcliffe and Oswaldtwisle became vested in this noble family*.

Again, by † inquisition of lands in Sharples, taken after the death of Thomas Ratcliffe, of Farmedon, it was found that he was son of Sir Geoffry, son of Henry, oldest son of James Radcliffe, of Farmedon, which James had another son John, who had a son John Radcliffe, knight, who married Elizabeth daughter and heiress of Walter Lord Fitzwalter. I have been the more particular in stating these circumstances, as they were before utterly unknown, and the origin of a family, which, from the younger branch of a private house, shot up in two or three generations almost to the summit of English nobility, was lost in obscurity. Whoever alone had hinted that they were a branch from Ordsall. The compilers of the Lancashire pedigrees, who had good materials, had they had the acuteness or industry to use them, have given under Radcliffe of Radcliffe, nothing but a mass of absurdities and contradictions. I have therefore drawn up the annexed table from inquisitions and other authentic evidences, in which the reader will observe, 1st, that one link only is wanting to connect James Radcliffe, of Farmedon, with the parent house; and, 2dly, that Richard Ratcliffe, in his deed of settlement, fairly postponed the older branch of Farmedon, and vested the estates in the Fitzwalters, in failure of male issue from his brothers. Such are the attractions of wealth and rank ‡.

* As a collateral proof that this great family were actually possessed of the manor of Radcliffe, a little after this time, Robert earl of Sussex, presented Robert Assheton acolyth to the church of Radcliffe, 1538. Assheton MSS.

† Inq. post mort. Tho. Radcliffe 19 Hen. VIII. cert. Prem. in Sharples desc. Robto. Vic. Radcliffe Fitzwalter Dno. de Egremont ut cons. et hæ. Johis. R. filii Jacobi Radcliffe fil. Johis. R. nuper Dni. Fitzwalter filii Joh. R. mil. fil. Joh. Radcliffe fil. Jacobi Radcliffe. This ascertains the descent beyond a doubt.

‡ It must be observed that, in the Lancashire pedigrees, almost every step in this descent is wrong; but in the annexed table, every generation from the third to the seventh, is authenticated by charters among the Townley MSS. and from thence to the last John, by a variety of evidences, compared with the following memorandum of the earlier

In the next place, this Robert, now become earl of Sussex, and knight of the garter, by will dated 34 Henry VIII. devised the manor of Oswaldtwisle to Henry Northey, his servant, for the term of fifty years, in trust, for the payment of certain legacies, reversion to Henry his son; and this Henry, then earl of Sussex, anno 3 Edward VI. bargained and sold the reversioned to Andrew Barton, of Smethells, esq. Sir Thomas Barton, knight, held this manor 12 Charles, and Thomas Barton, of Smethells, esq. had an only daughter and heiress Grace, married to Henry, son and heir of Thomas Viscount Fauconberg, by whom Thomas, the second viscount, who, about the year 1722, sold this manor to James Whalley, of Sparth, and Christopher Baron, of Oswaldtwisle, gents. for the sum of £.3,700. The latter moiety is now the property of Thomas Baron, of Knuzden (Knusden), esq. and the former was lately sold by Sir John Whalley Smythe Gardiner, bart. for upwards of £.16,000; an enormous increase in less than eighty years.

It must be observed that, by the latter inquisitions, 20 Henry VI. 18 Henry VII. 10 James I. this manor is found to be held by knight's service, but they are of no authority when contradicted by the great inquisition of 1311.

This township never having been inhabited by the great family to whom it belonged, has had no principal manor-house or any other remains of English antiquity, to render it interesting. This deficiency, however, will be amply compensated by the following account of Ratcliffe itself, which, though separated by Irwell from the parish of Bury, the extremity of the Honor of Clitheroe, I insert, without apology for transgressing the bounds originally prescribed to this work.

RADCLIFFE, so called unquestionably from a cliff of red stone * immediately opposite, is situated warm and low, upon a fertile domain of the finest grazing ground, once a park, upon the South West bank of Irwell, now united with the Roch, and become a considerable stream.

In the Domesday Survey it appears, that “Rex E. ten. Radelive. p. m. ibi 1 hida et alia hida pertin.” The church, it appears, was not yet founded. The personal name does not occur till about a century later; and the genealogical account of the family has already been traced.

But the remains of Radcliffe Tower prove it to have been a manor-house of the first rank. It has been quadrangular, but two sides only remain; and the following licence to kernel and embattle, will shew not only what it was when entire, but the name of the founder and the æra of its erection.

part of Henry VIII. which I fortunately met with in the church chest of Blackburn: “Ric. de Radcliff vetus qui genuit Wilm. qui Ric. qui Wilm. qui Jacobum, qui Ricard. qui Jac. qui Joh. qui Rog. qui Joh. nunc infr. æt. exist.” In this pedigree it must be observed, that the descent passes immediately from father to son, so that the last Richard who settled the estate, and John his brother, who was also possessed of it, are omitted. And, for the same reason, I suppose Ralph de Ratcliff, to whom I have assigned a place as elder brother of the first James, whose seal I have seen with only one bend, (the other Ralphs, who were of Smethells, which whole line the Lancashire pedigrees have foisted into the line of Ratcliffe, sealed with two) and without any difference. The inscription in Longobardic letters of Edward III.'s time, S. RÆDVLPPI DE RÆDCLIF.

* This is confirmed by the French *Rugemont*.



p. 402.

Engraved by James Hagire

To CHARLES CHADWICK Esq.
(of MANSLEY RIDGWAY,
this Plate Engraved at
his most obliged &
(



of HEALY HALL, in LANCASHIRE,
in STAFFORDSHIRE. ()
his Expense is inscribed by
obedient () Servant
the Author.



“ *Paten. de Anno Henrici Quarti quarto. p. 2. m. 11.*

“ Rex omnibus ad quos hæ litteræ nostræ Patentes p'venerint salutem. Sciatis qd. de gratia nostra speciali concessim: et licenc. dedimus pro nobis et heredibus n'ris quantum in nob: est dilecto arm'o n'ro Jacobo de Radclif, ut ipse manerium suum de Radclif quod de nobis ut de ducatu Lancast. tenetur in capite ut dicitur, cum muris de petris et calce de novo includere et infra eosdem muros quandam Aulam cum duabus Turribus de petris et calce similiter de novo facere, et eosdem muros aulam et turres sic factos kernellare et battellare. Ac manerium illud sic inclusum cum aula et turribus p'dictis sic kernellatis et battelatis tanquam quoddam Fortalitium tenere possit sibi et heredibus suis imperpetuum sine impetitione aut impedimento nostro vel heredum n'ror. aut minist. nostr. vel dict. hered. nost. quor'cumq. In cujus rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus Patentes.

“ Teste rege apud castrum de Pontefract. xv die Augusti p. ipsum regem.”

The plate annexed exhibits, from the upper end, the noble old hall, forty-three feet two inches in length, and in one part twenty-six feet, in another twenty-eight feet in width. The two massy principals which support the roof are the most curious specimens of antient wood-work I have ever seen. The broadest piece of timber is two feet seven inches by ten inches. A wall plate on the outside of one beam from end to end measures two feet by ten inches. The walls are finished at the square with a moulded cornice of oak. The pillar at the right has neither capital nor moulding, and appears to have been inserted at a later period, when the hall underwent a repair.

At the bottom of this room is a door opening into one of the towers, the lower part of which only remains, of massy groutwork, and with three arches, each furnished with a funnel or aperture like a chimney.

On the left side of the hall are the remains of a very curious window-frame of oak, wrought in Gothic tracery, but square at top.

Near the top of the hall, on the right, are the remains of a door-way, opening into what was once a staircase, and leading to a large chamber above the kitchen, the approach to which beneath, was by a door of massy oak, pointed at top. The kitchen and apartment above, stood at right angles to the top of the hall, and are separated from it by a wall of oak work. The chamber is thirty-eight feet long by eighteen feet five inches, and has two massy arches of oak, without mouldings, but an oaken cornice moulded like those in the hall; the floor of thick oaken planks; height, to the point of the arches, sixteen feet.

Over the high tables of ancient halls (as is the case in some college halls at present) it was common to have a small aperture, through which the lord or master could inspect, unseen, what was going on in the hall below.

But in this situation at Radcliffe, is a ramified window of oaken work, opening from the apartment above-mentioned, but now closed up*. This consists of eight arches with trefoil pointed tops, 4 and 4, with two narrower apertures above.

In the adjoining parish church, which, from the form of its arches, may appear to be nearly contemporary with the tower, an alabaster slab, on the North-west side of the altar.

* It may be doubted whether they were ever intended for any thing but ornaument, or were ever open.

covers the remains of James de Radcliffe, the founder of the latter. There are, as usual, a male and female figure cumbent, the man in armour, and some remains of children in praying attitudes beneath. What can be retrieved of the inscription round the verge, is as follows:

Orate pro anima Jacobi de Radcliff, &c.

- - - - - quia - propter Deum.

There are two shields of arms on this stone — one, Radcliff; the other paly of six, colours gone, for Euby.

In the East window is the crowned head of an old man, with a red rose above, probably intended for Henry VI. in his later days, as the Ratcliffes were zealous Lancastrians*. In another, on the South side, now obscured by the vestry, are two shields — one, Ratcliffe; the other, three chevronels; and above, a female head crowned, much younger than the king's, and probably intended for Queen Margaret. It is at least a portrait, and has no resemblance to the heads of the Virgin, so common in painted glass.

These are the only remains of this eminent family in a church which must have been the place of their interment for more than three centuries.

It would be unpardonable to conclude the present account without mentioning that to this place and family are attached the tradition and ballad given by Dr. Percy † under the name of Isabella, but here applied to a Lord Thomas and faire Ellenor, father and daughter, whose figures are supposed to be graven on the slab described above, which the common people, concluding, I suppose from its whiteness, that it was meant as an emblem of the innocence it is said to cover, have mutilated, by breaking off small fragments, as amulets for the prevention or the cure of disorders.

Traditions, always erroneous in their circumstances, are yet rarely devoid of foundation; and, though the pedigrees of Radcliff exhibit no failure of the family by the premature death of an heiress, though the last Richard de Radcliff, who had daughters ‡ only, certainly did not make “a scullion boy the heir of all his land,” when he settled it on Radcliff Baron Fitzwalter, though the blood actually pointed out on the kitchen floor where this Thyestæan banquet is said to have been prepared, deserves no more regard than many other stories and appearances of the same kind; yet, when we recollect that even in this age of civilization and decorum, a family of considerable rank enjoy an estate procured for them by a murder for which their father suffered; we are not to discard, as incredible, the tradition of a barbarous age, merely because it asserts the sacrifice of a young and beautiful heiress to the jealousy or the avarice of a step-mother.

When this is granted, the story of the pie, with all its horrors, may safely be ascribed to the inventive genius of a minstrel.

On the whole, Radcliffe is a place which, from its antiquity and splendour, the great families which have branched out from it, and the romantic tradition attached to it, can scarcely be surveyed without enthusiasm, or quitted without regret.

* It is singular that the Fitzwalter Radcliff's, to whom the estate afterwards descended, were equally zealous Yorkists, and even adopted the fetterlock as their cognizance.

† Ancient songs and ballads, vol. III. p. 154.

‡ He died A. D. 1502, as per inq. aged 31, and leaving daughters, which are not noticed in the descent.

Simon de Radeclive demised lands in Radeclive, for
a term of years, to Henry de Oswaldtwisel.

John de Muriel, daughter of Sir Tho. Bamville, knt. lord of Stourton, died without issue. Alexander de Radeclive, son and heir of Simon, died before 31st Henry III.

Adam de Radeclive, who petitioned against Roger de Oswaldtwisel 30 Henry III. for the lands in Radeclive demised for a term of years by his grandfather, whose heir he then was. Agnes, sister of Uctred de Church.

Peter de Radeclive, brother of the whole blood to Roger. Roger de Radeclive, brother of the whole blood to Peter. Agnes, his wife, living in the time

Elizabeth Radclyffe, eldest daughter and coheir, aged 15 years at her father's death; married to Christopher Spilman, of Stow, in Norfolk, esq. and died 3 Nov. 21 Henry VIII. Had issue. Eleanor Radclyffe, 2nd daughter and coheir, aged 13 years 1487, married to Thomas Lovell, of Enfield, in the county of Middlesex, esq. and died a widow, 27 July, 10 Hen. VIII. before she had obtained livery of her inheritance. Had issue. Johanna Radclyffe, 3rd and youngest daughter and coheir, aged 9 years, 1487, married to John Sturges, of Cranwick, in the county of Norfolk, before 9 March, anno 12 Henry VIII.

Jane Radclyffe, unmarried in 1542; to whom her father by will gave the wardship and marriage of the young Lord Berkeley, to the end that she should marry him; but she became wife of Anthony Browne, Viscount Montacute, K. G. and died 1552. Had issue. Sir John Radclyffe, of Clive, in the county of Somerset, knt. only issue by 3rd venter, aged 18 years at his mother's death. He died without issue 9 Nov. 1568, buried at St. Olave's, Hart Street, London. Anne, daughter of Thomas Benholt, esq. Clarencieux King of Arms, died 10 Dec. 1658, buried at St. Olave's, Hart Street, London.

Jane, younger of the two daughters of Sir Francis Hind, of Madingley, co. Cambridge, relict of John Catesby, esq. and had married to her 1st husband William West, of Marsworth, 2nd wife, ob. s. p. Edward Radclyffe, 6th and last Earl of Sussex, &c. succeeded his cousin Robert 5th Earl, 1629, then about 68 years of age; he married to his 1st wife daughter of Sir William Porte, knt. and widow of Gostwick; died without issue 1641, aged 87. Eleanor, dau. of Sir Richard Wortley, of York, bart. relict of Sir Henry Lee, of Quenden, co. Bucks, bart. remarried to Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick. Elizabeth Radclyffe, 3rd dau. married to Henry Owen, of Wotton, co. Surrey, esq. Martha Radclyffe, 4th and youngest daughter, married to William Gostwick, of Willington, in the county of Bedford, esq.

Jane Owen, only issue and heir of her mother, 1617, then living a widow. Sir William Gostwick, of Willington, aforesaid, created a Baronet 10 James I. died 1615.

Jane Radclyffe, illegitimate daughter, at length only surviving issue, aged 16 years at her mother's death, then wife of Sir Alexander Radclyffe, of Ordshall, in the county palatine of Lancaster, K. B. who by her had the manors of Attilbrough, Henham, Debden, &c. She had issue.

CHURCH.

Cōtiguous to Clayton, Oswaldtwisle, and Accrington, is Church, so called undoubtedly from the circumstance of its having a place of worship erected within it before it had acquired another name. This is one of the chapels of the old foundation, endowed like all the rest, one only excepted, with two oxgangs of land, which measure exactly 32 acres 10 roods. This chapel, dedicated to St. James, is parochial, and in the patronage of Assheton Lord Curzon. It is a plain and decent building, with a tower, one aisle and a choir, all apparently built at one time. No part of the original structure, which was certainly erected as early as the reign of Henry III. from the occurrence of the proper name “de Church,” in charters of that period, is now remaining. The present building is of uncertain antiquity, but, from many appearances about it, may be referred to the latter part of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. Here are no monuments or sepulchral memorials of any importance.

Of the first lords of this village, I meet with

Ughtred de Church, s. d.

Then with

Peter del Church,

Helias de Church,

|

Alexander, his son.

All these were clearly prior to the reign of Edward II. for in the year 1311, 4th of that reign, it was found in the great inquisition post mortem Hen. de Lacy, that Rob. de Rishton held in Chirch

1 carucate of freehold land for the render of - - - - - 6 0

And doing suit and service from three weeks to three weeks, at Clitheroe - 0 0

At the same time Oswaldtwisle appears to have been included within Chirch, for it was found also that

William de Radcliff held in Chirch 2 carucates in thanage, for the
render of - - - - - 10 0

And suit of court.

Yet it is found, .. Edward III. that Richard de Ratcliffe held 2 carucates of land in Oswaldtwisle and Duckworth, by military service. This however was an usurpation.

The different branches of the Rishtons who sprung from the neighbouring village of that name, but became extinct in the last century, had large property in this and the adjoining townships. They held Dunkenhalgh, Poutalgh, Dunnishop, and Antley.

In a charter of the reign of Henry VI. relating to Church, I have met with an attestation of the famous Sir Bertine Eintwisell, viscount and baron of Bolebec, which seems to confirm our claim to him as a Lancashire man.

In the inquisition of 1650, Lambeth MSS. 912, it was found that the parochial chapelry of Church consisted of Church, Oswaldtwisle, Huncote, and part of Clayton, containing two hundred families, that the minister, James Rigby, A.M. received £.10. per annum, from the rectory, and £.30. from the commissioners of the county, and that the inhabitants desired to be made a parish.

“ Mr.

“ Mr. Rigby was ordained by the presbytery of Blackborne, at Church Kirke, the first of August, 1648 *.” Supposing these men to have been duly qualified to confer holy orders, the circumstance of ordaining upon the place, and of exacting from the candidate solemn engagements for the discharge of his duty, in the face of the congregation which he had been appointed to serve, was primitive and proper.

In order to throw things of a sort together, and because great part of this history was printed off before I met with the MS. below, I will put down from thence a few particulars which I have gleaned out of it.

I have said, p. 159, that I have not been able to learn in which of the presbyterian classes in Lancashire, Whalley was included, neither indeed am I yet informed of the number; the following, however, are a few of their proceedings :

Mr. John Bell, minister of Accrington, approved by the classis at Whalley, Dec. 5, 1647.

Mr. John Briars, minister of Padiham, nominated in the ordinance for the classis.

Mr. Henry Morris, minister of Burnley, do.

Mr. Richard Redman, minister of Low Church, in Walton, do.

Mr. John Brown, minister of Newchurch, in Pendle, approved by the committee of ministers at Whalley, March 11, 1646.

Mr. Lapage, approved by the classis at Whalley for the same, May 8, 1648.

Mr. Barnard, ordained Dec. 4, 1649, at the chapel of Over-Darwen, by the classis of Blackborne Hundred.

HASLINGDEN.

On a bold, but somewhat bleak elevation, in the midst of that great aperture between the hills which connects the parish of Whalley with that of Bury, and the low country of Lancashire to the South, is the populous and thriving town of Haslingden, so called undoubtedly from the groves of that shrub, which, in the once woody state of the country, overspread the deans or bottoms beneath. That they have been so overspread, is attested by great quantities of roots which are frequently turned up in digging.

Here is a parochial chapel of the old foundation, dedicated to St. James, and in the patronage of the vicar of Whalley, originally endowed with one oxgang, or about fifteen acres of land only.

It was rebuilt about thirty years ago, in a plain, substantial, and convenient manner. The old tower however remains, as does the font, which is of Henry VIIIth's time. It bears, in different compartments, on two sides, the arms of Towneley, of Towneley, and Townley, of Royle: on a third, another shield, charged with five escallop shells 3 and 2, of which I know not to what family it belonged: and, on a fourth, the cypher, in old English characters E. J. From all these circumstances, I conjecture it to have been an offering of Gilbert Holden, of Holden, whose mother was a daughter of Royle, and his father one of the Esquires to Sir Richard Towneley, of Towneley, whom, in 1549, he appointed superintendant of his will, by the name of “ his master.”

* MS. entitled Minister's Orders, 1649, pen. L. P. Starkie, arm.

In the old church was an aisle on the North side of the choir belonging to the family of Rawsthorne, of Newhall, in Tottington, and another on the South side belonging to the Holdens, of Holden, but purchased by the inhabitants in order to preserve the uniformity of the new erection.

A brass plate, upon a stone before the steps of the altar, commemorates the late rector of Whitechapel, a native of this place, with the excusable partiality of surviving friendship.

Juxta paternos et maternos cineres
suos hic humari voluit
JOHANNES HOLMES, S. T. P.
Coll. Ænei Nasi apud Oxonienses olim socius,
deinde
ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ de Whitechapel, Londini,
rector.

Ab amicis superstitibus hac tabula
posterorum simul laudibus commendatus,
vir sincerus, urbanus, amabilis,
erga parentes apprimè pius,
Amicis præcipue benignus et jucundus,
cæteris omnibus comitate morum acceptissimus,
regno et ecclesiæ Anglicanis,
utpote felici quodam temperamento constitutis,
amore et reverentia fideliter devinctus,
evangelii denique minister
doctrina, moribus, fide ornatus,
spectabilis, incorruptus.

Obiit die Augusti 17mo.

Anno ætat. 51mo. Domini 1795.

By inquisition taken at Blackburn, June 25th, 1650, it was found, that the parochial chapelry of Haslingden consisted of the township of that name, and of part of Rossendale, viz. Newhall-hey, part of Rawtonstall Booth, Oakenheadwood Booth, Constable-lee-Booth, and part of Crawshaw Booth, consisting together of three hundred families; that the minister was Mr. Robert Gilbert, suspended by the divines (we are not told for what offence), and that the inhabitants desire to be made a parish. Lambeth MSS.

By inquisition taken after the death of Henry de Lacy, the last earl of Lincoln, A. D. 1311, there were found in Haslingden,

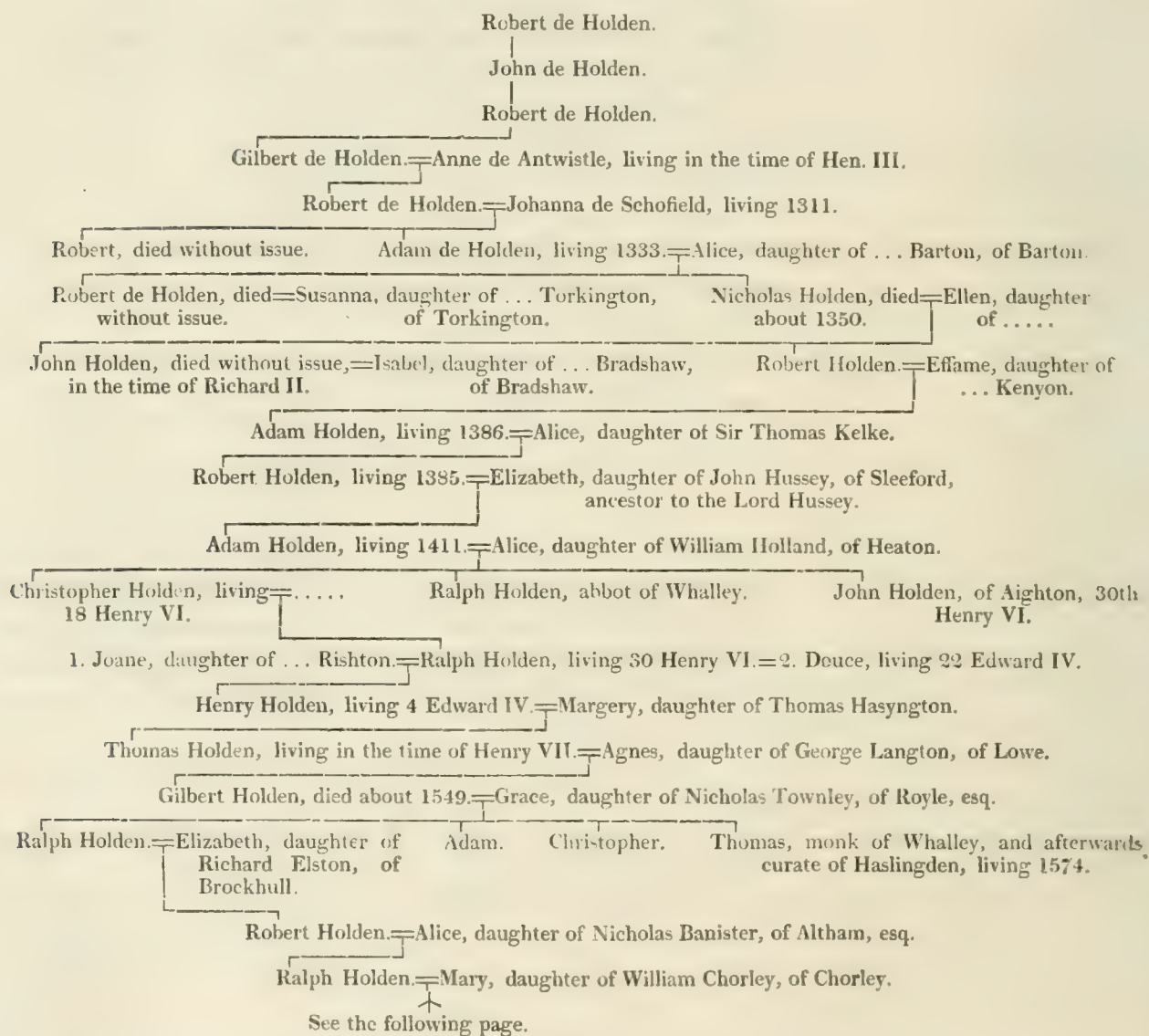
	£.	s.	d.
Demised to tenants at will 123 acres 1 rood - - - - -	3	1	1
(Free tenants) Dns. Rob. de Holland, pro le Ewood - - - - -	0	5	0
Rob. de Holden - - - - -	0	13	1
Adam de Holden, 60 acres - - - - -	0	2	0

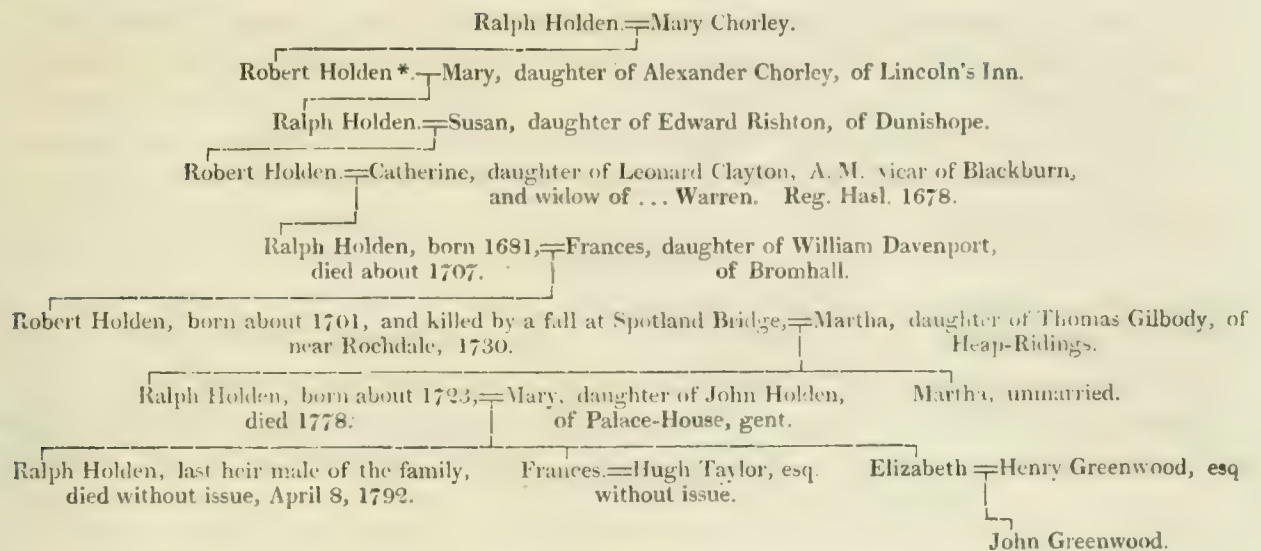
The smallness of this last sum implies a grant of very high antiquity. Of the estate of Holden (so called from *Pol cava* and *dene convallis*, (see Thoresby's *Duc. in voc. Holebeck*,) it is extraordinary, that though indisputably freehold at first, and once, anno 1411, conveyed even as a manor, it has long since been degraded into a copyhold, a circumstance not easily accounted for, but by supposing that in the days of feudal rigor, some owner voluntarily sunk his estate from a nobler to a baser tenure, in order to avoid the burdens of wardship, reliefs, &c. to which lands holding in socage were equally exposed with those held by military service.

Holden has given name to a very antient family, whose descent, transcribed from a vellum roll belonging to the last owner, but corrected or confirmed by many ancient charters, is as follows :

PEDIGREE OF HOLDEN.

Arms. A chevron, Ermine, in base, a cup, covered, Argent.





* He was the first protestant in the family, for which reason his father left the estate of Kelke to charitable uses, Holden and Duckworth being settled.

BOOK V.

PARISHES SEVERED FROM WHALLEY, BEFORE AND SINCE THE CONQUEST.

CHAPTER I.

PARISH OF BLACKBURN.

AN opulent and respectable town in a most unmarked and barren situation, on the bank of an inconsiderable brook anciently called the “Blakeburn” or Yellow Stream *, which having transferred its own appellation to the place, is itself become anonymous.

The first mention of Blackburn is contained in *Domesday Book*, where we read that “*Rex Edwardus tenuit Blakeburne : ibi duo hidæ et duo carucatæ terræ : Ecclesia habebat duo bovatas de hac terra.*”

At what period, antecedent to this survey, the church of Blackburn was founded and endowed, it is now impossible to ascertain ; but a chain of evidence, reaching nearly from that time will prove that though a glebe of two oxgangs of land was allotted to it from the beginning, the manor and advowson were early united, that the benefice was held for several descents by the lords of the town, and that they required, in order to institution, the same commendatory letters from the chief lord of the see, which we have noticed under the deanery of Whalley.

There are also many circumstances which lead to a conclusion that the family de Blackburn, lords, patrons, and incumbents, of this town and church, were a branch from the decanal house of Whalley. That this parish was severed during the existence of the deanery from the original parish of Whalley, and not only endowed with its own tithes, but, on account of its barrenness, with a fourth part of those of Whalley also, is certain ; that the deans should consent to so large a defalcation from their own benefice, but for the advantage of a son or other near relative is highly improbable : that the church of Rochdale, which arose at a later period, was actually founded for the same purpose, may be clearly proved, and, in addition to this evidence, the armorial bearings of the Blackburn family, viz. a fess undy between three mullets,

* The word “blake” in this sense is still familiar in the north of Lancashire, and the brook is thus denominated in charters of the thirteenth century, and even as late as 1577, by Harrison, in his *Description of Britain*.

which

which differ very little from those borne by the first line of the Townleys, immediate descendants from the last dean, seem to evince that both were branches of the same parent stock.

We will now attend to the combination of evidence * which proves the union of this manor and advowson, as well as that peculiar right of paramount patronage in the Lacies, which was considered under the Deanery of Whalley.

1st, Then, Henry de Lacy the first, grants the church of Blackburn to Henry the clerk of Blackburn, as fully as Johannes, &c. had held it.

Then follows a confirmation, which at that time had the effect of institution, from Richard Peeke, Bishop of Litchfield, of this grant to the said Henry, as fully as Gamaliel, or Gilbert, or his other “antecessores” had held it. This was between the year 1161, when Peeke became Bishop of Litchfield, and 1182, when he died.

2dly, Appears a grant from Robert de Lacy, who died in 1193, to Adam de Blackburn, his clerk, of that mediety of the church which Richard his antecessor had held.

3dly, In the next place, John de Lacy being desirous to confer this benefice on the monks of Stanlaw, about the year 1230, purchased from Richard de Hulton, to whom the mediety of Adam had descended by marriage, all his right in the advowson of the church of Blackburn.

This object being attained, the next step was a grant to the abbey of Stanlaw, from John de Lacy, of the same mediety, with the chapels of Law and Samlesbury; followed by an appropriation under the seal of the Chapter of Litchfield, dated 1230, and confirmed by Alexander de Sevensby, bishop of Litchfield, 1238.

Soon afterwards, having obtained the second mediety from Roger, son of another Adam, who writes himself *Compersona de Blakeburne*, this munificent benefactor bestowed that also on the same house. The latter grant was confirmed at Ightenhill, by Edmund de Lacy, A. D. 1251, and the mediety appropriated by Roger, bishop of Litchfield, 1259. The whole church now being acquired by the monks, an augmentation of the vicarage, for of the first endowment the traces are very obscure, took place under the administration of Roger de Meuland.

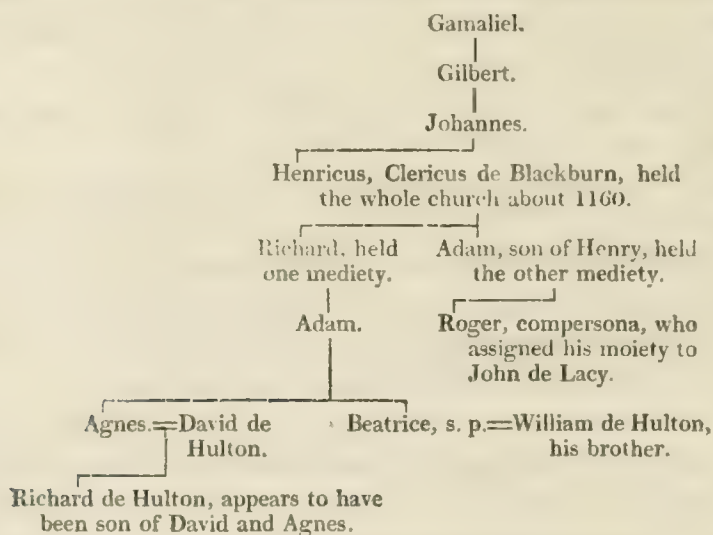
This instrument, which is the endowment of the present vicarage, bears date at Heywood, one of the episcopal palaces of Litchfield, 14 kal. Mar. 1277, and ordains that the said vicarage shall consist in a competent manse heretofore assigned to the vicar, in two oxgangs of land, the original and the present glebe, and in forty marks payable by the abbot and convent of Stanlaw, in the same church, at the festivals of Easter and Michaelmas, by equal portions.

The following table will afford a synopsis of these transactions:

Eccle: de Blackburn cum Caps. de Law & Samlesbury & Portione 4ta de Whalley.	}	Don. utr: med. dns. Joh. de Lacy
		Conf. 1mum. med. Alex. ep. Litch.
		Conf. 2dam. med. Rog. Ep. & Conv. de Covent.
		P. P. Alex. 4tus. conf. utramq.
		Ord. 2dæ vicariæ per Rog. epum—1277.
		Conf. ordinationis per Joh. Peckham, Abp. Cant.

* This chain of evidence has been combined partly out of materials remaining in the *Coucher Book*, but principally out of a noble series of original charters now remaining in the chest of the parish church at Blackburn, from the æra of deeds without date, in the possession of the Blackburnes; through that of the Radcliffs, Bartons, and Fauconbergs, down to the final alienation of their moiety about eighty years ago. In one part of this series the seals of the Radcliffs, of Eggworth, and Tingreave, with the double bends, are in high preservation indeed—a feast to the eyes of an antiquary.

From these evidences also, which are found in the *Coucher Book* of Whalley, tit. 3. may be collected the following table of the hereditary rectors and lords of Blackburn, nearly from the conquest.



The first Vicar of Blackburn under the ordination of Roger de Meuland, was William de Lenches, who promised “in verbo sacerdotis” not to procure any farther augmentation. He occurs in 1289 *.

Next, but after a long interval, appears Adam or John de Gristhwaite, about 1360 †.

Then, William Wetherby, 1384 ‡. Geoffry Banister, 1419.

Henry Salley, Monk of Whalley, 1480 §.

Afterwards the parish register supplies the following names :

John Morres, who occurs A. D. 1608. Adam Bolton, 1634.

Leonard Clayton, A. M. He was son of the family of Little Harwood.

Francis Price, A. M. He built the present vicarage house, and was a very active and useful man, resolute in the defence of his church's rights in the reign of James II ||.

John Holme, died 1738, aged 63.

John Potter, A. M. son of Archbishop Potter, afterwards D. D. and Dean of Canterbury, 1770.

John Woollen, A. M. Rector of Emley, Yorkshire, 1742.

John White, A. B. brother to the elegant historian of Selborne, and himself an excellent naturalist, 1772 ¶.

Thomas Starkie, A. M. late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, instituted 1780, the present respectable and worthy incumbent.

* 16 Cal. Jul. 1317, Dns. Adam de Walbonk, inst. Vic. de Blackburn, vac. per mort. Gul. de Lench.

† Id. Oct. 1362, Joh. de Lyndelay, Cl. inst. Vic. de Blackburn.

‡ Inst. 1369.

§ Dec. 16, 1489, Hen. Salley, mon. inst. vic. Blackburn, post mort. Dns. Rob. Salley. Reg. Litchfield.

|| Vide Langho and Darwen.

¶ He left in MS. a natural history of Gibraltar, where he had long resided as chaplain to the garrison.

The history of the church of Blackburn being now deduced to the present period, it remains that we trace the descents of the manor* to which the advowson was originally regardant, and with which it long continued to be united.

The reader, however, in order to understand the following details, must bear in mind that, under the successive alienations of the two medietyes of the church, the demesnes and other rights of the manor of Blackburn, which had been divided with the former, and had, like the demesnes of Whalley, grown to be considered as rectorial glebe, were also included. Accordingly when John de Lacy acquired the first mediety from the Hultons as representatives of Adam de Blackburn, he bestowed a moiety of the church with all its rights, as distinct from those of the manor, upon the Abbot and Convent of Stanlaw, but having purchased the second mediety from Roger the last “compersona” he transferred to the same house the whole demesne and other manerial rights belonging to this portion, besides those of the church properly so called. Those of course remained parcel of the possessions of the abbey of Stanlaw and Whalley successively, and after the dissolution were re-granted by Edward VIth to the see of Canterbury, in which they are still vested, together unquestionably with half the manerial rights as well as half the ancient manerial demesne of the town of Blackburn†.

But I have already said that John de Lacy was more reserved in his bounty with respect to the moiety of Adam de Blackburn, and in his concession to the abbey of Stanlaw, actually severed once more from that mediety of the church, the moiety of the manerial rights and demesne which had been attached to it by the Blackburns, in consequence of having, for several succeeding generations, sustained the united character of lords and incumbents.

Accordingly, Lacy having received a quit claim from Richard de Hulton of all his right in the advowson of Blackburn, re-grants to him eight oxgangs of land in Blackburn, which were in fact a moiety of the very demesnes in question, but without any mention of the manor, which, of course vested in himself as grantee of the whole under Hulton, beside his right as chief lord of the fee.

Thus matters rested with respect to this moiety of the demesnes of Blackburn, till 8 Edward III. when Richard de Hulton quit-claimed all his lands in Blackburn to Robert de Radcliffe, younger son of Richard de Radcliffe, of Radcliffe. This Robert had a son, William, the first of his name settled at Smethells, who bore arms, two bends engrailed, Sable, from whom Sir Raphe Radcliffe, whose daughter and sole heir Johanna married Robert Barton, of Holme, progenitor of the Bartons, of Smethells; and, in the 20th of Henry VIIth is a letter of attorney from John Barton, of Smethells, son of this marriage, empowering Robert Rush-ton to receive possession of *the manor* of Blackburn, from Joan Barton, widow.

This is one instance among many, both in this county and that of York, in which a carucate, *i. e.* eight oxgangs, or any other very considerable portion of the demesnes of a township, when granted out at an early period, in a course of years, first comes to be described

* The connexion of the several manors within the parishes of Blackburn, Ribchester, and Chipping, and the paramount fee is very feeble, consisting only of some small prescriptive payments, and the duty of attending by their constables the great leet at Clithero Castle.

† After the division of this manor and benefice, I think it probable that the residence of one of the branches, before the alienation of their respective moietyes, was at Audley Hall, and the other at the place called the Little Peele, where a mote still marks the site of a very ancient mansion.

as a manor, and the owners are gradually found to enter upon the exercise of manerial rights without any formal grant: for, in all the conveyances of the Radcliffes, during their possession, I meet with no vestige of the name, but in all succeeding times, even to the last sale of the premises, which will be noticed below, manerial rights have actually been exercised by the holders of this moiety as for the whole manor of Blackburn, notwithstanding the far superior claim of the see of Canterbury to the other moiety.

The House of Smethells, which still remains entire, is delightfully situated on one of the first ascents from the great plain of Lancashire. It forms a complete quadrangle of wood and stone, two sides of which (one having a rude corridore supported on wooden posts, and the other forming the hall, butteries, &c. is certainly not later than Henry VI. probably earlier. The hall itself, now spoiled by a ceiling drawn across it at the square, by Sir Rowland Bellasis, has a fine arched roof in oak, not unlike that of Samlesbury, but later and inferior to it. The other two sides of the quadrangle are of Henry the VIIIth's time, and contain a dining-room and some chambers fitted up in the richest style of wainscot-work known in that age. The pannels are fluted in relief, and are finished at top with a rich Gothic cornice. Beneath are several cyphers of the Bartons, and one of a Radcliffe, together with many heads in profile, well cut in oak, and enclosed within medallions. This room has a deep rectangular embayed window. Scattered over the house are many squares of painted glass, with large tuns, and the letters BAR, in large characters, inscribed over them. The chapel (still domestic, and well fitted up for the use of the family and tenants) was rebuilt about seventy years ago, but from the arms of Archbishop Cranmer, in the East window, appears to have succeeded a former cotemporary with that part of the building to which it was attached. But many human bones having been found under the dining-room, it is probable that a still earlier chapel had stood upon that site. In a passage near the door of the dining-room, is a natural cavity in a flagg, somewhat resembling a man's foot, with a picked shoe, and this appearance has occasioned a tradition that the martyr Marsh, when brought before the then owner of Smethells for examination, stamped upon the place, and made a miraculous impression upon the stone, in confirmation of the truth of his opinions. The Bartons of this place held (as per Inq. Townley MSS.) the manors of Smethells, Tingreave, Hole, and a moiety of the manor of Blackburn. But Smethells is dependent on the superior manor of Sharples, the lord of which claims from the owner of this place a pair of gilt spurs annually, and by a very similar and inconvenient custom, the unlimited use of the cellar at Smethells for a week in every year. It does not appear, however, that the lord of Smethells was bound to the quantity or quality of the liquor with which his cellars were then to be stored.

Sir Robert Barton, Knt. was buried in the quire at Bolton, 1659, under a plain stone; and under an adjoining one, Sir Rowland Bellasis, K. B. 1699, and Lady Anne, his wife. Sir Rowland was remembered, by some aged people not long dead, to have been buried from Smethells by torch light. After his death the estate was sold (whether immediately I am not sure) to the Byroms, of Manchester, from whom it has been lately alienated for £.21,000. to Mr. Aynsworth, an opulent manufacturer in the neighbourhood. Another instance of an ancient estate swallowed up in the great modern vortex.

To return; Grace, daughter and heiress of Thomas Barton, of Smethells, esq. married Henry, son of Henry first viscount Fauconberg, whose descendant, Thomas viscount Fauconberg,

berg, in the year 1721, sold the manor of Blackburn (so entitled) with its appurtenances, to William Baldwin, Henry Fielden, and William Sudell, gents. for the sum of £.8650.

In a long contest between Lord Fauconberg and the town, in the last century, many obscure hints were thrown out of the manor being in the see of Canterbury, but from ignorance of the real state of the case, each party pretended to the whole; whereas the claim of the archbishop was to an original moiety of the genuine manor; and that of the Fauconberg family to manerial rights over the other moiety, which had arisen out of usage and sufferance.

In acknowledgment, however, of the paramount right of the honor of Clitheroe, the lords of the manor of Blackburn have for time immemorial paid an ancient chief rent of 4s. per annum, and 6s. 8d. for tolls and stallage.

In the church of Blackburn no part of the original structure* remains: the basis of the present building may be of the age of Edward III. if not later, but the middle aisle and choir were handsomely roofed in compartments early in the reign of Henry VIII. The north chapel† was the property and place of sepulture of the ancient family of the Osbaldestons, of whom, however, there are the following memorials:

“ M. S.

“ Edvardi Osbaldeston de Osbaldeston Armigeri Natalibus clari, animi vero magnitudine ingenioque clarioris, qui (postquam notis omnibus gratus xxxviii vixisset annos) hic requiescere voluit donec omnipotente Christi Redemptoris voce ad æternam gloriam resuscitabitur induendam. Mortales deposuit exuvias Calend. Junii MDCLXXXIX.”‡

On a brass plate, affixed to the wall, is the head of a bearded man in armour, with the arms of Osbaldeston above, and this inscription beneath:—

“ HERE LYETH THE BODY OF S^r EDWARD OSBALDESTON, A CHARITABLE, COURTEOUS,
AND VALIANT KNIGHT, QUI OBIIT A.D. 1636, ÆTATIS 63.”

The south chapel was enlarged and raised above the aisle which it terminates, for the foundation of a chantry, A. D. 1514, and exactly a century after, was divided by an award between the Talbots of Salesbury, and the Walmsleys of Dunkelhalgh, as representatives of the Rushtons, whose estates they had purchased, and who probably dated their property in this aisle from the time when they branched out from the ancient rectors and lords of Blackburn. The north part belongs to Salesbury, and the south to Dunkenhalth. In a niche yet remaining, was a magnificent monument, erected to the memory of Sir Thomas Walmsley, the judge. But the recess only remains, for the monument itself, which was an exact counterpart of that of Anne, duchess of Somerset, in Westminster Abbey, (vide Dart's Westminster, vol. I. p. 131,) was demolished by the Parliament's soldiers, A. D. 1642 §.

Foundation deeds of chantries are so rare, and the following, which relates to this chapel,

* John son of Henry de Blackburne, left an annual rent of four livres to God and the Church of St. Mary at Blackburne, to sustain two torches at the high altar of the parish church of that place, for the souls of his father, mother, ancestors, and heirs.

† By a singular custom the owner of this chapel prescribes to nominate the parish clerk.

‡ MS. notes of Mr. Money, formerly agent at Dunkelhalgh.

§ From the memoranda of Mr. Money, formerly agent at Dunkelhalgh. For the epitaph, vide that place.

so extremely curious, that I make no apology for inserting it at length, though from a copy somewhat defective.

“ This Indenture triptit’ maid betwene the right honorable Lord Thomas Erle of Darbie, on the one p’tie, the church masters or church reves of the p’rish church of Blackeburne, in the contie of Lanc’, now being, for the hole p’ishen’s of the said p’ishe and in their name, on the other p’tie, witnesseth that, where the said church reves and p’ishen’s have purchased certain landes, tenements, and hereditaments, p’cel freholde, and the other copyhold and custome lands, w’in the counties of Lancaster and Yorke, p’cularly specified in a schedule annexed unto theis p’sent indentures, as by certayne evidences consarning the pr’messes playnely doth appere, towards sustentation of a Chauntor — Chauntirie to be maid fond and establisshed for ever in the chapell of our blessed () in the southe side of the said p’rish church of Blackeburne, and also said Thomas Erle blessed and charitable minde, & for the zele & good love that he hath and bereth to certaine of his copyhold and costome landes called the Eggye-hey, being in Brunley, in the said countie, of the yerely rent of xv. over all charges all which landes and tenementes afore rehearsed, as well freehold as copyhold, shall be sufficiently and surely conveyed to the lawfal estate & possessionne of the saide Erle of Darbie, and yeve from and by the said Erle of Darbie to John Yorke, Georg Cowburne, Raufe Waddyntonne, Raufe Critchlawe, Henrie Fieldene, Willm. Ysherwood, Xpopher Mersden, Richard Crosse, Willm. Holden, Roger Wallay, Xpopher Bolton, Richard Hawkeshay, to have, &c.

& intent of the sustenation of the Chauntirie and of a Chantre Prest to the same, to continue for ever, according to certain covenantes, grantes, ordenances, and articls, hereafter insuing, concerning the establishyng and foundation of the said Chantre, hit is now covenanted, grauntyd, accorded, and agreed, by theis presents, betwene the p’tes above said, for them, ther heires, and successors for ever, concerning the ordenances, foundation, and establishyng of the said Chauntirie and Chanteer Prests of the same, from henceforthe successively hereafter to continue for ever, shall be founders of the said Chantrie and Patrones of the said Chaunter Priests there, and shall (have) the nomination, making and putting in of all the said Chantrie Prestes there for ever; and that ye said Erle w’in xx dayes next after ye date of thes p’sents, by his wryting under his seale, shall name and make Sir Edmund Bolton, Chantre Prest of the said Chantre, and to hy gyve the said Chantri, w’h all the land belonging to the same, to have and to enjoy ye same Chantri and Lands to the said Sir Edmund during his life, in sekeness and in health, the said Priest serving the said Chantri according to this p’sent ordenance and foundatio’; and that ye said erle and his heres withi’ xx daies next after that he or the shall have knowleg’ of the decease of ye said Sir Edmund, or of any other next avoidance of ye said Chauntiri, by resignation, amotion, privatio’, surrender, or other wayes, from ye said p’ishen’s, shall name, make, and put in by their writing, any other honest seculer prest, and no regular, sufficiently lerned in gramer and playn song, yf any such can be gotten, that shall kepe continually a fre gramer schole, and maintaine and kepe the one syde of the quere, as one man may, in his surplice, every holiday throughout the yere, to be Chantrie Prest ther during his lyfe; and in lykwyse with’ xx days after such voydance of the said Chauntiri, by death, resignation, privation, surrender, or other wayes, of every other Chauntirie Prest there, and after knowleg’ thereof gevn to the said erle and his heres, &c. that the said Erle of Darbie, and his heres for evar, by ther writing under ther seal shall nam, make, and put in another able
secular

secular Prest, sufficiently lerned in gramer and plane song, that shall kepe a fre gramer scole continually in Blackburne aforesaid, and shall maintayne the one side of the quere in the said p'ish church of Blackburn to his power every holyday at tym of ye devine service ther, and if it fortune at any voidance of any Chantri Prest th'n hereafter as is aforesaid that no secular Prest can be fond that is able and sufficiently lerned in gramer and plan songe, ther to learne and do as is aforesaid, then the said erle and his heres shall name, make, and put in, within xx daies next following, another able secular Prest, that is expert, and can sing both pricke song and plane songe, and hath a sight in Descant, if any such can be gotten, which shall teach a fre Song Scol in Blackburne aforesaid, and also shall kepe the quere in the said p'ish church, every holyday through the yere, at the time of al devine service kept there; and if no such Prest can be gotten, then the said erle and his heres to name and make such another able secular Prest to be Chantri Prest ch'wardens ther for the time being, shall think that shall be most sufficient for the maintenance of the quere service in the said church, and to kepe ther a fre gramer or song schole heres put in no such Chantri Prest ther according as is afore expressed, within tyme limited, that ye said churchwardens for ye tym being shall p'vid' put in and make gra't of the said Chantri and land, and for evy such tyme only, to a like able secular Prest, as is aforesaid, to serve ye saide Chantri for terme of his lyf witht or interruption of the said erle or his heres. Also it is agreed between ye saide pties, that none of the saide Prests shall be Prish Prest ther, or take any other cure or charge upon him, other than according to the present ordenance and fondation of ye said Chantri, saving alwaies, that if it happen any Chantrie Prest to take any moneye & profit, to say any trental or trentals, or otherwise to pray for any soule or soules, otherwise than is specified in this psent fondation, that then evy of them that take any such moneye or profit, shall pay one halfe thereof towards the repa'tion or making of the ornaments or o'r things necessary for the saide Chantri, by the order, sight, and assent, or appointment, of the said church reves ther for the time being.

“ Also it is agreed, ordained, and established, by the said p'ties to those p'sents, that the saide Sir Edmund Bolton, and other Chantri Prest of ye saide Chantri for ever, in all ther masses duely pray, speking by name for the soules of Thomas Erle of Darbie, late deceased, and my Lady his wyff, & Georg' Stanley Lord Strange, & my Lady Jane & their Children, & for the prosperous estate of the saide Erle of Derby, & of my Ladie of Derby his wiff, & for their issue & posteritie for ever; and furthermore for ye welfare of all ye p'rishioners of ye saide Prish, and of all other which have bene benefactors, helpers, assistants, or contributors, to the purchasing of any lands, juel, or ornament, or any thing appertaining to the saide Chantri quick or dead, & for all christyne soules; and that every of ye saide Chantri Prest, then for ever, every Sonday and holiday in the yere after the offering of his masse, shall turn hym to the peple and exhort them to prayr for all ye said psons, and () for ther soules the salme of De pfudis with a Pter noster and an Ave Maria, and with special suffrages after, and funeral collet as well for the quick as for the dead, ather by themselfe; and also every of ye Chantri Prest, then for ever, shall singe or saye mass in ye Chantri Chapel of our Ladie evy holiday, and evy Satterday, shall sing masse of our Ladie to note ther; and further that evy of the saide Chantri Prest ther and his scholers, and other such as may be goten iiii several tymes in the yere, for ever, that is to wete, ons evy quarter of a yere, shall singe a sollome dirgie

dirgie for the soules aforesaide, upon such holidayes as ye church reves of ye saide p'rish for the tyme being, or ye erle and his heres shall assigne and appoint ye said Chantri Prest so to do, and also on the morrow next after every such dirgie songe or said, ye saide Chantri Prest for ye same soules shall singe a masse of requiem with note, and evy such Chantri Prest ther for ever shall, every Wednesday or Friday say masse of J. Hu. C. (Jesus), or of ye V Woundes of our Lord J. C. in the said Chantri Chapel; and further all other daies in ye wike, shall saye masse, as he may or can be conveniently be well disposed thereunto; and evy of ye said Chantri Prest ther shall sing or say masses aforesaid, in ye said Chantri Chapil, about viii of ye clock aforenoon in ye somer tyme, yt is to saye, from Ester to Michelmes, and in ye winter tyme, and in all other tymes of ye yere about x of the clock in ye aforenoon, and yt for evy defaut and negligence of any of ye saide Chantri Prest in any of ye premisses with't sufficient and lawful excuse, the Chantri Prest offending, to pay and forfeit iiii*d.* to be received of the saide offender, by the saide church reves, or by ye assent of ye saide Chantri Prests, of the yssues and profits of ye landes and ten'ts afore apointed for ye sustentation of ye said Chantri, and all the said profits to go and be bestowed toward the reparation of ye ornaments of ye saide Chantri. Also it is agred by the said pties, that at all such tyme as it shall happen all ye fefes of ye said lands and tenements afore apointed for ye sustentation and mayntaining of the said Chantri, except iiii, or iii at the least, to decease, that then evy of the said Chantri Prests then and there being, shall make deligent labour to cause other xii of ye most honest men of ye said p'rish, to be named by the said church reves ther for the tyme being yf they can agree thereupon, to be fefes of ye p'messes, and to stand seized of according as ye fyrst fefes did, and else the said neww fefes to be named by ye said churchwardens, by the oversight and ordering of ye saide Erle of Darbie, and his heres, to stand and be seized of ye said landes and ten'ts, to ye use of ye sustentation of ye said Chantrie and Chantri Prests for ever to be named, appointed, and ordered, as is aforesaid, this is to say, of the frehold landes, by deed livery of season, thereupon to be made, and of the said copyhold landes and customary landes by surrender, according as to other customary landes, by copy of court roll, and to the fefes of the p'misses continually for ever to be ordered, and xii neww fefes to be mad and renewed according to the order and intent aforesaid, as oft as it shall happyn the residue of the saide fefes to dye, except iiii, or iii at ye lest; and thus evy of ye saide Chantri Prests ther mayd, as is aforesaid, shall, at ther first entri and admission thereunto by the said church reves, swere upon a boke afore the said church reves, truly to observe, and kepe, fulfil, and pform, all and evy of the p'msses, without any wilful breaking of the same. In witness wh'of evy part of the said indentures tpartite wearof one pte shall remayne with the saide erle and his heres, and another thereof shall remayne with the saide church reves for ye tyme being, and third p't in the costody of ye saide Chantri Prests successively for ev', as the said erle, as ye saide church reves now ther being by hold and fre assents of ye most p't of all ye p'ishon's of ye said prish of Blackburne, have set ther scales. Yeven at Lathu, ye iiii daye of Aprill, the yere of ye incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ m*dxiii.* and in the vth yere of the reyne of kyng Henrie ye yght.

From Dodsworth's MSS. I transcribed the following memorial: "In Sir John Talbot's Chapel Window, in Blackburn Church,

A. D. Pray for ye prosperous estate of ye Rt. Hon. Thomas, Erle of Derby, Viscount Kinton, Lord Strange, Lord of Unoken."

This evidently refers to the foundation mentioned above.

The parish of Blackburn is divided into two great portions, by a long, though interrupted ridge of high grounds, stretching from Whalley on the North to Hoghton Tower on the South. On the eastern side of this ridge stand the town and parish church, on a barren, naked, and sandy flat. All this portion of the parish, from the Hyndburne to the Derwent*, partakes of the same character, and has been very thinly sprinkled with ancient or considerable families. The western portion, descending from this ridge to the margin of the Ribble, has, or shews that it once had, every thing which the other wants: variety of landscape, fertility of soil, the decayed residence of many old families now extinct, and the vestiges of many noble woods now destroyed. Perhaps this tract is the more interesting because it is little known: a great commercial town having attracted the turnpike road eastward, which, had either beauty or general convenience been consulted, would have pursued the course of Ribblesdale.

At the southern extremity of this tract and of the original parish of Whalley, is Walton, with the chapel of Lawe, the only one on the old foundation under Blackburn, and endowed like most of the rest, with two oxgangs of land.

Adam de Blackburn, at the request of John de Lacy, his lord, grants to the abbot and convent of Stanlaw the chapel of Walton, with the lands, tithes, and obventions, belonging to it; subject to a payment of twenty marks per annum, to "Richard," son of the "Dean" until he shall be promoted to a better benefice†.

This manor was long the property of the Langtons, barons of Newton, one of those holding under the palatinate of Lancaster, till 32 Elizabeth, when Thomas Langton having unfortunately killed Thomas Hoghton, of Hoghton Tower, Esq. in a duel, made his peace with the family, by settling on them the manor of Walton‡.

Contiguous to Walton, on the North, and a part of the chapelry, is Keurdale, anciently the inheritance of Geoffry de Keurdale, whose grand-daughter, Johanna, marrying Thomas le Molineux, carried this manor, together with a moiety of that of Overderwen, and the lordship of Eccleshall§, into that family, 1 Richard II. It appears to have been the property of the Asshetons ever since Radcliff Assheton, born 1582.

* "Darwent (saith Harrison) divideth Lelandshire from Anderness: it riseth above Darwent Chappel; uniteth with the Blakeburne, then goeth through Hoghton Park and by Walton Hall into Ribble."

This stream, on the bank of which and of the Ribble, not far from their confluence, was fought a battle between Cromwell and Duke Hamilton, has been ennobled in a single line by Milton,

"And Darwen stream with blood of Scots embrou'd."

Sonnet to Cromwell.

A line which has been imitated and applied to another and distant stream of similar name, by Pope, in Windsor Forest,

"And silent Darent stained with Danish blood."

† Coucher Book, title 3. confirm. Alex. Ep. Litchf. an. pont. 5to.

‡ A licence was granted to Sir John Langton, by John Bishop of Chester, A. D. 1545, to have an oratory in his manor-house at Walton. Townley MSS.

§ Cart. orig. pen. W. Assheton, ar.

Immediately

Immediately adjoining, is the extensive manor of Samlesbury, of which the first lord who has been transmitted to us, was Gospatric de Samlesbury, contemporary with the two Geoffries, deans of Whalley. He founded the chapel (why so remote from the manor house it is difficult to conceive) which was at first a chapel of ease merely to Law; but we are told in the coucher book, that in the absence from England of Hugh de Nonant, bishop of Litchfield, who held the see from 1185 to 1199, two itinerant Irish bishops having taken up their residence with Gospatric, were by him prevailed upon to consecrate a cemetery, which rendered the chapel parochial. Hugh, on his return, irritated, as he had cause to be, at this infringement of his office, annulled the consecration; but, after some time, was prevailed upon by the entreaties of Gospatric, to confirm it. This chapel, though the burial place of the lords of Samlesbury from that time to their extinction, contains not a single memorial of the family, except the knightly ensigns of a Southworth; and nothing worthy of observation but an alabaster slab, covering William, son of Sir William Atherton, who married a daughter of Balderstone, and died at that place, about 19 Henry VI. Gospatric had Roger, who had William, whose daughter and coheiress Cicely marrying John de Ewyas, carried the manor of Samlesbury into that family, with whom it did not long remain; for daughter and heiress of Nicholas de Ewyas, son or grandson of John, married Sir Gilbert de Southworth, in whose descendants it remained for 350 years.

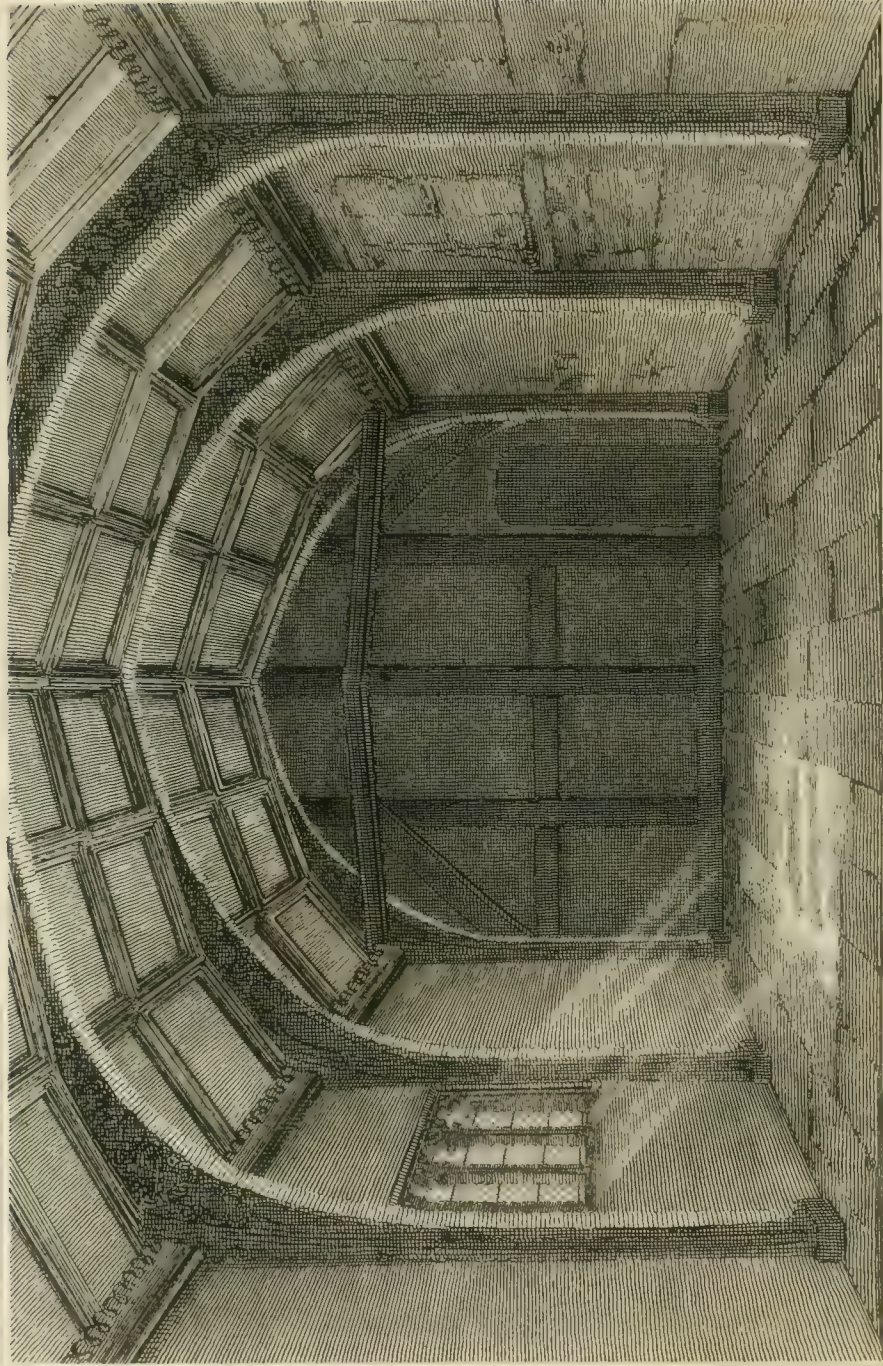
Sir Gilbert by this marriage had Sir John, who by Margaret daughter of Sir Richard Hoghton, of Hoghton Tower, had issue Thomas, and died 3 Henry V. Sir Thomas married Jane, daughter of John Booth, of Barton, by whom Richard who married Elizabeth daughter of Richard Molineux, of Sephton, Esq. by whom Christopher and Juliana married to Richard Townley, of Townley, Esq.

Christopher Southworth married Isabel daughter of John Dutton, of Dutton, in the county of Chester, Esq. had issue Sir John, who by Hellen, daughter of Sir Richard Langton, of Walton, had Sir Thomas, founder of the more modern part of Samlesbury Hall, who married Margaret daughter of Sir Thomas Butler, of Bewsey, and died about 29 Henry VIII. He had issue Sir John, who by Mary daughter of Sir Richard Ashton, of Middleton, had Thomas, and died 1567.

Thomas Southworth, Esq. married Rosamund, daughter of John Lister, Gent. and had another John, who married Jane, daughter of Sir Richard Sherburne, of Stoneyhurst, had issue Thomas, born 42 Eliz. daughter of John, to whom his father devised Lower Hall, which he sold to the Walmsleys; Thomas married Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Tildsley, and had issue John who by Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Langton, of Lowe, Esq. had John, Thomas, Edward, and eleven other children: John married and had issue Thomas, who died without issue, and thus terminated this ancient family*.

John sold the old hall and half the manor to the Braddylls, for little more than £.2000. A. D. 1677; yet when the next leases expire, this estate is expected to be advanced to £.1200. per annum. The estates of the family appear to have been diminishing for several generations; but the division of the manor of Samlesbury itself, and afterwards a family of fourteen children, seem to have completed their ruin.

* In these descents it will be observed that nothing more is intended than to represent the succession to estates; for which reason the collateral branches are generally cut off.



J. L. Smith sculp.

J. B. G. del.

CHAMBER IN SALISBURY HALL.

The residence of this family *, whose estates were once of vast extent in Lancashire, was proportionably magnificent. It is moated round, and has enclosed three sides of a large quadrangle, the centre of which, containing the great hall, a noble specimen of most rude and massy wood work, though repaired in 1532 by Sir Thomas Southworth, whose name it bears, is of very high antiquity, probably not later than Edward III. The remaining wing, which is built of wood towards the quadrangle, and brick without, (and the earliest specimen of brick-work in the parish), is of the later date. There is about this house a profusion and bulk of oak that must almost have laid prostrate a forest to erect it. But a critical examination of this fine old building is reserved for the dissertation on domestic architecture.

Next, in ascending the valley, is Balderstone, which afforded a name to another family, extinct before most of its neighbours. Of this name I find Richard Balderston, who had William, who having no issue by his first wife, a Gerard, had by his second, Margaret daughter of William Stanley, Esq. two coheiresses, Isabel and Jane. Isabel married Sir Robert Harrington, of Hornby; and Jane, 1st. Sir Ralph Langton, 2d. Sir John Pilkington.

By will, dated Jan. 2d, 1497, this lady bequeaths her body to be buried in the Nunnes Quier of Monkton, in her habit, holding her hand upon her breast, with her ring upon her finger, having taken within her resolves † the mantle and ring, and her moiety of the manor of Balderstone, to Sir James Harrington, Knt. for term of life, and after his decease, to Thomas Talbot, of Bashall, and Jane his wife, another Harrington.

The chapel of Balderstone is of uncertain antiquity, but probably somewhat earlier than the Reformation. In the reign of James I. it had gone to decay, but has since been repaired.

Next is Osbaldeston, the property and residence of one of the first families of Lancashire, from the earliest times after the Conquest, of whom I have gleaned the following names from attestations to ancient charters, and from later authorities.

Adam de Osbaldeston, in the time of Henry II. Thomas de Osbaldeston, 12 Edward II. John de Osbaldeston, 35 Edward III. Another John de Osbaldeston, married Elizabeth, daughter of William de Balderstone, and had Richard, who by Grace, daughter of Adam Singleton, had Alexander. Sir Alexander Osbaldeston, by Anne daughter of Sir Christopher Southworth, had John, and by his second wife ‡, daughter of Thomas Tildsley, Esq. Richard

* The extent of the possessions of this family may be conjectured from an assignment of his estates made in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, by Sir John Southworth setting forth that he was indebted in large sums by means of purchases, &c. and enumerating besides the entire manors of Samlesbury, Southworth, and Mellor, divers lands and tenements in eighteen other townships. In the time of Abbot Holden, I find an award of Elenor Lady Stanley, (let the lawyers determine how far a lady was competent to such an act,) requiring Richard Southworth, Esq. to pay to the Abbat and Convent of Whalley thirty-six marks for arrears of small tithe, and to pay small tithes for his household regularly in all times coming. On the 8th of July, 3 Hen. VIII. John, Abbot of Whalley, appeared in open court at Lancaster, and demanded sureties of the peace against Sir John Southworth. The family do not appear to have lived on the best terms with their spiritual fathers.

† She had actually taken the vows in the church of Wakefield, from William, Bishop of Dromore. Dods-worth's MSS.

‡ This lady by will, dated 1560, directs three stones with inscriptions in brass to be laid in the family chapel, within Blackburn church, over herself, her husband, and Sir Thomas Tildsley, her brother. She also leaves a bed for poor lying-in women to each of four adjoining townships, and to John Osbaldeston, Esq. certain things belonging to the altar in the chapel at Osbaldeston, to remain as erlomes.

of Sunderland, from whom the Osbaldestons of Hunmanby. He died 25 Henry VIII. Sir John Osbaldeston married Margeret, daughter of George Stanley Lord Strange, by whom Edward, who marrying Matilda, daughter of Sir Thomas Hassal, had John and Sir Geoffry, Justice of the Common Pleas, died 33 Eliz. John Osbaldeston, married Hellen, daughter of had Edward. Sir Edward Osbaldeston married Mary, daughter of Henry Farington, of Hatton Grange, Esq. had issue John and Alexander, died 13 . . . John, though twice married, died without issue, at London, anno 1666. Alexander, his brother, born 1602, married Anne, daughter of Sir John Talbot, of Salesbury, and had Edward, born 1652, Alexander, another Edward, born 1650, died 1689, married daughter of Thomas Bradhall, of Portfield, Esq. and had issue Thomas Osbaldeston, born 1681, last heir in the direct line, who died 1701. After his decease, the remains of the estate descended to a collateral relative, whom I conjecture to have been son of Michael, the only surviving brother of Edward.

He was living about fifty years ago, and by him, or since his death, the demesne of Osbaldeston was sold to the Warren family. The Park is destroyed, but the shell of the old house, a large though irregular pile, remains nearly entire.

Next, is Salesbury-Hall, successively the property of the Salesburies, Clitheroes, and Talbots; the last a branch from Bashall. This is a place entitled to peculiar respect from an antiquary, as having given birth to Thomas Talbot. The remains of the house, which are considerable, will be noticed in the concluding dissertation, but it may be proper to mention here, that the fine sculpture of Apollo, from Ribchester, after continuing in the same situation here from Camden's time, have, by the favour of Lord Bulkeley to the Author, been lately removed to Holme.

John, bishop of Litchfield, by licence dated 1406, granted to Sibyl de Fulford, lady of Salesbury, permission to have mass celebrated *submissa voce* within her manor of Salesbury. Part of the furniture of this domestic chapel, consisting of several images in wood and alabaster, yet remains in the house.

John, son of William Talbot, who bore Argent, three lions rampant, married Isabella, daughter and coheir of Sir Richard Mauliverer, by Sybyl his wife, daughter and heir of Sir Robert Clitheroe, of Salesbury. He was living in 1414, and had issue Sir John, who by Johan, daughter of Sir John Radcliff, had another Sir John, who by Anne, daughter of Sir Ralph Assheton, had John Talbot, who by Isabel, daughter of Sir Richard Towneley, of Towneley, had John, who died 1551. John married 1st. Anne, daughter of Hugh Sherburne, of Stoneyhurst, and died without issue: 2nd, Anne, daughter of Richard Banaster, Esq. of Altham, by whom John, who died 1589, and Thomas, the celebrated antiquary. John Talbot married 1st. Alice, daughter of Sir Alexander Osbaldeston, of Osbaldeston, who died without issue 25 Henry VIII. 2nd. Mary, daughter of Mr. Moore, of Sheffield, by whom John, who died before his father; he married Mary, daughter of Sir John Southworth, of Samlesbury, and had issue Sir John Talbot, born 1582, who by Mary, daughter of Sir Alexander Barlow, of Barlow, had John Talbot, Esq. last of Salesbury, born 1608, who by his 2nd wife Dorothy, daughter of James Welford, Esq. of Essex, the first leaving no issue, had Dorothy Talbot, born 1650, who married Edward Warren, of Pointon, and carried the estate into that family.

Still

Still higher is Dinkley Hall, situated warm and low, on the margin of Ribble. This was the property of another branch of the Talbots, and here is still seen a large altar from Ribchester, now much defaced, and the inscription illegible. Of the manor of Billington, the next township, enough has been related under Whalley Abbey. Here is the chapel of Langho, which, from the appearance of moulded stones wrought up at random in the walls, I strongly suspect to have been built with materials brought from the Abbey. Beneath, on the warm and fertile bank of the Ribble, is Braddyll-with-Brockhall, the parent house of the Braddylls, and their residence at least from the reign of Henry II. to the beginning of the last century. Last in this tract is Hacking; where, about the year 1200, lived

Bernard de Hacking, whose great grandson, William, had a grant of Billington mill from Henry de Lacy. He survived to the beginning of Edward III. and left a daughter, Agnes, married to Henry de Shuttleworth; and the eighth descendant of this marriage, Anne Shuttleworth, marrying Sir Thomas Walmsley, the judge, carried the estate into that family, where it yet remains.

The Calder, now hastening to its junction with the Ribble, terminates this portion of the parish of Blackburn, and sends us back with regret to a much less interesting inquiry*.

It is impossible to take leave of this tract, without a sigh for the decay of our ancient gentry. In traversing the left bank of the Ribble, from Walton to Salesbury, we have surveyed a warm and fertile country, more than ten miles in length, once possessed by five knightly families, all resident on their own estates, allied by perpetual intermarriages, and forming a society of equals among themselves. In this tract were four parks, as many manor houses of the first rank, furnished with domestic chapels; and the vale shaded and enriched by woods of ancient oak. All these families are now gone: one only replaced by a second of equal rank; but with respect to the rest, the houses are decaying or decayed, the parks divided, and the woods destroyed, so that one of the finest portions of Ribblesdale is now abandoned, and almost unknown.

On the southern side of the ridge there is little in the parish of Blackburne to invite or to detain our attention. Great Harwood, however, which contributes to and partakes of the beauty of Whalley, deserves to be mentioned. In a low and warm situation within this township is the manor-house of Martholme, the residence of the Fittons, and afterwards occasionally of the Heskeths, by one of whom it seems to have been in a great measure rebuilt about the year 1561, which date, with the arms and cypher T. H. appears on the gateway. The moat which surrounded the whole may still be traced; but little more than a large farm-house is remaining of the old mansion. On the North side are some trefoil lights of considerably higher antiquity than the rest of the building. This manor was granted by Roger de Lacy, in a charter without date, to

Richard de Fitton, who had Hugh, who had John, who had Edward, who had William, who had a second Richard living in 1343, of whose daughters and coheirresses Matilda married Sir William Hesketh; Amabel married Edmund Leigh, of Croston; and Elizabeth married Roger, son of Adam de Nowell, of Great Merlay, in consequence of which the manor was divided into three portions. Of these, the Heskeths purchased that of the Leighs, and claimed

* Of the Walmsleys, of Showley, a considerable family, though of later date, in this tract, I want materials for any connected account.

the right of superior lords over the Nethertown, which was allotted to the Nowells, and continued in that family till it was alienated by the late Alexander Nowell, Esq. From ancient evidences produced in a suit grounded on this claim of the Heskeths, it appeared that John de Nowell, son of Lawrence the first of Read, had done homage to Thomas Hesketh, for the Nethertown, in the chapel of Harwood, 13 Richard II.

This proves the chapel abovementioned to be of much higher antiquity than that assigned to it in the *Liber Regis*, viz. 1507.

The Chapel of Harwood, with the tower, appears however to have been rebuilt in the reign of Henry VII. On the North side the original windows remain, but the rest appear to have been renewed, and the roof renewed in the reign of Elizabeth. In the East window of the South aisle are three panes with the garbs and I. H.

On a fragment of the screen now attached to the reading-desk, in old English characters, is this fragment: "...ta fuit A° Dni. MCCCC°."

Opposite is a very singular inscription, mounted on the top of a column, as if on purpose not to be read. It is, however, worth preserving.

Hospes adesdum.

En ampla tibi exempli materies,
En et quod pie lugere potes et mirari.

H. S. I.

THOMAS WHALLEY, de Sparth,
in agro Lancastrense,
M. D. et Coll. Orielensis apud Oxonienses nuper
socius haud ignobilis.
Theologiæ fuit sapiens, Philosophiæ prudens,
Botanices sciens,
Medicinæ speculativæ simul et therapeuticæ peritus,
pietate, probitate, candore, et modestiâ clarus,
in egenos erogandâ pecuniâ dives,
inopi ferens opem et consilium;
Quem capellæ de Downham, Altham, et Harwood,
præcipue munificum loquuntur.
Ultra vires studiis intentus,
et assiduâ sedulitate fractus,
carnis exuvias tabe consumptas deposuit
sexto die Decembris,
anno Domini 1724,
ætatis 51.

In cujus memoriam fratres Johannes et Jacobus
H. P. M.

Little Harwood, adjoining, has been the property of the Clayton family since the reign of Edward III. for I find that

Ralph, son of Henry de Clayton, de parv. Harwode, grants half the mill of that place to Henry de Clayton, of Dutton, 22 Edward III. In the 4th of Edward IV. occurs Nicholas,
son

son of John de Clayton, of this place. Jeoffry Clayton, 12 Henry VII. John, his son. Geoffry grants the manor of Little Harwood, in trust, 19 Henry VII. John, the son, left two coheiresses, Ellen and Rose; but the estate seems to have been settled on the male line, for Edward Stanley, Lord Monteagle, in whose ancestors it had been vested in trust, releases to Robert, son of George Clayton, 7 Henry VIII. Robert had a son George, living 3 Edward VI. Next appears Thomas Clayton, who married daughter of Livesey, of Livesey, Esq. and had Thomas, who married Bridget, daughter of Mr. Robert Tonstall, of Aldcliff, had John and Thomas, and died about 1606. John Clayton married Alice, daughter of Mr. George Cope, of Great Harwood, and had issue Thomas and John. He died about 1659. Thomas Clayton married Dorothy, daughter of Mr. Murray, Rector of Bury, had John and George, who both died young, and he himself died before his father, in 1648. John, the brother of Thomas, though twice married, left no male issue; so that I know not from whom to trace another John, who by a Crook, of Abraham-hall, near Wigan, had Thomas, who marrying a Derbyshire, had John Clayton, Esq. baptized June 8, 1729, for whom see the pedigree of Townley, of Barnside.

Of the other townships in this parish I have little to observe excepting that Livesay-cum-Tockholes, never granted or conveyed as a manor, gave name to a very ancient family extinct in an heir general within memory. Mellor has a small speculative fort, in a commanding situation, evidently connected with Ribchester. The manor of Eccleshill belonged to the Grimshaws, of Clayton; that of Overderwen to the Osbaldestons; and the Talbots of Bashall had free warren in Rishton.

King James the Second's declaration in favour of liberty of conscience, produced the following effects in this parish. On a petition of the inhabitants of Darwen, of the congregational persuasion, the king, under his sign manual, dated July 25, 1687, "allowed of an erected meeting-place within Darwen;" in consequence of which, the congregation aforesaid, interpreting the words "erected meeting-place" of the episcopal chapel of Darwen, applied to Mr. Price, Vicar of Blackburn, for the keys. He refused, and they broke open the doors by violence, and took possession. He represented the case to his diocesan, Cartwright, a man of great interest at that time with the king, and through his intercession the licence was revoked by another warrant under the sign manual, of which the original is now before me; after which, possession of the chapel was restored to the vicar, by Thomas Braddyll, Edward Osbaldeston, and Ralph Livesey, Esqrs. Justices of the Peace, November 23, 1687.

In the next place, Barthol. Walmsley, Esq. of Dunkenhalgh, then a young man, and newly returned from abroad, seized upon the chapel of Langho, cast out all the pews from the chancel, &c. fitted it up for the service of the Church of Rome, and actually had mass performed in it, March, 1687-8. On this intrusion, Mr. Price petitioned the king, who referred the consideration of the case to Chancellor Jeffries, and he, by a short decree, dated 16th June 1688, ordered the chapel to be restored to its proper owner.

The latter case will prove that, however the indulgence might be abused, neither James, nor his ministers, were deaf to the voice of justice, even against a Catholic; and on the other hand, Mr. Price's Letters and Memorials in this affair do equal honour to his understanding, integrity, and firmness.

CHAPTER II.

PARISH OF ROCHDALE.

THE name of this opulent town and parish first occurs in Domesday, where we read “Unus eorum (that is, of the taini in the hundred of Salford) Gamel tenens ii hidas in Recedam, habebat suas consuetudines præter vi has, furtum, heinfare, forestel, pacem regis infractam, terminum fractum a præposito stabilitum, pugnam post sacramentum factum remanentem, hæc emendabat 40s.”

Of these rights, which seem to have been incident to a primitive court baron, the second relates to the punishment of fugitive slaves: the third, to that of the pernicious practice yet called forestalling: the fifth, to the forfeiture of a recognizance to appear in court: and the last, to a breach of the peace, by fighting after being bound by oath to keep it. The meaning of the other terms is sufficiently obvious.

The name of the town we see was properly Recedam, or Rachedham, and that of the valley, on the side of which it stands, Rachdale, both denominated from the Roch, anciently the Rache, Rached, or Rachead, for in all these ways it is spelt in ancient charters. There are some very ancient examples, and there were within my memory some instances in the pronunciation of the rudest and remotest inhabitants of the parish, in which the town was denominated Rached.

“Rache, (saith Harrison) consisteth of sundry waters, whereof each in a manner hath a proper name, but the greatest of all is Rache itself, which riseth among the Black-stony Hills, whence it goeth to Littleborough, and being past Clegg*, receiveth the Beyle, that cometh thither by Milveraw Chappel. After this confluence it meeteth with a rill near Rachedale, and soone after with the Sprotton Water, and then the Sudley Brook†, whereby his channel is not a little encreased, thence to Grisehurst, and so into the Irwell.” I know no more probable origin of the word Rache‡, than the Saxon *pæccan*, *porrigere*, to stretch out.

The church was certainly not extant at the time of the Domesday survey, but was most probably a foundation of the Deans of Whalley, pretty early in the twelfth century, as in the first notice of it in the Coucher Book, we find Geoffry the Dean; that is, I suppose, Geoffry the elder, in possession of it, prior to the year 1193.

* This word Clegg is pure Saxon, Clæg, clay, and proves that the *g* final in that language was pronounced as it was written, a fact which I have sometimes doubted.

† This is the brook between Castleton and Marland, more properly the Sudden (qu. Southden). Sudden Mill is frequently mentioned in the Computus's of Whalley Abbey.

‡ The Rache is, I now think, evidently from *Racu*, or Cimbric *Ræcia*, an inundation or deluge. Perhaps *Rach-heved*, which was originally applied to its source, was afterwards attached to the stream in general. *Racedham* is the habitation on the Rached.

With respect to the existence of a parish and parish church at Rochdale, we have no positive evidence prior to Robert son of Geoffry the elder, dean of Whalley, which Robert was certainly rector of the parish, and probably the first rector.

To his time I confidently refer the arches and columns of the present fabric, of the former of which there are six on each side of the principal aisle. The latter are alternately angular and cylindrical (no very frequent combination), light and well-proportioned, with a kind of flowered capital, precisely the style which is seen in the choir of Canterbury Cathedral, of the same period, as well as in some other structures of the same age.

In the late alterations, however, which took place, and were most judiciously conducted by Mr. Taylor, in order to prevent the downfall of the church, several fragments of a more ancient building were found walled up in the present work, particularly a Norman zigzag moulding opposite to the present South door. This had been unquestionably a member of the original door.

In another part was discovered the site of a single Norman light, less than six inches in diameter, and gradually widening inward; which, from the shape of a groove within it, evidently appeared to have been closed by a shutter and not a window.

On the North side of the great arch separating the nave and choir, was discovered a rude and almost shapeless stone, approaching to a circular shape, with an excavation eleven inches in diameter, and about eight in depth, with rivets on the outside to fasten some metallic lining. This, I think, though too small for immersion, must have been the original font. I have not with one and only one other instance of the same kind, which was at Betham, in Westmoreland.

The only conclusion, however, that I can form from these appearances is, that there had been a smaller church, or perhaps only a chapel, erected soon after the date of Domesday. I prefer the latter hypothesis, and firmly believe that Robert de Whalley was the first rector, and that the present church was of his time, though it has undergone many changes, and received many additions.

The choir, with its richly ramified window (unquestionably the work of the Monks of Whalley) was, I believe, rebuilt in the reign of Edward III.; the nave, perhaps, a little earlier. The steeple about the reign of Henry VIII. The South aisle was evidently rebuilt, and the clerestory added, either in the reign of Henry VIII. or perhaps a little later.

A series of charters and copies of charters which have lately been entrusted to me, will throw much light on the ancient state of the parish; and will shew, in particular, by what steps almost the whole of the extensive township of Spotland fell, by small and successive grants, into the hands of the Monks of Stanlaw, and afterwards of Whalley.

To the extracts, however, by which these steps are traced, I shall premise that the stream which gave name to this valley is not, in these charters, denominated the Spodden, but the Spod. The Spodden is the deep and contracted gorge through which it runs; and Spotland is the township in general. Spod*, however, or Spud, in some dialects of the Teutonic language signifies a spear, and the term appears to have been applied to this stream from the unbending straightness of its course, which terminates at its junction with the Roch, immediately beneath Rochdale.

* Ihre's *Lexicon Sueco-Gothicum*.

“Omnibus, &c. Ad. de Spotlond sal. Novt. me pro Dei timore et pro salute a'i'e me' et uxoris mee et antecessor. meor. et success. meor. d. et c. Deo et Sçe Marie, et omnibus Sanctis, et Sço Cedde et Eccie de Rach. tres acras t're in Watlond wod cum domibus ibi positis et duas acras apud Donyngbothe et un. apud Chadwicke cum com. past. &c. ad vill. de Spotland pertinent. &c.—Hiis testibus Hug. de Eland, Rob. de Lyversage, Hen. de Eland, Mich. fil. Andr. Alex^o. Clemente fratribus, Henr. de Wordhull, Hug. de Wordhull, Steph. fr'e ejus. Mat. de Wolstonholme, Rob. fr'e ejus, Andr. de Wolstonholme, cum multis aliis.”

This is the oldest instrument in which the church of Rochdale is mentioned, and probably very soon after its foundation. The Elands were then Lords of the town. I should place it about the year 1180.

This is followed by another grant from the same Adam of six acres in Spotland, namely, three in Watlond-wood, two in Donynbooth, and one in Ireford, (all these names I think are forgotten,) to God and St. Chad of Rochdale. — “Test. Galfr. de Bukell (Buckley), Hug. de Werdul, Tho. de Bamford, Wilñ de Howord, et multis aliis.”

These lands were again granted out by Robert de Whalley, rector of Rochdale, which instrument I transcribe with great pleasure from the original:

“Omnibus matris Ecclesiæ filiis, &c. Robtus de H'wall, persona de Rachetham, sal. Noverit universitas v'ra me, &c. Alexandro de Spotland sex acras t're, scil. tres acras in Watlonde hwde, et duas acras ap^d Dunningebothe, et unam acram apud Scheddewic, quas Adam de Spotland dedit Sço Cedde et Eccie de Rachetham; tenend. illi et hæredibus suis de Sça Cedda et Eccia de Rachetham, et me et successoribus meis, in feodo et her.—Hiis testibus Hug. de Eland, Roberto de Liversage, Hug. de Wardhul, Steph. fr'e ejus, Martin. de Wlstanhwlm (Wolstonholme), Andrea de Wlstanhwlm, &c.”

The seal is nearly entire, with a fleur de lys, circumscribed **SIGILLVM ROBERTI WALLAIE.**

With respect to the æra of this charter, it is certain that the grantor was dead before the year 1193.

Next follows a grant, apparently relating to part of the same premises, from Adam son of Swainside, of four acres in Spotland, to the abbot and convent of Stanlaw, for three marks of silver.—“Test. D^{no} Will^{mo} Viccar (that is William de Dumplinton, the first vicar of Rochdale under the old foundation,) Geoffr. de Bukl. Tho. de Bamford, Andr. de Castleton, Alan de Merland, Ad. fil. suo, &c.”

Next Alex. the clerk, son of Adam de Spotland, grants to John his brother, the six acres originally granted to St. Chad, of Rochdale, in Watlond-wood, &c.—“Test. Joh. fil. Gilb. de Lassie, Rob. de Hulton, Galfr. de Bukl. Tho. de Bamford, Hug. de Wardhull, W^m. de Haword, Nich'o de Clegg, et al.”

Then follows a succession of charters, all tending to one point, the absorption of nearly the whole of this township in the abbey of Stanlaw, from which I shall only select the attestations, in order to shew which were then the old families of the parish and neighbourhood, and what was their comparative importance.

“D^{no}. Ad. de Burie, Galfr. de Bukl. Wilñ de Howord, Wilñ de Wardelword, Wilñ fil. Petri de Hel. (Heley), Andrea Clerico de Castleton.”

There

There is also a Michael Clericus de Clegg, who occurs very frequently; and the signatures of the vicar William de Dumplinton, and old Geoffry de Bukley, continue through a long series.

Among these may be distinguished two grants, one of four oxgangs, the other of two, both in Spotland, to Geoffry son of Geoffry dean of Whalley. Then, Henry son of Geoffry dean of Whalley, grants to Hugh de Thelwall one oxgang. All these transactions must have been about the year 1200.

In some of the earliest of these charters the Roch is called Rached, and afterwards Rach, as the Spodden is the Spod, and Spotbrok, river Spodden.

I shall conclude these extracts with a curious memorandum of the will of Andrew, son of Alan de Merland:

“Hoc est Testamentum, &c. Primo legat a'i'm Deo et Be. Marie et omnibus sanctis ejus Amen: et corpus suum apud Stanlaw sepeliend. et totam terram suam in villa de Spotland, quam tenuit hæreditarie de Ada fratre suo cum corpore suo Deo Bē Marie et Monachis de Stanlaw imp'petuum, salvo termino tenentibus dictam terram domui de Stanlaw imp'petuum remanebit, salva firma Ad. fr'i sui et hæ. suis.

“Item. IIII boves cum corpore suo prout in scripto sigillato continetur.

“Istos constituit hujus testamenti executores, Dompnum Wil'm Priorem de Stanlaw, Fr. Henr. de Blackburn Monachum de Stanlaw.”

All these charters, and other evidences, ninety-four in number, the latest of which bears date A. D. 1330, while much the greater part are without date, were the title-deeds of the house of Stanlaw, and after the translation, of Whalley, to their estates in Spotland.

After the dissolution of the latter, they were delivered over to Thomas, afterwards Sir Thomas Holt, of Gristlehurst, along with his grant from the crown; and upon the dispersion of the estates of his descendant Thomas Posthumus Holt, in Spotland, the originals of some, and old, but ill transcribed copies of others, were transferred to some of the purchasers.

The following analysis will prove, as at Whalley, the hereditary, though subordinate patronage of the deans, the existence of a vicarage before the appropriation of the rectory, and the paramount rights of the Lacies; and it will also discover another circumstance in the constitution of this benefice, which was neither found in that of Whalley nor Blackburn, namely, that the mesne lords, *eo nomine*, had some conjunctive claim upon the patronage, and were to be made parties to the alienation. This last circumstance evidently arose from the comparative lateness of the foundation, and from the manor's being already in other and independent hands.

The nature of these several rights will be explained by the steps which it was necessary to take in order to procure surrenders of them, previous to the appropriation of the benefice to the Abbey of Stanlaw.

1st. Roger de Lacy* gave the church of Rochdale to that convent, after the death of Geoffry the dean, whom he describes as having been in possession of it before he succeeded to the honour of Pontefract, which was in 1193. This is the first notice I have met with of the

* There is something pleasing in the terms of this release: “Nihil in ecclesia prædictâ retineo, (nec etiam jus advocacionis) præter orationes.” Coucher Book, tit. 4.

church. The dean here mentioned I suppose to have been Geoffry the elder, and that he held the rectory, properly so called, as a member of the Deanery of Whalley, and in his own proper patronage. But Geoffry had a younger son, Robert, the first and only parson of Alvetham, to whom he had given the rectory of Rochdale also. Now, as the rectory was by this grant to determine with the life of Geoffry the elder, it seems a necessary conclusion, that Robert died before his father, who after the son's death, presented himself to the benefice.

The date of this last transaction is nearly fixed by the confirmation of William de Cornhull, bishop of Litchfield, who sat in that see from 1214 to 1223.

But, at the same time, there was an ancient vicarage in this church, of the species referred to under Whalley, and this was held by Geoffry the younger. The next step, therefore, in order to procure a complete appropriation, which the monks aimed at, was to obtain a resignation from him, in which having succeeded, Alexander de Sevensby, who succeeded Cornhull (A. D. 1224), reciting the surrender of the first vicarage by Geoffry, consolidates once more the rectory and vicarage, and appropriates the whole to the abbey of Stanlaw; saving however the "ordinary" vicarage. This was very indefinite.

Previously however to this transaction, or perhaps even to the former, three other parties were to be taken into the account. 1st. John de Eland, and John de Lacy de Cromwellbothorn; these being coparceners of the mesne manor of Rochdale, seem to have had some claim upon the advowson, as regardant to the manor; therefore both gave in their resignation: the first, of all his rights, as well in the patronage as glebe lands of the church of Rochdale: the second, of his rights in the patronage of the church of Castleton, in Rachedale.

Another party yet remained to be disposed of; and that was Geoffry de Buckley, who by the bounty of his uncle Geoffry, the dean, was possessed of a third part of the benefice "*tam in garbis quam in minutis*." But he was equally complaisant with the rest, and by his cession, the object of the monks was finally accomplished.

By charters, without date, I meet with Andrew, capellanus de Rachedam, Andrew, sacerdos de Rachedam, and Michael, clericus de Rachdam. These I conceive to have been officiating priests or vicars, in the ancient and lax sense of the word, preceding Geoffry the younger, under the first foundation. And, in later times, the following names occur: Nicholas de Clegg, about 1260; William de Livesay, 1292; Robert del Shore, cap. 1370; Jeffry de Halgthon, cap. 1388; John del Holt, cap. 1393; Richard de Bucklay, cl. 1435; Roger Walmersley, priest, 1453; Dm. Galf. Chadwick, cap. 1469 to 1502.

The "ordinary" vicarage reserved at the consolidation of the rectory and first vicarage by Alexander de Sevensby, consisted of a manse, four oxgangs of land, and five marks; and this seems to have been the portion of William de Dumplinton and John de Blackburn, the two vicars under that endowment, for, by charter, without date, extant in the Coucher Book, Blackburn expressly renounces all rights in the benefice, excepting the glebe lands and v marks, "*præter decimas garbarum culturæ meæ*;" by which it seems that the vicarial glebe when in occupation of the vicar, is exempt from the payment of corn tithe.

The following abstract will assist the reader in forming a clear conception of the several steps which have been here detailed :

Eccl. de Rache- dam cum Ca- pella de Saddle- worth.	{	Abb. de Stanlaw, Don. Roger de Lacy.
		Resign. Vic. Imam. Galf. jun. Dec. de Whalley.
		Res. 1111. part. Rect. Galf. de Buckley.
		Assenserunt Joh. de Elland. Joh. de Lacy de Crom. Dom. Manerii.
Conf.	{	Wm. de Cornhull } una cum Capit.
		Alex. de Sevensby } Cov. et Litchfield.
		Ponts. { Honor. Stius. Innocent Stius.
Ordt. Vicariam hodiurnam.	{	Roger de Meu- land, Episc.
		Litch. 14 kal.
		Ma. 1277.

RECTORS OF ROCHDALE.

Robert *, son of Geoffry, dean of Whalley.

Geoffry *, the elder, dean of Whalley, after the death of Robert his son, and before the year 1193.

VICAR under the first, or unendowed vicarage.

Geoffry *, the younger, dean of Whalley, resigns about 1230.

VICARS under the second endowment of 5 marks.

William de Dumplinton *, instituted by Bishop Sevensby, who died 1238.

Dm. Joh. de Blackburn *, frat. Adam de Blackburne.

Robert †, vicar. de Rochdale, s. d. sed temp. Hen. III.

VICARS under the present endowment of 1277.

Roger ‡, vicar of Rachdale, 1307.

Tho. de Boulton, cap. inst. vic. Ratch. 1317 †.

Simon de Cestr. cap. inst. vic. Ratch. 1319 †§.

Dns. Thomas de Bolton ||, perpetuus vicarius de Rachdale, 1331.

Rad. de Trumpington, presb. inst. vic. Ratchdale, kal. Jan. 1361 †.

Joh. le Flichter al. Fytheler ¶, a 1390 usq. ad 1401 ||.

Joh. de Salley, mon. de Whalley, inst. vic. Rach. vac. per mort. Joh. le Fitheler, April 17, 1402 †.

Ric. de Twistfeld, cap. inst. vic. Ratch. vac. per res. Joh. de Salley, Maii 3, 1403 †.

Hen. de Merland, inst. vic. Ratch. per res. de Twistfeld, ult. Jul. 1426 †.

Rich. Salley ||, 1462 ad 1470.

* Coucher Book.

† MS. pen. C. Chadwick, arm.

‡ Watson's History of Halifax, p. 74.

§ Reg. Litch.

¶ I suppose that he resigned, and Boulton returned to the living, as he occurs much later.

|| Townley MSS.

¶ Id. Nov. 1389, Joh. le Titheler, inst. ad vic. de Ratch. vac. per res. Rog. fil. W. de Manchester, prom. ad rect. de Radcliffe. Reg. Litch. — I have seen a copy of the letters of administration granted to a sister of this vicar. — He had been a chaplain in the parish church of Manchester, 4 Edward III. and was vicar of Rochdale, 8 Richard II. MS. in Off. Arm.

Thomas Brotherton, mon. inst. vic. de Ratch. vac. per mort. Ric. Salley, Feb. 23 *.

Wm. Ashton, inst. vic. de Ratch. vac. per mort. Joh. de Walton, Sept. 20, 1483 *.

Sir Gilbert Haydock, rural dean of Blackburn, 1535.

John Hampson, clerk, living, but ejected, 3 Elizabeth.

The following deposition of John Hampson, clerk, of the parish of Rochdale, taken in a cause “Archbishop Parker *versus* Sir John Bird, Knt. the 19th day of March, anno 3 Eliz. contains some curious particulars respecting the state of the parish at that time: *viz.* that in Rachedale with Saddleworth, Todmerden, and the other chapelries, there are 5000 “howse-ling” people (communicants) at least; that the said parish contains in length 11 or 12 miles, and in brede 3 or 4 miles.

“Item. That beside the chapels before named, there be two other chapels of ease, one called Littleborough, and the other (qu. whether Whitworth or Milnrow?); that the two chapels called Todmorden and Saddleworth are distant, the one five miles, and the other six miles, or more, from the chiefe parish church, and the one of them distant from the other ten or eleven miles, so that by this may appear with what ease the p'ysioners at such time as there is no service in the said chapels may resorte to the said parish church at the usual tymes of comon prayer.

“Likewise this dep'nent saythe, that he doth not nowe know who is vicar of the said parish church, but saith that the 15th daye of this present month (March), *hymselfe* was vicare there, but whilst he was vicare there he was not resident there hymselfe, but did always fynde a sufficient preste to serve there.

“Item. That besydes the vicare which serveth in the said p'yshe of Rachdale, two other stypendaries, by all the tyme of this deponent's remembrance, doe serve yerely in the two chappels of Saddleworth and Butterworth, of which the wages of the preste of Saddleworth was payde out of the 12 pounds a yere which Sir John Byron payde to this deponent for his vicarage of Rachdale, and that the sayde Sir John did always retayne iii pounds every halfe yere to the payment of the preste at Saddleworth. And as farr as this deponent knoweth, the preste of Butterworth was payde his wages by contrybushon among the p'ysioners belonging to the said chapel.”

If the deponent, who ought to be well informed as to the population of his own parish, were correct in assigning 5000 as the number of howseling people or communicants, the whole population cannot have been less at that time than 10,000 souls, or about 200 to a square mile.

It is evident from this deposition, that Hampson, the deponent, resigned the benefice between the 15th and 19th of March, 3 Elizabeth, and that no successor, to his knowledge, had then been appointed.

That successor, however, was

Richard Midgley,

whose incumbency therefore cannot have continued less than forty-eight years, as he died A. D. 1609.

Of the birth and parentage of this long-lived incumbent, Richard Midgley, I know nothing. From several accounts which I have seen, he appears to have been a laborious

* Reg. Litch.

preacher, and very successful in his ministry. But he was infected with the prejudices of puritanism, and at the Hampton Court conference, a petition was presented on his behalf, by Chadderton, requesting that he might be dispensed with, according to one account, for not kneeling at the sacrament, and, according to another, for the non-use of the surplice and the cross in baptism*. He was then an aged man, not likely to change either his habits or opinions. The date of his interment, in the parish register, is May 30th, 1609. His successor was

Richard Kenyon, collated by Archbishop Bancroft, and therefore assuredly no puritan. His name no where occurs in the register, and nothing more is known of his incumbency than that it terminated either by death or resignation, A. D. 1615, when the benefice was once more filled by

Henry Tilson, who held it till November 1635, at which time he became chaplain to the Earl of Strafford, and was afterwards promoted to the bishopric of Elphin, from which he was driven by the Irish rebellion, and retired to Soothill Hall, near Dewsbury, Yorkshire, where he died, and is commemorated by the following epitaph on a monument in that church :

“ P. M.

“ Reverendi in Christo patris Henrici Tilson, Hen. F. Episcopi Elphinensis in Hibernia, Nat. A. 1576, juxta Halifax in Agro Eboracensi, Denati 31 die Martii, A. 165 . . . in eodem agro, Viri ob eruditionem et pietatem insignis, Parentis charissimi, P. Nathan Tilson, Hen. F. Hen. N.”

The following curious Letter from Bishop Tilson, probably to Sir George Radcliffe, together with two others written by Savile Radcliffe, of Todmorden, Esq. having been communicated by Richard Henry Beaumont, Esq. from the literary stores of Whitley, it is presumed no apology will be necessary for their insertion.

“ I should excuse my idlenes, or my neglect, or my unthankfullnes, since that I received your letter so longe agoe and the booke (that good and usefull booke for these loose tymes) written by D^r Tailer †, w^h you sent me. I do confesse that I am oftimes too idle and too much addicted to crastine delays, so that I am inforced to omitt sometimes (an undeniable buisines interveninge) what I was resolved to do the next day. But if (habere gratias) to have a thankfull mind, will free a man from ingratitude, I shall never prove unthankefull. *Gratias etiam ago quam maximus.* I thank you, and thank you againe and againe, for all your former kindnesses, for the booke, and especially for the great love and affection you have alwaies shewed to me, and of late tyme to my poor children. But you shall knowe that I am not altogether idle, for I pray (after the directorie of the church of England) and preach everie Sunday at a place in the mountaines called Cumberworth, 2 myles beyond Emley, (where I have by the way Lawrence my Gaius or hoste.) It was proffered me by a gentleman, Mr. Wentworth, of Bretton, whom I never sawe savinge once before he sent unto me. And because it come (as all my ecclesiastical livings and preferments have done) without my seeking and suite, and because it is a lay donative, and in his power to give or detain, and the

* He was accused of having dealt out the sacramental bread to the communicants in a common basket.

† Qu. Whether the Liberty of Prophesying.

in gag * was past in that parish: I tooke it to be pointed out for me by God, as a little Zoar to preserve my life, and did accept it, though it will not reach to 40 marke per ann. Besides I trust to do God service in the exercise of my ministerie amongste that moorish and late rebellious plundering people. When I went first to Rochdale, you may remember what the old ostler at the Baytinge willed me to do, *Take with you* (said he) *a great box full of tarre, for you shall finde a great companie of scabbed sheepe.* The first Sunday I preached in the forenoone, and read service in the afternoone, and when I perceived by their murmerings that they must have 2 fodderings, I have made good use hereof, and whereas I might have given them 2 sixpences, they are well pleased if I give them 2 groates for a shilling; wh I intend to pay them, so childish they are in the right valueinge of God's coyne †. I pray you let me heare how my hobble friend Monsieur Rochforth doth and his sonne. The good (but much distressed) Ladie I greatly pittied, yet rejoyced to see her so comfortably chereful. Tell them when you write that I am in health, and cease not to pray for them. And when you meet with my Brother Rochester ‡, present my service; and to Dr. Smith remember my love, and I shall be glad to heare the continuance of yo^r health and wellfare. My brother John p'sents his service, and we remember you at Foxhall. God have you in his keepinge.

"Soothill, the 2d of April, 1651.

"Yo^r ever obliged ffriend,

"HENRIE ELPHIN.

"Most worthie S^r,

"I received yo^r l't'r when I was wh S^r Thomas Wentworth, whom I acquainted wh such contents of it as yo^u desired; my cosen George Radcliff and I had talked about a Burgsship for Clitherow, who was verie willinge to asist wth the best meanes he could to p'cure it, and to refer it to your dispose. But now all hope of p'vaylinge is extinct. For Mr. Chancelor of the Duchie hath verie latelie written a l't'r to the baylives and burgesses thereby challenging a right in the election for ev'ie Corporation whin his Countie, and hath named for Clitherowe one Mr. Shelton §. The Corporation dare not denie him, and the other place was longe agoe disposed to S^r Thomas Walmsley. S^r, though I fayle to p'cure the place for yo^u, it is not throughe difect of anie love or respect unto yo^u, but because the Burgesses of Clitherowe fayle wh me in p'formance of that wh divers of them both p'fored and p'mised, w^{ch} they are constrained by greatnes to fayle. And thus in haste, wth remembrance of my respect and service unto y^u, I ever remayne,

"Yo^r loveing frend and Cosen,

"Todmorden, December 26.

"SAVILE RADCLIFFE."

'To the right wo my worthie frend and cosen S^r Richard
Beaumont, kn . . . at Whitley or Longleyd'd"

* The Engagement.

† The Puritans required two sermons every Sunday; and the bishop, who seems to have been an œconomist of his doctrine, probably meant by this whimsical figure, that the people of Cumberworth were better pleased with two discourses of twenty minutes each, than with one of an hour.

‡ I suppose Bishop Warner.

§ These remnants of old borough intrigue are not wholly uninteresting. The reader will sigh or smile, as he may happen to be disposed, at this arbitrary claim of the chancellor: but, if government must command a majority in the House of Commons, prerogative is surely a smaller evil than property in boroughs, inasmuch as it is more honest to bully than to bribe. Sir Thomas Walmsley and William Fanshaw, esq. were returned for Clitheroe, A. D. 1621, which fixes the date of these letters.

"Honoured

“Honoured Sr,

“I was at Clitherowe upon Tuesdaie laste, where I did understand that Mr. Chancelor for Mr. Skelton or Sheldon would not be denied. And what I did heare that Mr. Auditor Fanshawe had made great meanes for the place, but some said that it was thought Mr. Auditor p’vided if yo^u had bene resolved when I last did see to keepe it in suspence, Mr. Chancelore and Mr. Auditors potencie p’vayled soe that nowe I ame perswaded if ether of them will have it, the p’mises w^h some of Burgesses did make mee will not be p’fourmed, I ame sorie it faileth soe forth, but howsoever I desire yo^u will accept my unfained respecte and love unto yo^u, wherein I will not fayle ever to remayne

Todmorden, December 30.

“Yo asured cozen and frend,

“SAVILE RADCLIFFE.

“I hope to heare from Clitherowe this night, if not will send word, then shall understand all more certain.”

“To my much honored frend
and cozen Sir Richard
Beaumont, Knight, at
Langley, theise be d’d.”

Tilson was succeeded by Robert Bath, A.M.* who married a niece of archbishop Laud; a man of very different principles from his patron: for he complied with all the changes of his times but the last, and retained his benefice till August 24th, 1662, when he went out on the Bartholomew Act, and retired to a small house at Deepleech Hill, in Castleton, where he frequently preached to crowded auditories. He was interred March 12th, 1673-4 †.

* By the Parl. Inq. for Salford Hundred, July 18th, 1650, it was found that “Maister Rob. Bath, vicar of Rachdale church, is a godley minister, and well supplies the cure, saving that he did not observe the last fast, and that he was presented by the late archbishop of Canterbury, (are we to understand “saving” before the last “that?”) and that the value of the glebe lands, &c. is 160*l.* tithes of Castleton worth 50*l.* Also that in Hundersfield are two chappels—Littleborough chap. dist. 3½ miles from the parish-church. Mr. Tho. Bradshaw, minister, hath his maintenance issuing out of the tithes of the chapelry. Think fit that the said chap. be made a parish-church.—Also that the other chapel within Hundersfield is a parochial chapel, called Todmorden, distant 8 miles. Mr. Francis Core, minister, who hath for his salary one small house built by the inhabitants, val. 6*s.* 8*d.* per an. The said Mr. Core not well qualified, but scandalous in life and conversation. The tithes of the said chapelry worth 20*l.* which the said Core enjoyeth. We present that it is fit that the said chapel be made a parish church, and that the boundaries of the parish be from Salter Rake to the Rokeing Stone, to Dove-Law Stone, to Hallowe Pen, to Annenden Sike, to Sheble Crosse, to Goodhill, to an Old Ditch on the East side of Ugghshute, to Shernyford, to Healden, to Willowing Coats, thence following the water to Todmorden, thence by Lower Swyne side to Salter Rake again.—Tithes of Hundersfield 100*l.*—That in Spotland is one chapel called Whitworth, distant from the parish church 3¾ miles, minister, Mr. George Holt, well qualified, salary one house and one acre of land, value 1*l.* and out of the great tithes about 26*l.* Fit to be made a parish within these boundaries, from Hades down to Clough House, after the water called Know Sike, past Stid between Stid and Ridings to Haslerode, to Smallshaye, to Sikebanke, to Naden Head, to Trough Yate, to Ugghshute and Hades again. Sequestred tithes of Spotland worth 65*l.*—Also that there is in Butterworth one chapel called Milnrow, distant 2 miles, minister, Mr. John Pollett, a godly orthodox minister and well qualified, received 50*l.* out of the sequestered tithes, together with 4*l.* 10*s.* given out of the same by the late Sir John Biron. Fit to be made a parish within the following bounds, viz. Coldgreave Blakegate, the Windiehills, Schofield, Great Cleggs and Belfield, the Rigg-Gate Haugh (qu. whether the Roman Road?) and Ogden: value of the tithes of Butterworth, 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*”

† Mr. Bath was born in Kent. Calamy says, that after his resignation of the Vicarage of Rochdale, he preached to a numerous auditory at a place called Underhill. I know of no such place near Rochdale—Underwood there is; but he certainly lived and died at Deepleech Hill. He was seventy years old. Calamy’s Account, 399, 400, where is also some account of Zachary Taylor, Mr. Bath’s Curate.

Within

Within little more than a month after the abdication of Mr. Bath, was inducted Henry Pigot, B.D. collated by archbishop Juxon, who being then very old and infirm, no time seems to have been lost in filling up the vacancy. Pigot is principally remembered as a whimsical textuary, who intended to divert rather than to instruct his hearers. Indeed his discourses, from the specimens which I have seen, appear to have been extremely jejune and unprofitable; a circumstance which would alone account for the crowded auditories which flocked to his ejected predecessor. He was, in fact, deservedly memorable for nothing but his long incumbency and life. On a black marble, within the rails of the altar, is the following remarkable inscription:—"Here is interred Henry Pigot, B.D. who died April 10th, 1722, in the 94th year of his age. He was rector of Brindle 71 years, and vicar of Rochdale 59 years seven months."

On the demise of Pigot, archbishop Wake collated to this benefice Thomas Dunster, D.D. prebendary of Lincoln, who had been a chaplain in the army under John, duke of Marlborough. He built the present vicarage-house, where he resided almost constantly during the period of thirty-two years; and dying July 1752, was on the 22d of that month interred on the South side of the choir, without any memorial.

Dr. Dunster was a dignified clergyman of the old school, grave, decent, and hospitable; he was besides an useful magistrate; but rendering himself unhappily famous by a very dull prose translation of Horace, he has had the honour of suffering, with two of his superiors, from the scourge of Swift.

"From Bentley's notes, my deadliest foes,
From Creech's rhymes and Dunster's prose."

His successor was Nathaniel Forster, D.D. fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, editor of a very accurate edition of the Hebrew Bible without points, and of some select Dialogues of Plato; of whom it is almost a sufficient eulogium to say, that he was the confidential chaplain and friend of bishop Butler, upon whom he attended in his last illness.

But he was a scholar and a preacher of the highest order, though little understood, and not very popular at Rochdale, where he did not long reside, but died at Bristol, and was interred in that cathedral, of which he was a prebendary, with the following epitaph:

"M. S.

Nathanielis Forster, S.T.P. nuperrime hujus Ecclesiæ Preb.; et paucis abhinc annis C.C.C. Oxon. Socii. Dignus sane erat, qui multifariæ laudis exemplar debeat proponi: Morum fideique integritate, quæ Christianum deceat, inculpatus; Eruditione, quæ Theologum ornet, instructissimus; optimarum Artium cognitione accuratâ præcellens. Eximiam Linguarum peritiam eò unicè direxit, ut insitam cuilibet genti indolem penitus inspiceret, proprium Scriptori cuique Ingenium certius erueret, puramque ex ipso Fonte derivaret Sacri Codicis simplicitatem; Hinc Naturâ sagax, Doctrinâ solers humanæ mentis Explorator, Philosophorum veterum Sectas, primariâ quadam placitorum communicatione sibi invicem affines, et in diversa paulatim diductas Scholarum Discrimina, præ cæteris calluit notare, et distinguere. Hinc porro reconditos Platonis sui sensus non, ut plerumque fit, leviter tantum perstringit; sed, quod a Platonis olim amico et familiari quodam expectandum fuisset, specioso verborum involucro exutos coram lectore sistit, fidus Interpres. Ne talem Virum non satis ob oculos haberent

haberent posteri, hoc amoris luctusque; sui Monumentum extare voluit Uxor superstes. Ob.
20^{mo} Octo. A.D. MDCCLVII. Ætat. 39^{mo}.” *

He was succeeded by James Tunstall, D.D. of whom the following entry in the admission books of St. John's College, Cambridge, will sufficiently record the birth and parentage:—
“*Jacobus Tunstall, Richmondensis, (a county, and a favoured county, in the estimation of the college) filius Jacobi Tunstall, attornati apud Richmondium, literis eruditus apud Slaedburn in Agro Eboracensi sub Mag. Bradbury, admissus subsizator 29 Jun. 1724, Tutore Dre. Edmundson, habens annos 16—.*” He was born at Aysgarth, in Wensley Dale, took the degree of A.B. in 1727; A.M. 1731; S.T.B. 1738; S.T.P. 1744; and was for many years assistant tutor to Mr. Wrigley, who having retired to his paternal estate of Langley, near Middleton, afterwards became his neighbour in the country.

In 1741, Mr. Tunstall was elected public orator, after a warm contest with Mr. Young, afterward D.D. and bishop of Norwich, and was allowed to hold that office, though absent in the service of archbishop Potter, (Mr. afterwards Dr. Balguy, being his deputy,) till 1746, when the grace for longer absence was rejected.

In the year 1741, he published his *Epistola ad V.C. Con. Middleton, S.T.P.* a work which did great credit to his classical abilities, and proved him well qualified for the office of public orator, to which, I suppose, he was then aspiring.

Of his theological acquirements, the world would have had a higher opinion, had his lectures on natural and revealed religion never seen the light.

On the death of archbishop Potter he settled at Great Chart, in Kent, a benefice which, together with Minster, in the Isle of Thanet, had been conferred upon him by that prelate; and from hence he was removed by archbishop Hutton, in 1757, to the vicarage of Rochdale, of which he was wont to complain to his intimate friends, as ill circumstanced, and falling much beneath his expectations in point of value.

I have dwelt the longer on this article, as Dr. Tunstall was a man of great modesty and amiable temper, as well as extensive learning, exceedingly respected and beloved by his pupils, and particularly by one whom I have reason to remember with the same sentiments.

He died in London, March 28th, 1762, and I have not learned the place of his interment.

Next followed Thomas Wray, D.D. Fellow of Christ College, Cambridge, and successively chaplain to Archbishops Hutton and Secker, born of poor parents at Bentham, in Yorkshire, in the church-yard of which place he has inscribed an affectionate epitaph to the memory of a careful and laborious mother, who was, under Providence, the instrument of his advancement in life †.

* Here is too much of Plato, and too little of Christ.—A well known buffoon, who hated him and his order, bestowed upon his memory a very different epitaph:

“ Full three feet deep, beneath this stone,
Lies our late Vicar Foster,
Who clipt his sheep to th' very bone,
But said no Paternoster.”

† One of his first steps as vicar of Rochdale was, to procure an act of parliament (for which his successors as well as the town are much indebted to his memory) enabling the vicar for the time being to grant building leases for the term of 99 years.

He

He was a pious, abstemious, mortified man, never married, of weak constitution, of most amiable deportment, yet a zealous reprover of vice in public and in private: he had learned too, from his master Secker, not to despise the meanest, nor to shrink from the most disgusting offices of his function:—it ought rather perhaps to be said, that both had learned this temper of an higher teacher.

Those who knew and understood him will not be displeased to have the peculiar expression of his countenance recalled to their memory by a single stroke from the hand of Mr. Thyer, the excellent editor of Butler's remains:—

“ While modest Wray, with silent grace,
Just steals a meaning smile.”

A plain stone, within the altar rails, has the following inscription, which renders any farther account of this good man superfluous:—

“ H. S. E.

Thomas Wray, S.T.P. hujus ecclesiæ Vicarius ob. 22^{do} Die Februarii, 1778,
annos natus 55.”

His successor was Richard Hind, D.D. born at Boddington, in Northamptonshire, A.D. 1715, became student of Christ Church, Oxford, about the year 1730, A.M. in 1726, B.D. in 1745, and D.D. in 1749; was instituted to the rectory of Shering, Essex, on the presentation of the College, and collated by Dr. Terrick, Bishop of London, to the rectory of St. Anne's, Soho, both which he vacated for the vicarage of Rochdale, in 1778.—Dr. Hind published three detached sermons; one preached before the University; a second before the House of Commons, on the 30th of Jan.; and a third at St. Paul's, before the sons of the clergy. I have not seen the second; and can only say, therefore, that the first and third are excellently written, and would want no advantage of person, deportment, or elocution in the delivery.

His gravestone, close to that of his predecessor, is thus inscribed:

“ Richard Hind, D.D. 12 years vicar of this parish, died 18 Feb. 1790, æt. 75.”

The present incumbent of this rich benefice is Thomas Drake, D.D. great grandson of Dr. Drake, prebendary of York, born at Halifax, Yorkshire, A.D. 1745, educated at Winchester, under the care of his relation, the celebrated Dr. Balguy, admitted of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1764, A.B. 1768, A.M. 1771, S.T.B. 1779, S.T.P. 1784; elected Fellow of the College 1769, by which he was presented to the rectory of Little Hornead, in Essex; appointed domestic chaplain to archbishop Moore, 1783, and by him collated to the rectory of Hadley, in Suffolk; and afterwards, in 1790, to the vicarage of Rochdale.

The valuable glebe of this vicarage extends more than a mile in length along the southern bank of the Roach, and consists of 134 acres of land, Lancashire measure, on which, in 1783*, were at least 200 houses.

The

* Terrier eo anno.

The chapel of the Holy Trinity, at the east end of the South aisle, is now the property of the Townleys, of Belfield. I cannot discover the founder, or æra of its foundation. A moiety of it was purchased by Alexander Butterworth, of Belfield, Esq. 1665, and a seat within it belonged to the Buckleys, of Buckley, and was their place of interment. In this church, Nov. 25, 1800, was interred Dr. Matthew Young, bishop of Clonfert*, in Ireland, who died of a cancer at Whitworth, whither he had come to avail himself of the skill of a practitioner (*rusticus abnormis sapiens*), who was probably recommended by having prolonged the life of another prelate, in circumstances equally calamitous.

On the south side of the altar, on a large mural monument, is the following epitaph :

“ M. S.

Jacobi Holte de Castleton Arm. et Dorotheæ Filix Tho. Grantham de Goltho, in Agro Lincolnensi Arm. Uxoris carissimæ.

Ipse Oxoniæ educatus et coll. Æn. Nas. cooptatus socius, literis tum humanis tum divinis non mediocriter imbutus, pietate et amœno ingenio eruditionem ornavit, Regi subditus semper fidelissimus, Ecclesiæ Ang. assertor strenuus, cujus quicquid sanctissime mandat sedulus observator, fanaticorum indocti gregis quicquid delirant contemptor summus. Vir ad antiquæ probitatis, fidei ac pietatis normam factus, pietatem coluit sine fūco, scientiam sine fastu, prudentiam sine asperitate, justiciam sine rigore, sui tantum rigidus censor. Illa Dei timens, viri amans, familiæ prospiciens, summa prudentiâ res omnes administravit, filias quas septem peperit, pie ac prudenter eduxit, moribus optimis suisque simillimis imbuens, exemplo direxit magis quam præceptis. Uterque pietate in Deum, comitate in amicos, hospitalitate in omnes, charitate in egenos insignes; ut pauperum ille pater, illa mater haberetur, pueros ille, illa puellas proprio sumptu curaverunt educandos. Ne tantarum virtutum memoriam indigna premeret oblivio, quatuor filix superstites, in æternam memoriam Marmora hæc æquis sumptibus posuere.

Natus Octobri, A.D. MDCXLVII. }
 Obijt vii^o Idus Jan. A.D. MDCCXII. }
 Illa nata xv^{to} Call. Majas, A.D. MDCLVIII.
 Obijt iii^o Nonas Martias, A.D. MDCCXVIII.”

Near this is a stone inscribed as follows, to the memory of one, who had all the generous attachments and all the virtuous prejudices of ancient descent; an ardent lover of antiquity, and a zealous friend of the History of Whalley.

“ Here (‘ on the south side, within the quyre of Rochdale church, where his auncestors had been accustomed to be buryed’), lies the body of John Chadwick, Esq. of Healy Hall, late Lieut. Col. R. L. M. the 12th in descent from Nicholas de Chadwick, and the 17th from John de Heley. He was the youngest son of Charles Chadwick, Esq. of Mavesyn-Ridware in Staffordshire, (who was the 22d in descent from Malvesyn the Norman,) and younger brother of Charles Chadwick Sacheverell, Esq. of Newhall, in Warwickshire, and of Callow, in Derbyshire, who was the 15th from Delalaunde, of Callow, baptized at Ridware 25th Feb. 1719-20; died 23d, buried 29th Nov. 1800.—An active officer, an impartial magistrate, and a truly honest man. He married Susannah, youngest daughter of Robert Holt, Esq. of Shevington,

* After a few months. the body was removed to Dublin.

who was nephew of Alexander Holt, Esq. of Grislehurst, and descended from the Holts of Stubble, latterly of Castleton. She died at Manchester 19th, and was buried here 22d Jan. 1765, aged 54.

Istud mulieris exemplar!

They left issue one daughter Mary, and one son Charles, now of Healey, Ridware, Newhall, and Callow, 1801."

There is also a Chapel within Hundersfield, in this town, built by contribution in 1744, consecrated by Bishop Peploe.

The Chapel of Saddleworth, the only one upon the old foundation within this parish, was erected by William de Stapleton, lord of that remote and barbarous tract, in the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century; for by charter, without date, Geoffry (the elder) dean of Whalley, and the vicar (that is, on the first foundation) of St. Cedde, in Rachedam, with the consent of Roger de Lacy, patron (advocati) of the said church, gave licence to the said Stapleton to cause divine offices to be celebrated in his chapel at Sadleword. Witness, John, brother of the dean*.

Again, by another charter, also without date, the same William de Stapleton swears upon the sacred relics in the mother church of St. Chad, to pay to the said mother church all the tithes, &c. of the forest of Sadleword, and to compel (*homines suos*) his homagers to do the same; on which condition Roger de Lacy and Geoffry the dean licence a chaplain to celebrate, in his chapel of Sadleword, to be presented to the parson of the mother church, and to swear canonical obedience; an oath always exacted of chaplains in ancient times†.

Thirdly, Robert de Stapleton‡, whom I suppose to have been son of the former, grants, for the use of a chaplain, in the chapel of Sadleword, XIII acres§ of arable land, with a toft, on which to erect a competent manse for a chaplain, pasture for ten cows, with their followers, to three years old; eight oxen; and 60 sheep, with their lambs, *salva venatione sua et avibus suis alias capientibus*||.

Lastly, by another charter, without date, a composition is made between the inhabitants of this district and the abbot and convent of Stanlaw, by which it is agreed, that the former shall

* Coucher Book, t. 4.

† Ibid. and Townl. MSS.

‡ Coucher Book, ib.—The Stapletons, I believe, were of Thorp Stapleton, near Leeds. There is in possession of R. H. Beaumont, of Whitley, Esq. a charter, by which Robert de Stapleton, probably the same as above, grants "Deo B. V. M. et S. Jacobo de Kirkeleys 8 acres, &c. in Sadelworthe—housebote and haybote, &c. &c. *salvis mihi et heredibus meis, feris forestæ meæ et omnibus aliis dignitatibus forestæ*."

§ These still remain in the possession of the curate.

|| This is a very early mention of hawking, which was revived in Europe, about the date of this charter, by the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, who died an. 1189. The sport was certainly known to the ancients, as it is referred to by Martial, in the following lines:

"Prædo fuit volucrum, famulus nunc aucupis, idem
Decipit, et captas non sibi mæret aves"—

The last words resemble, "*avibus suis alias capientibus*."—Such is the received opinion with respect to the *æra* at which the practice of hawking was revived in the middle ages; but the frequent mention of "*aira accipitrum*," in Domesday, seems to prove the existence of the sport a century before, as it is difficult to account for the insertion of a fact so unimportant on every other supposition.

repair the body of the chapel, the enclosure of the yard, with the tower, and find bells for the same, and the latter shall repair the chancel, and find books and vestments.

There are now within this tract three modern Chapels of ease. Frear Meere, consecrated by bishop Keene 1768; Dob-Cross, consecrated by bishop Cleaver 1787; and Lidyate, by the same, in 1788.

The original town of Rochdale, if it deserved the name, was entirely within the township of Castleton, and in the environs of the ancient castle, of which the keep, a lofty artificial mount of earth, still remains, as it gave name to the township. From this circumstance, as we have already shown that the villare of this country is almost entirely Saxon, I conclude that this castle existed before the Conquest*; and in a curious fragment in the Harleian library, which I conceive to be part of an inquisition after the death of Thomas of Lancaster, it is described merely as the site of an ancient castle, long since gone to decay.

The words of the fragment are these:

“Rachedale ab antiquo vocata Racheham est quædam patria continens in longum XII mil. et amplius et in lat. X mil. et amplius, et valet annuatim ultra reprisas IIII^c, et continet in se IIII villas divitatas et multas hamblettas, cum multis magnis vastis in eisdem villis et hamblettis vid. Honorisfeld, Spotland, Buckworth (*sic*), et Castleton.”

And in another MS. as we have seen the church once called the church of Castleton, so this township is reciprocally termed Villa Castelli de Ratcheham.

But of the hamlets, and some of the subordinate manors within this parish, a much more circumstantial account is given in Dodsworth's MS. Oxf. Bib. Bod. vol. 161, where we read as follows:

“Todmorden cum magna vasta tenetur de Wm. de Haworth—W. tenet eam de Tho. de Sayvile & Thomas de Dom. Rege, et feoffati sunt ut de dominico de Lincoln, qui quidem tempore suo ea tenuit de Edmundo Com. Lancast. qui de Rege.

“Walsden, cum magna vasta de Rob. Holt, et ab eo de Tho. Sayville.

“Honorisfeld Wordhull, Wordelworth, Spotland, Whyteworth, Hely, Chadwycke, Holynworke, Butterworthe, Clegg, Newbolde, Burdshill.—Castelton Hamlet est ibm locus vocatus Castel Hill et dudum fuit scit. cujusd. castelli ut creditur et dudum fuerunt XII burgenses, & nunc sunt in decasu.”

The manor of Rochdale, which contained within these ample bounds many subordinate manors, of which some still subsist and others are lost, is itself a member of the great honor of Clitheroe, and was granted out by the Lacies to the Ellands of Elland, at a very early period, certainly not later than the reign of Stephen†. From them it passed to the Savilles, of whom Henry Saville granted his manor of Rachdale, Rob. filio bastardo 30 Hen. VIII. ‡

* Yet it is not mentioned in Domesday; which Penwortham is. As the name of the township must then have been in existence, it is more probable that the castle was then gone to decay, than that it was of later date.

† From the arms of Rachdale, of Rachdale, Sable, an inescutcheon, within eight martlets in orle Argent; formerly in the windows of Elland chapel, there is some reason to suspect, that soon after the Conquest, and about the origin of local surnames, this manor was held by that family, perhaps descendants of Gamel, and that it passed, by marriage, to the Ellands.

‡ Townl. MSS.

How it reverted from that family to the Crown, I am not informed, but in 39th Eliz. I find Sir John Biron styling himself Firmarius Manerii de Rochdale.

But the progress of this family, from the situation of farmers to that of lords, was not immediate; for King Charles I. by letters patent bearing date an. reg. 1mo. under the great seal, and the seals of the duchy and county palatine, granted, *inter cætera*, the manor of Rochdale, with its appurtenances, to Edward Ramsey, Esq. and Robert Ramsey, gent. at the request of John, earl of Holderness, and in trust for the same, under the yearly fee-farm rent of £.67. 15s. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.

And the said Edward Ramsey (Robert Ramsey being dead) afterwards, by the consent of the said earl, conveys the manor, with its appurtenances, to Sir Robert Heath, knight, his heirs and assigns.

Again, Sir Robert Heath, by indenture bearing date 28th June, 13th Car. 1mi. in consideration of the sum of £.2,500 conveys the manor aforesaid to Sir John Biron, knight, afterwards created, by the same king, baron of Rochdale, and his heirs, subject to the fee-farm rent aforesaid, which in consequence of the grant of Charles II. to General Monk, is still paid to the lords of the honor of Clitheroe*.

In the 25th of Henry III. Edmund de Lacy granted a market to be held at his manor of Rachdale, every Tuesday, and Henry de Lacy granted to Edward de Balshagh the office of serjeant *de notre fraunche curie de Rachdam, ap. Ightenhull*, 1st Dec. 1st Edw. I.

The grammar school of this town was founded by Archbishop Parker, by indenture bearing date Jan. 1, in the 7th year of Queen Elizabeth, upon a piece of ground near the church yard, given for that purpose by Richard Midgley, vicar, and endowed with 17*l. per ann.* for the master, and 2*l.* for the usher, payable by Sir John Biron, knight, and John Biron, esq. his son, lessees of the rectory of Rachdale.—The original deed is in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, the great deposit of Archbishop Parker's MSS. and is attested Robert Winton (Horne), Richard Ely (Cox), Alexander Nowell, dean of Pauls, &c.

It has been increased, by subsequent benefactions, to about £.30 *per annum*; a poor reward for an industrious and able master, such as I remember there, and to whom I still feel myself daily indebted †.

The parish of Rochdale, as distinct from Saddleworth, may be considered as two vallies formed by the Roch and Spodden, with the great inclined planes and collateral gullies sloping down to each. It is divided into four great townships: Hundersfield (anciently Honoresfeld), Spotland (Spoddenland), Butterworth, and Castleton, as these are again subdivided into many hamlets ‡.

* In the time of the Usurpation, I find a Sir Thomas Alcock, knt. holding courts here (1654), and styling himself lord of the manor of Rochdale. He had probably the sequestration of the Byron estate.

† The Rev. John Shaw.

‡ By an inquisition taken Nov. 13, 7 Jac. the boundaries of this parish are found to be as follows: beginning at Colgreave, in Butterworth, east to Dobbin Hill, then east to Little Mere Clough Head, thence to the Redmires, then north to the Middle Greave, in Lingreave, to Blakegate Foot, then north to Rowkin Stone, then to the Slacks in the Moss upon Walsden Edge, thence north to Cold Loughton, north to Dovelaw, to Stoney Edge, to Salter Rake, then between Great and Little Swineshead to Todmorden Water, descending by which to Steaner's Close, thence to Mittony Close in Todmorden, thence to Calder, following which to Roodilee, to Hollinrake Holme, and ascending Calder, to Beater Clough Foot, to Sherneyford, to Greave Clough, to Bacup, to Rockliff Lumm, following the river to Brandwood, then to Carr Gate, to Cowap Brook, then ascending to the head of the same, thence to the height

HONORSFELD.

Huneresfeld, Honorhusfeld, 1322, 1332, probably the field of Honore, a Saxon word, contracted from Honorius, contains the hamlets of Wardle, Weurdle, Wardleworth, Blatchinworth, Calderbrook, and Todmorden with Walsden, as also the Chapels of Todmorden and Littleborough, both certainly erected after the year 1400, and before the reformation.

On the erection of Todmorden Chapel I have not been able to find any account; but the remains of some quaterfoils, walled into the present building, which look like remains of a tomb, appear to belong to the reign of Henry VIII. at latest. Here is the old House of the Ratcliffes (most probably founders of the chapel), rebuilt, but left unfinished by Savile Ratcliffe, esq. as appears by his arms in the wainscot, impaling those of Catherine Hyde, his last wife. An account of this ancient family, who resided for several centuries at Merley and Todmorden* alternately, has been given under the former place†.

On the verge of Cliviger are the trifling remains of Bernshaw Tower, of which, though undoubtedly a small fortified house in the pass over the hills from Burnley to Todmorden, I have never been able to discover any memorials.

The Chapel of Littleborough, still remaining in its original state, is said to have been licensed for mass by the abbey and convent of Whalley, A.D. 1476, and the wood work within apparently belongs to this period‡.

Not far from hence is Stubley, long the residence of the parent house of the Holts, a memorable name in these parts, but originally of Holt, in Butterworth. They bore A. on a bend engrailed Sable three fleurs de lys of the field. This house appears to have been built in the reign of Henry VIII. by Robert Holt, Esq. who occurs in 1528, and whose crest, a pheon, appears on the mantle-piece of a chimney.

This is the first specimen, within the compass of our work, of a stone or brick hall house of the second order, that is, with a centre and two wings only. It contains within much carving in wood, particularly a rich and beautiful screen betwixt the hall and parlour, with a number of crests, cyphers, and cognizances, belonging to the Holts, and other neighbouring families. It was abandoned for the warmer and more fertile situation of Castleton, by Robert Holt, esq. about the year 1640.

height of the Moss, to Ackinbut, to Jumholes, to the West Grain of Cheeseden down the Brook to Cheeseden Lumm, then to the White Ditch, on Codshaw, so following the Water of Naden to the Wolf-stone, in Naden Water, following the said Water to a Ditch in Bagslade Shore, then to Jowkin Well, following an old Ditch to Calf Hey, in Bagslade, to the east side of Naigh Maigh Hill, thence to the Pinfold on Bagslade, following the Brook to the River Roch, following Roch to Heywood, then ascending to Heeden Brook, to Hopwood Hamlet, then to Thornham Hamlet, then to Hathershaw Deane, then following the top of Brunedge to Knotbooth Gate, then following the Boundaries of Crompton to Helpet Edge, then to Ogden Edge, thence to Coldgreave.

* The oldest orthography of this word is *Todmaredene*. *Mare*, according to the pronunciation of the neighbourhood, is *mere*. I conceive, therefore, the meaning of the word to be, The valley of the mere abounding with toads. But perhaps it may be derived from *tod*, a fox.

† By charter dated June 2d, 29th Henry VI. William de Ratcliff grants all his lands, rents, and services, in Hundesfield, to Thomas lord Clifford, Thomas Pilkington of Pilkington, esq. and others, in trust. These were zealous Lancastrians, and this step was pretty certainly intended to save a forfeiture. I have the original power of attorney to deliver possession, in consequence of this last conveyance, and have often been struck by the marks of haste and trepidation with which it was written, strongly implying a state of great perplexity and confusion.—Several old tombs of the Radcliffes, with the arms, yet remain in the church-yard of Todmorden.

‡ It has lately been rebuilt.

Long

Long before the Holts, appear at this place a Nicholas and John de Stubble, in the years 1322, 1332: then, in succession, John, Geoffry, Robert, and Christopher Holt. Christopher had Thomas, living in 1495, who had Robert *, justice of peace, living 1528, whose daughter Mary married Charles Holt, Esq. her cousin, descended from the first Robert. Charles died in 1592, leaving John, who married Dorothy, daughter of Nicholas Banaster, of Altham, Esq. and died in 1662, leaving Robert, who, besides other sons who died young, had by his second wife, Dorothy, daughter of John Bullock, of Derley, in Derbyshire, Esq. James Holt, Esq. last of Castleton, who by Dorothy, daughter of Thomas Grantham, of Goltho, com. Linc. Esq. had issue, 1st, Frances, married James Winstanley, Esq. of Branston, com. Leic. the grandson of which marriage, Clement Winstanley, Esq.; 2d, Elizabeth, married William Cavendish, of Doveridge, com. Derb. by whom Sir Henry, who had Sir Henry, who had Frances, married Richard Green, Esq. by whom Frances, married Charles Chadwick, Esq.; 3d, Isabella, unmarried; 4th, Mary, married July 20th, 1714, Samuel Chetham, of Turton, Esq. who purchased the shares of the other sisters, and dying intestate without issue, March 1744, was succeeded by Humphrey, his brother, and he by their kinsman Edward, counsellor at law, Moston, near Manchester, as tenant for life. He died Feb. 20th, 1768, on which event, in consequence of a settlement made by Humphry Chetham, the estates in Castleton, &c. devolved to James Winstanley, Esq. by whose son Clement they were soon after sold.

Next is Buckley, which gave name and residence to the most ancient family within the parish of Rochdale.—Of this name, the first who occurs is

Geoffry de Buckley †, nephew to Geoffry dean of Whalley, who lived in the reign of Henry II.; then John and Adam, 1323, and another Geoffry, slain at the battle of Evesham, and interred in the Abbey Church. He had John, occurring from 1340 to 1370, who had Adam, who marrying Alice, daughter of Thomas, son of William de la Leigh, had John, born 19 Edw. III. who had Robert, living 16th Richard II. He had John, who married, 2d Henry IV. Alice, daughter of Roger Wolfenden, and had issue Ralph, who had James, living 38th Henry VI. who had Robert, living 11th Henry VII.—He had issue Thomas, living 1507, who had James, living 1512, who by Alice, daughter of Haworth, gentleman, of Haworth, had Thomas, living 1534, who married Grace, daughter of Arthur Ashton, of Clegg, and Catharine, married Mr. Thomas Chadwick, of Hely; Thomas had Abel, ob. 1637, who had John, ob. 1674, who by Beatrice, daughter of William Browne, of Mexborough in Yorkshire, Esq. had another Abel, ob. 1675, who married Judith, daughter of Cockaine, of Cockaine Hatley, com. Bedf. Esq. and had Edward Buckley, esq. buried in the Trinity Chapel, Rochdale, 1687. He had an uncle Thomas, brother of Abel, who married, in 1689, Anne Haslam, and dying in Toad lane, 1697, appears to have left a daughter, who marrying Forster, Prothonotary, at Preston, had Thomas Forster Buckley, Esq. of Preston, father of Edward Buckley, Esq. now alive ‡, who sold the estate of Buckley to the late Robert Entwistle, Esq. of Foxholes.

* In an old visitation of Lancashire, by Thomas Tong, Norroy, 30 Henry VIII. is this singular entry:—"Robarde Holte, of Stubble, hase mar. an ould woman. by whom he hase none issewe. and therefore he wolde not have her name entried."

† Coucher Book.

‡ He died A.D. 1816.

Entwistle, of Foxholes, bears A. on a bend engrailed S. three mullets of the first. Of this family, the first who occurs is

George Entwistle, of Entwistle, who dying s. p. left a brother and heir, William, who married Alice, daughter and heir of Bradshaw, of Bradshaw, Esq. and had Edmund Entwistle, first of Foxholes. He had issue Richard, who by daughter of Arthur Ashton, of Clegg, had Richard, who married Grace, daughter of Mr. Robert Chadwick, of Hely Hall, and had John Entwistle, Esq. who marrying Dorothy, daughter of Robert Holt, of Castleton, Esq. had issue Richard, born 1651.—Richard married Ellenor, daughter of Hugh Currer, of Kildwick, Esq. and had Robert, a very able and distinguished magistrate, born 1692, ob. 1778, unmarried, and Edmund, who married daughter of Preston, of Ellal Grange, and left Robert, who died unmarried and possessed of the estate, 1787.—Besides Richard, the issue of John Entwistle and Dorothy Holt, was Bertie, vice-chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Edmund, D. D. archdeacon of Chester, who married a daughter of bishop Stratford. Bertie had issue Ellen, married to Mr. John Markland, of Wigan, by whom John Markland, Esq. of Manchester, by whom John Markland Entwistle, Esq. justice of peace for Lancashire, now possessed of the estate, who married Ellen, daughter of Hugh Lyle, of Coleraine, Esq. and has issue Ellen, John, Hugh Robert, Elizabeth, Robert, Henry, Bertie, Phil. Bize, Margaret, Mary.

To this family unquestionably belonged the famous Sir Bertine Eintwisle, viscount and baron of Bolebec*.

Next of the four townships is

BUTTERWORTH†,

Of which the first lord who appears was Reginald de Butterworth, probably in the reign of Stephen or Henry II.; and, in the reign of John, lived Sir Baldwin Teutonicus, or de Tyas,

* “Ther was a vicount of in Normandy, caulld Bertine or Bertram Eintwisell, that came into England and was much of the faction of Henry VI. and slayne at one of the battails of St. Albans.—There yet remaynith in Leic’shire a mene gentilman (that is, of moderate fortune) of the name of Eintwisell.” *Leland. Itin.*—The name occurs among the Sheriffs of Leicester and Warwickshire. Sir Bertine had probably obtained his titles and estates in Normandy from Henry V. which will account for his attachment to his son; but he was certainly a Lancashire man, as I have shewn under Oswaldtwisle.

† I have seen 14 original Charters, all transcribed into the Black Book of Clayton, relating to this township, and some of them of very high antiquity, probably as high as Henry II. or Richard I. Several of the Seals, which are exceedingly rude, have been well preserved. The following are abstracts of some of them, with the genuine orthography of the proper names:

1. “Hen. le Wild. (unde fort. Wildhouse) de Bot’worth, d. & c. D^{no} Joh. de Byron, et D^{ne} Joh^e ux. hom. et serv. Ric. f. Rog. de Bot’worth: Test. int. cet. Tho. de Haston (Assheton). *SIGILL TOME WILDE.*

2. Ad’ de Slaveden (Sladen) d. & c. Swain’ fil. suo 1 bov. infr. divisas de Okeden (Ogden):—Test. Ad. de Turneha. Mat. de Cleg. Hug’ de Belefield.

3. Ric. de Garthside d. & c. D^{no} Joh. de Buron, pro 5 den. arg. et 1 sagit. de ferro, omnem terram quam tenuit de Galf. de Bot’worth: Tes. Joh. fi. Gamil, &c.

4. Joh. le Byru’ d. & c. Ri. f. Rob. de Garthside, p’tem terræ meæ in villata de Budwrd. S. IOPANNIS de BIRVN. Three bends.

5. Wils Faber. de Butw’rth, &c. Joh. f. Ric. de Turnehagh: Test. Ief. de Buckley, Mich. de Cleg, Rad. de le Faleng, Andrew de le Halcht.

6. Turnhagh ad Turnehagh. S. LAFDI. D. TVRNA.

7. Ric. f. Ric. de Turnhagh, d. & c. D^{no} Joh. de Buron et D^{ne} Joh. ux. tot. ter. quæ vocatur Turnehagh.

8. Joh.

who granted to Sir Robert de Holland, in free marriage with Johan. his daughter, all his lands in Rachdale, viz. in Butterworth, Cleggs, Garthside, Akeden, Holynworths, Halght, &c.—She survived her husband, and married, 2d, Sir John de Byron, to whom conjointly, by the name of Dns. and Dna. nostra, occur several grants of lands in Butterworth, at this period.—The Ellands, however, as lords of Rochdale, claimed a superiority in this manor; for I find Hugh de Elland granting lands here to the same Sir John Biron, “salvo mihi Domin. mihi pert. in eadem villa et hom. et serv.” 20th Edw. I.; yet, in the first of that reign, Biron had a charter of free warren in Butterworth*. By inq. however, taken . . . Car. II. it was found that here was no manor at all†.

In this township is the chapel of Milurow, probably erected not long before the dissolution of Chantries, and sold to the principal inhabitants by Richard Bold, and others, Commissioners, a^o . . . Edward VI. for divine service. It has lately been rebuilt, and was consecrated by Dr. Cleaver, Bishop of Chester, 1799.

On the bank of the Beil is the ancient house of Belfield, parcel of the possessions of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and, after the dissolution of that order, the property of the Butterworths, of whom Alexander Butterworth, Esq. dying in extreme old age, devised this and other considerable estates to Richard Townley, son of a younger son of Royle, in whose grandson, after passing through the last worthy possessor, they are still vested. In this township are Clegg-Hall, a strong square building, apparently of James the First's time, built by the Ashtons, and Little Clegg, the only estate within the parish which still continues in the local family name. Of this house or the adjoining one were Bernulf de Clegg and Quenilda his wife, as early as the reign of Stephen.

CASTLETON.

So called from the Castellum de Recedham, was principally abbey land, having been granted in divers parcels to the house of Stanlaw, by its devout proprietors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Of these, the hamlet of Merland, which appears after the dissolution to

8. Joh. fil. Lenecock de Hokeden, d. &c. D^o Joh. de Byrun, tot. ter. in But'fordach, in Hokeden.

9. Hen. f. Lenecock de Hokeden, d. &c. D^{no} Joh. de Buyrun D^{no} meo, et D^{ne} Joh. ux. tot. ter. meam in Hokeden.

10. Tho. Wilde, d. &c. cest. terr. W. fil. Ric. de Cliffe, A.D. 1284.

11. Wm. de Cliffe, d. &c. D^{no} Joh. de Byrun D^{no} meo & D^{ne} Joh. ux. 1 bov. ter. in Betworth, cum al. ter. ex illa parte Bele, usq. le Hale'.

12. Tho. f. W. B'herf, d. &c. Ric. de Oagehde', totam terram quam Andr. de Cleg. mihi dedit in vill. de Cleg."

* These steps have been retrieved from the Black Book of Clayton, of which I have lately met with a copy at Towneley. It is a complete and curious Chartulary of the evidences of the Biron family, consisting of 330 charters, down to the reign of Henry VI. when it was transcribed, A.D. 1426. The tombs of the Teutonici are still remaining very entire in the little chapel of Ledes, near Abberford, with the arms, viz. a foss and three mallets in chief. The epitaphs still, for the most part, very legible, and in Longobardic characters, are as follow:—"Nobilis Domina Margoria ejus aie p. . . Deus, amen.

"Nobilis miles Baldwinus Teutonicus ejus, &c.

Franconis Tiesci ici gist Chevaler."

† As an instance of the extreme laxity of inquisitions, it was found 26th Henry VIII. that Thomas Belfield held lands of Robert Holt, esq. as of his manors of Spotland, Hundersfield, and Butterworth.—Townel. MSS. So necessary it is, in order to establish a manor, to prove, not what rights have been conveyed, but what have been exercised,

have been granted to the Radcliffs, of Langley, was sold by Henry Radcliff, to Charles Holt, of Stubble, Esq.; as two third parts of the rest of the township appear to have been by William Grose and Charles Newcome, Gentlemen, original purchasers from Queen Elizabeth. Here is Castleton-Hall, a large irregular pile, the residence of the Holts from the time of their quitting Stubble, about 1640, to the death of James Holt, Esq. in 1713; afterwards of the Cheethams, till the death of Edward Cheetham, Esq. in 1769. Castleton includes the hamlets of Marland, Beurdsill, and Newbold*.

SPOTLAND,

Extending from the source of the Spodden nearly to its union with the Roach. This township, consisting of the hamlets of Falings, Healey, Whitworth, Wolstonholme, and Spodland proper, contained a very large proportion of abbey land, in consequence of which, though without any specific grant, so far as I have been able to discover, the manor of Spotland itself was claimed by the abbot and convent of Whalley; after the dissolution of which, by charter bearing date exactly five years and nine days after the execution of Abbot Paslew, Henry VIII. granted to Thomas Holt, of Grizzlehurst†, Esq. the manor of Spotland, with its appurtenances, lately belonging to the monastery of Whalley, and which “came into our hands, or ought to have come, by reason of the attainure of John Paslew, the late abbot there, which lately hath been attained of high treason,” for the sum of £.641. 16s. 8d. These premises included the whole of Brandwood!

In this family they continued till the year 1667, when they were sold by Thomas Posthumus Holt, Esq. last in the direct line of Grizzlehurst.

The connecting link of this house with that of Stubble is unfortunately lost.

Ralph Holt, however, first of Grizzlehurst, “is said” to have been a second son of Stubble; he married a daughter of Sir Geoffry Brockhole, and had issue James, who by Isabel, daughter of Mr. John Abram, of Abram, had Ralph: Ralph Holt married Anne, daughter of Sir John Langley, of Edgecroft, had issue Sir Thomas Holt, knighted by Edward earl of Hertford, in Scotland, 36 Henry VIII. who, by Dorothy, daughter of Ralph Langford, of Langford, in Derbyshire, Esq. had Francis: Francis Holt married Hellen, daughter of Sir John Holcroft; he was living 10th Elizabeth, and had issue Thomas, who married Constance, daughter of Sir Edward Littleton, of Pillaton Hall, in the county of Stafford, and had Francis, who married daughter of William Ashton, of Clegg, Esq. and had issue Theophilus, who by Alice, daughter of John Greenhalgh, Esq. of Brandlesome, had issue Thomas Posthumus, and died about 1630. Thomas Posthumus Holt married Anne, daughter of John Goodhand, Esq. of Kermond in the Mire, in the county of Lincoln, by whom Thomas, who died an infant. Thomas Posthumus, the father, alienated these estates, and having been much indebted to his cousin Alexander Holt, goldsmith, of London, devised Grizzlehurst to him. He had an estate, at that time worth £.1000. per annum, and having been a great sufferer for his loyalty, was designed for the order of the Royal Oak, had it been instituted. He died, according to a MS memorandum which I have seen, “25th March 1669, after sown sett a

* Andrew, son of Alan de Merland, bequeathed his body to be buried at Stanlaw, and all his lands in Spotland to the said house. Executors, D^{no} Wilm^o Priore de Stanlaw, et Fra. Hen. de Blackburn. Coucher Book.

† Grizzlehurst is in the parish of Middleton and township of Birtle-cum-Bamford; but of the ancient mansion of the Holts there are few remains.

hower, as they report it." What can be traced of the alliance of the Holts, of Grizzlehurst, with Alexander Holt, devisee of the last Thomas Posthumus, is this. Thomas Holt, who married Constance Littleton, had three brothers, Francis, Richard, and John, from one of whom came William Holt, who by Margaret Standish, of Standish, had Edward, who married Dorothy Dickenson, of Cople, and another son (who had John Holt, of Wigan,) expressly styled uncle to Alexander. If there were no other brother, therefore, Alexander was son of Edward; at all events he was grandson of William: again, Edward Holt, who married Dickenson, had Edward, who had another Edward, married Jane, daughter of Jeoffry Prescott, of Shevington, by whom Edward Holt, of Ince.

The Chapel of Whitworth* appears by an indenture, dated 24 Henry VIII. to have been erected by some of the principal inhabitants, who were greatly assisted and encouraged by Robert Holt, of Stubbley, Esq. It is remarkable, that this was an æra of chapel building, in the parish of Whalley, with its dependencies, and that most of the original structures have grown ruinous, and been rebuilt within our own memories. This applies to Todmorden, Whitworth, Milnrow, Goodshaw, Accrington, Holme. The greater parochial chapels were either more durably constructed, or better repaired. Whitworth, in particular, was rebuilt, and a burial-ground consecrated by Bishop Cleaver, A. D. 1795.

Along the high and barren ridge which separates the valley of Roch from that of Spodden, and extends from Cliviger Moor nearly to Rochdale, are several elevations, whose names or remaining appearances indicate their situation, or the uses to which they were anciently applied; as Wardle, *qu.* Wardhull, where watch and ward was kept; Tooter Hill, à Toot *buccinare*—the Horn-blowers Hill; and Hades Hill, from the summit of which the water descends to both seas. On the top of this last are the remains of a large beacon, with the foundations of a circular enclosure, as usual. This, and Thievley Pike, appear to have formed the connecting links between Pendle Hill and Buckton Castle.

Last is the hamlet of Healey (Highfield), memorable for the antient mansion of the Chadwicks, which stands to great advantage, on an elevated point of ground, commanding a rich and extended prospect, as far as the forest of Delamere in front, and immediately beneath looking down on a woody dingle, where the Spodden struggles for its passage through a channel of excavated rock.

Henry, son of Dolphin de Hely, gave two bovates of land here to the Abbey of Stanlaw, soon after its first foundation†. They continued however to be held by the family, under their ecclesiastical grantees; for Richard de Heley held his lands here as feudatory of the house in the time of Richard I. and John. Richard had a brother John, who had Andrew, married to Hawise, daughter of Henry de Merland. They had Thomas, whose daughter and heiress Hawise, marrying Adam de Oakden‡, had Alexander de Oakden, to whom Hawise released her lands in Spotland, 1388. He had issue John de Okeden, who had Alexander and Thomas Okeden, of Heley, whose son Adam, married Margaret, coheiress of Richard Butterworth, by

* In Dodsworth's MSS. I have met with the following memoranda, which are confirmed by the Coucher Book. "Man. de Whitworth per div. donationes concessum fuit Abb. et conv. de Stanlaw, temp. R. Joh." Also, "Mem. quod medietas man. de Whitworth don. fuit per dn. Joh. de Elland percenarium domin. de Rachdale, Abb. et conv. de Stanlaw.

† Coucher Book.

‡ In Butterworth This is the original of the common surname Ogden.

Alison, daughter of Adam Buckley. And in 1483, Alice, their oldest daughter and coheirress, married John Chadwick, who thus became possessed of Heley.

Nicholas de Chadwick, ancestor of this John, lived in the time of Edward III. had Robert, s. p. and John, who died before 1445, leaving Henry, who continued the family at Chadwick, and Jordan married Elenor Kirkshaw. They were Trinitarians of the house of St. Robert, near Knaresborough, 1459. They had, besides other children, John and Oliver; the latter of whom was slain in an affray between the Birones and Traffords, whereupon £.60 was paid to the Chadwicks, by the award of Thomas, lord Stanley, in 1480. John, son of Jordan, married Alice Okeden, as above stated, resided at Heley, and died 1498. Thomas Chadwick, Gent. his son, in ward of James Stanley, warden of Manchester, 1500, in 1512 married Katherine, daughter of James Bucley, of Bucley, and had John.

John Chadwick married, 1551, Agnes, daughter of James Heywood, of Heywood, Gent. buried “upon the South side, within the quyre in Rochdale church, where his auncestors had been accustomed to be buried,” Jan. 30, 1615, aged 103. He had issue Robert, his heir, and Charles, afterwards D. D. and the first Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge. Robert Chadwick married Alice, daughter of Edward Butterworth, of Belfield, Gent. in 1581. In 1618, he rebuilt his mansion at Heley, and died 1625, leaving Jordan, his heir, and John, A. M. rector of Standish, &c. Jordan Chadwick, born 1597, married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Richard Matthew, of Oldham, Gent. died 1634, leaving John, his heir, and Charles, styled D. D. in 1657.

John Chadwick, of Heley and Mavesyn Redware, Esq. married Katherine, heiress of his kinsman, Lewis Chadwick, Esq. of Mavesyn, by Mary Bagot, his wife, buried at Rochdale 1669, lieutenant-colonel for the parliament, had issue Charles, and John rector of Dartford, in Kent, &c.

Charles Chadwick, Esq. born 1637, married in 1665, Anne, daughter of Valence Sacheverell, of Newhall, in the county of Warwick, and Callow, in the county of Derby, by Anne, daughter of Sir George Devereux, brother of Walter fifth viscount Hereford, buried at Sutton, 1697, had issue Charles, &c.

Charles Chadwick, Esq. born 1675, buried at Ridware 1757, married 1st Dorothy, daughter of Sir Thomas Dolman, of Shaw-House, Berks, by whom Charles, who took the name of Sacheverell, being possessed of the estates of that family, and of Ridware. He died s. p. 1779, and was succeeded by Dorothy, his sister, who died unmarried. 2d. His cousin-german, Mary Illingworth, by whom

John Chadwick, Esq. of Heley-Hall, born 1720, succeeded to the Lancashire estates by settlement, at the death of his father, rebuilt Heley-Hall (now an excellent house) 1774, justice of peace, deputy lieutenant for Lancashire, and lieutenant-colonel of the Royal Lancashire Militia, died Nov. 23, 1800, leaving, by Susannah Holt, of Shevington, his wife, a son, Charles, and a daughter unmarried.

Charles Chadwick, Esq. of Heley, Ridware, Newhall, and Callow, born 1753, married Frances, daughter of Richard Green, Esq. of Leventhorp, in the county of York, and has an only son, Hugo Malvesyn Chadwick, born 1793.

Chadwick bears, Gules, an inescutcheon, and orl of martlets Argent; crest antiently a white lily, latterly a talbot's head, for Malvesyn; motto, “Juxta Salopiam;” together with 46 quarterings.

CHAPTER III.

PORTION OF THE ORIGINAL PARISH OF WHALLEY, ANCIENTLY
WITHIN AMUNDERNESS.*RIBCHESTER* *.

THIS Parish, together with that of Chipping, is expressly asserted, in the Status de Blackburnshire, to have been taken out of the original Parish of Whalley.

The present choir is of the age of John, or the earlier part of Henry III. and has on the North side, a tomb, consisting of one solid block of stone, with the arms of the Houghtons. This church had two chantries, one on the South side enclosed with a gothic latticed screen, commonly called the Dutton Choir, and the place of interment of the Townleys, of that place.

On the North side is a distinct aisle opening into the nave of the church, which was the chantry founded by Katharine, wife of William Linehalls, lady of the manor of Ribchester, who vested in trust certain lands, “cuidam capellano divina quotidie celebraturo in quadam capella constructa in parte boreali ecclesiæ de Ribchester, pro salute Regis Henrici et Ricardi Hoghton, militis, patre et matre, &c.” 8vo Hen. IV.

Prior to the family of Linehalls, I find the Motons styling themselves lords of Ribchester, 27th Edward III. Afterwards it became the property of the Sherburnes, through whom it descended to Thomas Weld, Esq. the present owner.

The living of Ribchester is a late appropriation belonging to the see of Chester. Of the rectors I have only met with William de Wakefeld, 27th Edward III.; John de More, 1408; John Ellwick, 1457.

The following barbarous charter will prove that there was no bridge at Ribchester in the 28th of Edward III. “Ego Adam Bibby d. &c. W^o B. Ferrimon Mani de Osbaldeston quandam parcellam terre juxta Madynford de Ribblechester ad usum Ferrimon ad eundem *navium*. Et si non fuerit *ferrians* et *carrians* homines et *foeminas* extra aquam de Ribell, volo quod liberi homines ejus patrie ibi edificent pontem de *ligni* vel lapide, quod bene liceat rectori de Ribelchester vel Dom. de Osbaldeston.” This comes nearer to the style of Ignoramus than any charter I have seen.

STEDE.

Immediately adjoining to Ribchester, on the East, is the extraparochial Chapel of Stede, which seems to have belonged to a Guild or Hospital of very high antiquity; for in a charter

* The statue of a lion, of Roman sculpture, has lately been dug up at Ribchester. It was evidently an architectural ornament.

without date, I find certain premises in Ribchester, bounded by the lands Sancti Salvatoris. In another, bearing date 3d Henry VII. are conveyed certain lands lying “inter domum S’cti Saluatoris le Stede et Chester Brooke.” And in an English charter, nearly of the same date, it is called the house of St. Saviour’s of Stede. Lastly, by will, dated 1501, Nicholas Talbot, a descendant from Bashall, appoints a priest to sing for twelve months at Stead, “where fader and moder are buried.” The chapel itself is undoubtedly the oldest entire building within the compass of this History; the windows narrow and lancet-shaped, the arches of two doors, though rather pointed, enriched with Saxon ornaments, and the whole finished in that mixture of styles which took place in the reign of Stephen. [I have discovered from the Coucher Book of Salley, in the British Museum, that this is the “*Hospitale subtus Langrig.*” It was styled “*Hospitale Sancti Salvatoris subtus Langrig, et Mag. et Fratres ib’ m Deo servientes.*”] But the inside of this small neglected edifice is still more interesting, having had divine service only twice a year since the reformation; no reading-desk was ever erected, and prayers are read out of the pulpit, which is durably elevated on a basis of stone; opposite appears a coffin tomb of high antiquity, broken open, and the fragments lying in most picturesque disorder, the floor strewn with ancient gravestones, some inscribed with Longobardic letters, now too obscure to be retrieved, and by way of contrast to this scene of squalid antiquity, here lies under a slab of beautiful white marble, the late Catholic Bishop Petre, who lived and died at Showley.

The inscription is as follows:

D. O. M.

Hic jacet Illustmus. et Revdus. Dnus. D. Franciscus Petre de Fithlars, ex inclyta et vetusta prosapia, in comitatu Essexiæ, Episcopus Armoniensis * et Vic. Apostol. in Districtu Septent. quem viginti quatuor annos beneficentiis et apostolicis virtutibus fovit et ornavit, tum plenus dierum bonorumque operum, præmissis multis eleemosynis, obiit in Dno. anno æt. suæ LXXXIV. die XXIV. Decembris, anno MDCCLXXV.

R. I. P.

The stone which was removed on occasion of his interment, yet remains, and the Longobardic † characters inscribed around it, have been originally relieved by sinking the surface of the stone around them; after which, the cavity has again been filled by fluid mortar, extremely white, which gives it the appearance of a rude cameo of two colours. I do not remember to have seen any thing like this in other ancient gravestones.

The glazing of the East window having been broken from time to time and never repaired, ivy of the most luxuriant growth has made its way through the apertures, and now mantles in rich festoons over the altar; perhaps nothing is more favourable to picturesque beauty than such a partial state of neglect and dilapidation.

Next is Dutton, of which place I find Richard, son of Ughtred de Dutton, then William

* In partibus infidelium. Where is Armonia? — Amorium in the Upper Phrygia is mentioned by Stephanus Byzantinus. See also Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, c. LII. note.

† It may be observed, once for all, that this, which is in fact the Norman character, appears in all our inscriptions from the Conquest to the latter end of Edward III. when it is succeeded by the old English rectilinear letter. This last maintained its place to the last years of Henry VIII. when it gave way to a fantastic alphabet formed upon the Longobardic, but with many unnecessary flourishes. In inscriptions on wainscot in this last, the characters are often formed of distorted bodies of animals.

de Dutton, both in charters without date. A William de Dutton (whether the same person is uncertain) grants his lands in Dutton to Henry de Clayton. A Ralph de Clayton styles himself Dns. de Dutton, 14th Edward III.; and in the 47th of the same reign, Henry de Clayton grants the manor of Dutton to Richard de Townley. In the Townleys, of Townley, it continued till it was given to Richard Townley, a younger son, in whose descendants and name it remained till the death of Henry Townley, whose surviving daughter died in extreme old age, anno 1799. How the manor became severed from this estate I know not; but it is now the property of Thomas Weld, Esq.

Bayley, the adjoining township and a manor belonging to the same family, has nothing remarkable: but Aighton, the next in order, is distinguished by Stonyhurst, the princely mansion of the Sherburnes.

The use of many valuable evidences relating to this family, with which I have been favoured by Thomas Weld, Esq. their present representative, enables me to deduce their genealogy from very early times, with considerable exactness. They bore quarterly, 1st, a lion ramp. Vert, armed and langued Gules, for Sherburne; 2d, Vert, an eagle displayed Arg. for Bayley; 4th, as the first; 3d, as the 2d*.

In the time of Richard I. lived Geoffry l'Arbalastier, to whom John earl of Morton, afterwards king, gave six carucates of land in Haconsall and Preesal. He had a grandson called Robert de Shyreburne (from what place is uncertain), who had the manor of Hameldon, of his grandfather's gift, and survived to 45th Henry III. having a son, John de Shyreburne (living 40th Henry III.), who left Sir Robert de Shereburne, knight, senescal of Clitheroe and Blackburnshire, who occurs from 6th Edward I. to 16th Edward III. and having married Alice, daughter and coheirress of John de Blackburne, of Wiswall, left Sir John de Sherburne, who attended Edward III. at the siege of Calais. He died 29th Edward III. leaving Sir Richard, who married Alice, daughter of William de Plumpton, knight, and left two daughters and coheirresses, Margaret and Johanna, of whom the latter appears to have been unmarried. During all this period, it does not appear where the Sherburnes resided; but Margaret married Richard, son of John de Bayley, about 51 Edward III. which Richard had licence for an oratory at Stonyhurst 1372, and dying 2d Richard II. had issue Richard, who took the name of Sherburne. This Richard, son of John de Bayley, was grandson of Jordan de Bayley, who by deed, without date, had Stonyhurst, by the gift of Henry de Wath and Margaret his wife.

This Richard de Sherburne was born at Stonyhurst, on the feast of St. Wilfred, 5th Richard II. and baptized in the church of Mitton. He married Agnes, daughter of William Stanley, of Hooton, com. Cest. arm. and died 19th Henry VI. He had issue Richard, who died before his father, "die Ascensionis 1441, et erat tumulatus in Capella Sci Nic. de Mitton."† He married Matilda, daughter of Laurence Hammerton, of Wicklisworth, arm. and had Robert, who by Johanna, daughter of Thomas de Radcliff, of Wimmersley, knight, had ano-

* By a memorial of Sir Nicholas Sherburne, I find that he claimed supporters (viz. two naked men) prior to his creation as baronet. This was singular; but the claim was allowed by Lord Bindon, Dep. E. M.

† "Ric. Shūborn, of Par. of Myton Squyr, buried before the aulter of St. Nic. in the said church, to which he gaves a vestment of blue velvet with apptenances, and willeth that a closet be made abt the sd altar at his charge, and twenty white gownes to twenty poor men to carry tochs at his buil. dated Jan. 3, 1436." The old lattice now remaining under the belfry at Mitton is a remnant of this legacy. Dods. MSS. vol. 132, fol. 9.

ther Richard, and Isabel, married John Townley, of Townley, Esq. per Cart. dated Hapton, 23d Hen. VI. He died Aug. 29th, 10th Henry VII.

Richard Sherburne, knight, married Jane, daughter of Henry Langton, of Walton, Esq. aged thirty years *ad mort. patr.* died intestate 4th Henry VIII. and was interred in the little choir of St. Nicholas, at Mitton. He left Hugh Sherburne, Esq. founder of the chantry at Mitton, who married Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Talbot, of Bashall, and died 19th Henry VIII. or 1528; and Grace, wife of Roger Nowell, Esq. nupt. 3 Henry VIII. The son and heir of Hugh was Thomas Sherburne, who married Jane, daughter of Sir John Townley, knight, and dying Sept. 22, 28th Henry VIII. left Richard, of Stonyhurst; John, settled at Ribchester; and Robert, a lawyer, of Little Mitton; which Robert dying 14th Elizabeth, the inventory of his effects amounted to £.963. 3s. 4d. Sir Richard Sherburne, of full age 35th Henry VIII. married, 30th of ditto, Matilda, daughter of Sir Richard Bold, of Bold, and dying 26th July 1594, was interred at Mitton the day following. He left Thomas, who died a minor, and Richard his heir, besides other children.

Richard Sherburne, Esq. captain of the Isle of Man, and founder or finisher of the present house at Stonyhurst, aged thirty-seven and upwards at his father's death, married, 20th Elizabeth, Catharine, daughter of Charles lord Stourton, and grand-daughter of Henry earl of Derby, died 17th April, 1628, but according to the register of Mitton Church, was interred there April 3d, 1628. He had issue, Henry, who married Anne, daughter of Francis, lord Dacre, but died 1612, s. p.; Richard, and other children.

Richard Sherburne married, 1st, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Molineux, of Sephton, by whom Elizabeth, who died young; 2d, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Walmsley, Esq. of Dunkenhagh, and died Feb. 11th, 1667, aged 55, leaving Richard, and two daughters.

Richard Sherburne, baptized at Mitton 3d July 1626, died Aug. 16, 1689, having married Isabel, daughter of John Ingleby, of Lawkland, Esq. by whom Richard Sherburne, of Wigglesworth, married Anne, daughter of John Cansfield, Esq. but died s. p. April 6th, 1690; 2d. Sir Nicholas Sherburne, created baronet Feb. 4th, 1685, born July 29th, 1658, married Catherine, daughter and coheir of Sir Edward Charlton, of Hesley Side, com. North. bart.; and Elizabeth, married William, son and heir of Sir John Weld, of Lullworth Castle, com. Dorset.

Sir Nicholas Sherburne, married as aforesaid, had Richard Francis, born 1693, died 1702; and Maria Winifreda Francisca, born Nov. 26, 1692, married Thomas the eighth Duke of Norfolk; and her Grace dying without issue, 25th September 1754, was interred in the vault at Mitton.

The estates then reverted to the issue of Elizabeth Weld, her aunt, who had Humphrey Weld, Esq. of Lullworth Castle. He married Margaret, only daughter of Sir James Simons, Bart. of Aston Hall, com. Stafford, by whom Edward Weld, Esq. who married Teresa, daughter of John Vaughan, Esq. of Courtfield, com. Monm. and died July 21, 1754, aged 40, leaving, besides other children, Thomas Weld, Esq. present owner of Stonyhurst, married, 1772, Mary, eldest daughter of Sir John Stanley, of Hooton, bart. by whom fifteen children. The oldest of these, Thomas Weld, born 1773, marrying Lucy, second daughter of the Hon. Tho. Clifford, of Tixal, com. Staf. has issue a daughter; and Edward, the second son, dying at Stonyhurst, Jan. 17, 1796, aged 20, was interred in the vault at Mitton.

The venerable house of Stonyhurst, which stands on an eminence, commanding extensive views of Calderbottom and Ribblesdale, yet screened from the North by the vast bulk of Longridge, was probably begun by Sir Richard Sherburne, who died 1594, and finished by his son, as the arms of both, with their cyphers and the date 1596, appear on the drawing-room chimney. When the park was inclosed, I have not been able to learn. The heavy cupolas were added, the canals dug, and the gardens laid out in the Dutch taste, by Sir Nicholas Sherburne, who came to reside there in 1695*. The domestic chapel was, according to the custom of our old mansions, above the gateway, till within memory, when a spacious and handsome oratory was fitted up, which, together with the size and general disposition of the apartments, rendered the whole easily convertible to the purpose to which it has been munificently devoted by the owner—a large Catholic seminary†.

The principal of the present seminary at Stonyhurst is in possession of some exquisite carvings in ivory, said to be by Michael Angelo, the original George of Sir Thomas More (qu. whether worn by him as Chancellor), and two of his seals; one as Chancellor of Exchequer, or, as he was then styled, Sub-Treasurer of England.

But their most valuable relic is a MS. of the Gospel of St. John, in small square capitals, with an intermixture of early Saxon characters, particularly the letter F, resembling those of the Codex Argenteus. It is Jerom's version; and by an inscription in a very old hand, resembling that of charters as early as Edward I. is said to have been taken from the tomb of St. Cuthbert at his translation. The practice of attaching MSS. to tombs, appears, from the following bequest of one John Dautre, to have come down to much later times. “Item lego inro. Wm. Langton, sp̄ituali patri meo, cui maximo teneor amore, usum unius libri, pro termino vitæ sue, quem beatus Ric'us le Scroop gerebat in sinu suo temp. sue decollationis; Supplicando

* In a very slight and inaccurate account of Malham, to which Lord Orford has done too much honour by quoting it, a tradition is mentioned, that Stonyhurst was built by Inigo Jones, for Sir Nicholas Sherburne; that is, by an artist who was abroad for a gentleman who was unborn. Inigo was then on his travels, and did not return till 1606. His first works were however mixed with the old style. I fear it would now be vain to inquire for the architect of Stonyhurst.

† Among the many praises which an impartial posterity will bestow on this Country for their conduct in the late arduous contest, none surely will be more sincere than that which records their hospitable reception of the distressed Ecclesiastics of France. They, it is to be hoped, will consider a forbearance to interfere with the Established Religion of this Country, as the best and most acceptable return which they can make for the undisturbed exercise of their own. But as we and they hold the fundamentals of Christianity in common, as both theirs and ours are true churches, claiming their respective rights in succession from the Apostles, during a contest like the present, all memory of ancient wrongs ought, as far as possible, to be abolished; all subordinate distinctions of discipline and doctrine overlooked; and the Ministers of Religion, however separated in the exercise of their respective offices, cordially united in their efforts against the powers of earth and hell, which are leagued against them all. These are the genuine sentiments and earnest wishes of the Author, with respect to the Ministers of the Catholic Religion; and if, in any part of this Work, he has indulged a smile at the peculiarities, or aimed a censure at the rapacity of monks, he trusts that he has elsewhere done ample justice to their virtues; and that his representation of their manners and habits is, on the whole, more favourable than ever came from a Protestant before. He believes the Monastic Orders of the middle ages to have consisted of the best and most valuable men of their times; that they were almost the only artists, or patrons of arts; and that, above all, in days of outrage and rapine, when private repositories of learning must all have fallen in their turn a prey to the strongest, Providence interfered, by raising permanent foundations, generally regarded as inviolable, to preserve, for the benefit of more enlightened ages, the treasures of classical antiquity, and the fountains of celestial truth.

eidem mag'ro Will'mo. ut ipse p'dictum librum post mort. suam catenand' liberet et dimittet juxta locum ubi corpus ejusdem Ric'i requiescit, ibm. p'petuo remanere *."

In the back court of Stonyhurst are many remains of half-timbered building belonging to the original house; and in one apartment this inscription appears in wood, *Factum est hoc opus per Hug. Sherburne, Arm. A. D. MCCCIII.* This was the founder of the Chantry at Mitton.

In a modern building on the North side of the quadrangle, are some remains of fine masonry from Whalley Abbey, particularly two shields of arms, viz. the lion rampant and the fret, the latter of which was one of the cognizances of Roger de Lacy. There are also two angels bearing shields, charged with the instruments of the passion, and several disjointed fragments of an inscription in black letter, of which *Fiat voluntas tua* is most legible. The whole is surmounted by a rich moulding of trefoils, resembling those which are often seen upon screens and other wainscot-work of Henry VIIIth's time. I suspect these to have been remnants of the Lady Chapel, built by Paslew. Another angel, evidently in the same style, and from the same place, is walled up in the front of a house in Whalley.

The place altogether is thus described, in no contemptible Latinity, about a century ago†:

"Situ loci nil amœnius aut jucundius—regale illud ædificium de Stonyhurst, ubi vivarium damis refertum, piscaria insignia, aquæ ductæ nobiles et, ut omnia dicam, hortus floribus et arboribus, jucundis juxta atque utilibus, undique consitus: in hoc labyrinthus miræ jucunditatis, Pegasus et Fons Musis et Apollini sacer. Quin et situs uberrimus—Mons enim Longridge ignis fomitem quotannis abunde suppeditat, et dulcissimos aquarum fontes ubertim undique effundit: pascua ac prata longe lateque patent gregibus et gramine repleta—arva frumenti feracissima: imis in vallibus duo flumina Rhibellus et Hodder, in quibus piscium delicatissimorum ingens copia quotidie capiuntur.—De salubritate aëris quid dicam? Favonius placidus ab occidentali plaga leni flamine spirans tanta temperie plantas arboresque fovet et salubres reddit, ut quam vis multos longævus illic invenias, hilares tamen ac lætos invenies tanquam in ipso flore juventutis.

CHIPPING, anciently CHEPIN,

An obscure, uninteresting place, and another appropriation to the see of Chester.

In the Gentleman's Magazine for 1772, p. 588, is inserted an account of the following inscription on the font of this place, which the writer supposes to be similar to that of Bridkirk, &c. and the characters, though peculiar, akin to Runic. No explanation was ever given.



* Dods. MSS. vol. 132, fol. 82.

† MS. pen. T. Weld, ar.

The font, however, is comparatively modern; possibly not earlier than Henry VIII. The characters in the upper line belong not to any alphabet, but are probably *sigla*, of which the triangle inscribed within the circle seems to denote the co-eternity of persons in the Holy Trinity. The rest I shall not attempt to elucidate.

Of the lower line, three compartments appear to be marked with the instruments of the passion; a fourth has the cypher I. H. S.; a fifth the monogram X; and two others the initials I. B. probably the forgotten donor.

With respect to the descents of this manor, I find in charters, without date, Richard de Chepin, lord of Chepin. Then John de Chepin grants the homage and service 13 *hominum suorum* in Chepin to Richard de Knolle, circ. 22 Edward III. After several generations, Isabel Knolles, heir-general of this family, married Roger Sherburne, of Wolfhouse, in whose descendants this manor continued to the latter end of the 17th century.

*The adjoining manor of Thornley *was* once probably a member of *Chipping*; for, 14th Henry VII. I find that one Charles Singleton, son of Margaret Singleton, widow, who was daughter of Miles Knolles, bargained and sold the said manor to Thomas earl of Derby †.

PORTIONS OF THE ORIGINAL PARISH, WITHIN BOWLAND, PARISHES OF MITTON AND SLADEBURN.

MITTON MAGNA.

The parish of Mitton was surveyed in Domesday under the manor of Grinleton, as it now forms a portion of that of Slaydburn, and it was always considered as a part of Bowland, in the more extended sense of the word.

The Church of Mitton, which is the principal object of this brief survey, stands on the precipitous bank of the Ribble, commanding some beautiful views of the valley, and of the parish of Whalley, to the South.

It was probably founded by the ancient mesne lords of the manor; and certainly at an early period, for, by charter without date, Roger, son of Hugh de Mitton †, grants to God and St. Mary, and the Abbey of Cockersand, the advowson of the church of Mitton, for the souls of King John, of Roger, and John de Lacy, &c.—This was afterwards confirmed by Ralph, son of Robert de Mitton †. Notwithstanding this, Sir Ralph de Mitton † opposed the institution of William de Rotherfield to this vicarage; and a mandamus was granted to Archbishop Walter Gray, to compel him to institute, Sir Ralph having now acknowledged the right of the Abbot † and Convent. Sir Ralph had John, who had John de Mitton †, who is the last of the name

* With these exceptions, all the manors in these two parishes are vested in Thomas Weld, Esq. holding under the honor of Clithero. Court Leet and Court Baron are still held for Ribchester, Aighton, Bailey, and Chaigley, and Court Baron for Dutton.

† This is therefore not in the number of those great estates, granted in the patent of creation, 1 Henry VII. to this Earl, “ad sustentationem dignitatis suæ,” viz. The estates of the attainted Viscount Lovel, which I suppose to be Greenhalgh Castle, and its appurtenances; the manor and parish of Bury, belonging to Sir Thomas Pilkington; and those of Broughton, Witherslack, &c. belonging to Sir Thomas Broughton.

‡ Chartulary of Cockersand, Townl. MSS. G. 20.

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Designed by W. P. 1800

Engraved by J. G. 1800

The *SHERBURNE CHAPEL*
designed by THOMAS WELD ESQ.



in MITTON CHURCH.
designed by the architect who contributed the *Notes*

whom I have found. The manor was long afterwards possessed by the Hawkesworths, of Hawkesworth, whose arms yet remain in the windows of the hall, and by them it was sold to the late Mr. Serjeant Aspinall, in whose devisee it is now vested.

From the style of the present fabric, it may appear to have been rebuilt about the time of Edward III. There is only one aisle, a plain and bulky tower, a single choir, and the wood-work without cross-beams, arched and corner-braced, the windows pointed, with simple tracery, and the nave separated from the choir by a screen, on which is the following imperfect inscription, in old English characters:—*Devotor' et Johis factum erat hoc opus, tempore dni. Will. Stainford, Abbis, anno dni. Millesimo CCC°. Nonageno III.* This appears to have been brought from Cockersand Abbey, otherwise the words “de Cockersand” would have been expressed.

Without, are several very ancient memorials, particularly the head of a large Gothic cross, lately dug up, and the imperfect statue of an ecclesiastic, with the tonsure, and vested in a cope, his hands elevated upon his breast in the attitude of prayer.

It is extraordinary, that though this was the parish-church, and must for many centuries have been the burial-place of the Talbots of Bashall, here is not a single memorial of that distinguished family. But that want is abundantly compensated by the Sherburne chapel, on the north side of the choir, an enlargement of the original chapel of St. Nicholas, now almost filled with cumbent figures and mural monuments, of which a general view is given in the annexed plate, as the inscriptions are inserted below.

How the family should have become possessed of this chantry, is a fact which can only be accounted for thus: we have seen that they became possessed of Stonyhurst by marriage with the heiress of Bayley; and the Bayleys and Mittons were radically the same family. The ancient chantry of the lords of Mitton therefore must, in some partition, have followed the Bayley branch. Oto de Baley and Hugo de Mitton were brothers, and both sons of Jordan, sometimes called de Bailey, and sometimes de Mitton, as Jordan is said to have been son of Ralph *Persona de Mitton*. Of these Ralphis, styling themselves *Personæ*, there were two at least, of whom the oldest must have lived very near the Conquest. The similarity of the arms of Mitton to Bayley, *viz.* per pale Az. et Purp. an eagle displayed with two heads Arg. confirms this hypothesis.

Here lieth the bodies of Sir Richard Sherburne, knight, master forrester of the forrest of Bowland, steward of the manor of Sladeburn, Lieutenant of the Isle of Man, and one of her Majesties Deputy Lieutenant in the County of Lancaster. And Dame Maude, his Wife, daughter of Sir Richard Bold, knight, by whom he had issue; who died the 10th November, 1588. And Sir Richard died the 26th of July 1594.

Richard Sherburn
by whom he daughters, two of them born whereof she died in the
Isle of Man, A. 1591, and there lieth intomb'd, He the said Richard Sherburn, having been
Captain of the said Isle 15 years, whose souls pray God pardon Grant them
his Heavenly Pardon.

Suavissimæ memoriæ Katharinæ Pennington, uxoris Gulielmi Pennington, armig. Orta erat
illustri familia: patre' enim habuit Richardu' Sherburne, armig. qui et filius patri suo Dno.
Richardo

Richardo Sherburne militi in hæreditate successit. Ex matre vero clarissimu: sibi stemma deduxit. ex ea nimiru' parte avum habuit Dnu. Stourtonu', proavu' Edwardu' comite' Derbiense. Quam illa satis luculenta' Maioru' prosapia' æterna virtutu' memoria decoravit, quippe quæ probe apud se spectatum habuit, inanes istiusmodi gloriaru' famulos aut imminui paululat' posse aut prorsus interire; proinde Deum opti: max: pie atque constanter adorando, pudicitia' morumque castitate' illibata' tuendo, innumeraque in proximos charitat'. officia fideliter exercendo, nullo unqua' seculo perituræ nominis sui perennitati consuluit. Cum marito per annos quindecim aut circiter unanimiter convixit: lites inter eos nec contractæ fuerunt unqua', nec contrahendæ, nam ut iraru' nulla omnino dari poterat occasio, ita nec arripi data: octo liberos, sexu æqualiter distributo, ad unum omnes iam adhuc sup'stites cælo fortunante, suscepit; octava vero prole in luce edita' (quasi pulcherrima Mundum progenie satis ampliter ditasset) ante mensem exactu' placidissime in Dno. obdormivit, fœminaru' Exemplar, omniu' dolor; 27 Maii, anno à partu Virginis 1628, ætat. suæ 38.

EPITAPHIU' EJUSDEM.

Qua Cytherea minus vixit formosa, sub isto,
In cineres tandem, marmore, versa jacet:
Tantilli est facies, sed quanti est florida virtus,
Qua freta, ne tumulum conspice, non jacet hic.

ALIUD,

Puerperio succubuit.

Enixa est similem sibi, deinde perempta est:
Sic pariens vitam perdidit, atque dedit.
Inter cœlicolas nunquam moritura triumphat
Mater, et in terris ludit imago sui.
Vivere quis velit hic venturæ nescius horæ
Cui morte extincto vivere sic liceat.
Posuit.

Near this place lieth interr'd the body of Richard Sherburne, of Stanihurst, in the County Palatine of Lancaster, Esq. son and heir to Richard Sherburne, of Stanihurst, Esq. that died April 17th, A. 1629, ætat. 83, by Catharine his wife, daughter of Charles lord Stourton, and niece to the Right Hon. Henry Stanley, earl of Derby, &c. and grandson to Sir Richard Sherburn, of Stanihurst, who, for his signal military service against the Scots, had the honour of knighthood conferr'd upon him, being then but twenty-one years old, under the banner-royal of England, at Leith, by Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, general of the English in that expedition, May 11th, A. 1544, 36th Henry VIII. which first Richard married two wives. By Elizabeth, daughter to Sir Richard Molyneux, of Sephton, in com. Lanc. bart. he had only a daughter, Elizabeth, who died young. His second wife was Elizabeth, daughter to Thomas Walmsley, of Dunkenhalth, in the same county, Esq. and by her he had issue Eleanor, that deceased an infant; Richard, his son and heir; and Ann, wedded to Sir Marmaduke Constable, of Everingham, in com. Ebor. bart. He was an eminent sufferer for his loyal fidelity

fidelity to King Charles I. of ever blessed memory, and departed this life Feb. 11th, A.D. 1667, aged 81 years,

Sacred to the pious memory of Richard Shirburne, of Stanihurst, Esq. and of Isabel his wife, daughter to John Ingleby, of Lawkeland, in com. Ebor. Esq. by Margaret, sole daughter and heir in blood to Nicholas Townley, of Royle, in the county of Lancaster, Esq. and likewise heir to Isabel, wife of the said Nicholas Townley, daughter and sole heir to John Woodroff, of Bank-top, in Burnley, within the said county, gent.; by whom he had issue, Richard; Elizabeth, married to William Weld, of Compton Basset, in com. Wilts, esq. and died Jan. 10th, A. 1688; Catherine. who deceas'd in her infancy; and Sir Nicholas Sherburn, now of Stanihurst, Bart.—He built the almshouse and school upon Hurst Green, in this parish, and left divers charitable gifts yearly to the several townships of Carleton, Chorley, Hamelton, and Lagrim, in Lancashire; Wigglesworth and Guisely, in this county; departing this life, (in prison, for loyalty to his sovereign,) at Manchester, Aug. 16th, A.D. 1689, in the 63d year of his age.—And the said Isabel, (by whom, at her own proper charge, these four statues were erected,) died April 11th, A.D. 1693, whose mortal remains are together near hereunto deposited.

Hereby lies buried the corpse of Richard Shirburne, of Stanihurst, Esq. eldest son to Richard Shirburne, of the same place, Esq.—He married Ann, the daughter and co-heir of John Cansfield, Esq. son and heir to Sir John Cansfield, in the county Palatine of Lancaster, knight, and departed this mortal state without issue, April 6th, A.D. 1690, in the 38th year of his age. And the said Ann, his relict, deceased February 4th, A.D. 1693.

This monument is to the sacred and eternal memory of Sir Nicholas Shireburn and his Lady. Sir Nicholas Shireburn, of Stonihurst, Bart. was son of Richard Shireburn, Esq. by Isabel his wife, daughter of John Inglesby, of Lawkeland, Esq. Nicholas Shireburn had by his lady, whose name was Katharine, third daughter and coheir to Sir Edward Charleton, of Hesleyside, in Northumberland, Bart. by Mary, eldest daughter and coheir of Sir Edward Widderington, of Cartington, in Northumberland, Bart. three children: the eldest, Isabella, died the 18th of October, 1688, and is buried at Rothburgh, in Northumberland, in the quire belonging to Cartington, where Sir Nicholas then lived: a son named Richard, who died June 8th, 1702, at Stonihurst: another daughter, named Mary, married May 26, 1709, to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk.—Sir Nicholas Shireburn was a man of great humanity, sympathy, and concern for the good of mankind, and did many good charitable things whiles he lived; he particularly set his neighbourhood a spinning of Jersy wool, and provided a man to comb the wool, and a woman who taught them to spin, whom he kept in his house, and allotted several rooms he had in one of the courts of Stonihurst, for them to work in, and the neighbours came to spin accordingly; the spinners came every day, and span as long a time as they could spare, morning and afternoon, from their families: this continued from April 1699 to August 1701. When they had all learn'd, he gave the nearest neighbour each a pound or half a pound of wool ready for spinning, and wheel to set up for themselves, which did a vast deal of good to that North side of Ribble, in Lancashire. Sir Nicholas Sherburn died Dec. 16, 1717. This monument

ment was set up by the dowager dutches of Northfolk, in memory of the best of fathers and mothers, and in this vault designs to be interr'd herself, whenever it pleases God to take her out of this world *.

Lady Sherburn was a lady of an excellent temper and fine sentiments, singular piety, virtue, and charity, constantly imployed in doing good, especially to the distressed, sick, poor, and lame, for whom she kept an apothecaries shop in the house; she continued as long as she lived doing great good and charity; she died Jan. 27th, 1727. Besides all other great charities which Sir Nicholas and Lady Sherburn did, they gave, on All Souls Day, a considerable deal of money to the poor; lady Sherburn serving them with her own hands that day †.

Sacred to the eternal memory of Richard Francis Shireburn, Esq. only son of Sir Nicholas Shireburn, of Stonihurst, in the county Palatine of Lancaster, Bart. and Dame Katharine, his wife, third daughter and co-heir of Sir Edward Charleton, of Hesleyside, in the county of Northumberland, Bart. by Dame Mary, his wife, eldest daughter and co-heir of Sir Edward Widderington, of Cartington, in the said county of Northumberland, bart. who was born Sunday 3d Dec. 1693, died Monday 8th June, 1702, and lies here interred.

In this vault lies the body of the Hon. Peregrin Widderington. The Hon. Peregrin Widderington was youngest son of William Lord Widderington, who died April the 17th, 1743. This Peregrin was a man of the strictest friendship and honour, with all the good qualities that accomplished a fine gentleman; he was of so amiable a disposition, and so ingaging, that he was beloved and esteemed by all who had the honour and happiness of his acquaintance, being ever ready to oblige and to act the friendly part on all occasions, firm and steadfast in all his principles, which was delicately fine and good as could be wished in any man; he was both sincere and agreeable in life and conversation. He was born May 20, 1692, and died Feb. 4th, 1748-9. He was with his brother in the Preston affair, 1716, where he lost his fortune, with his health, by a long confinement in prison. This monument was set up by the Dowager Dutchess of Norfolk, in memory of the Hon. Peregrin Widderington.

The two tombs and four statues of the father and mother, grandfather and grandmother, of Sir Nicholas Sherburne, were finished for £.253, by Mr. William Stanton ‡, lapidary, near St. Andrew's church, Holborn, 1699§.—The two male figures on these tombs are probably the latest instances of cumbent cross-legged statues in the kingdom.

The “*Parva Capella sct. Nicholai*” in this church is repeatedly mentioned as the place of interment of the Sherburnes, long before the foundation of the chantry by Hugh Sherburne,

* This intention was fulfilled.—The silver plate upon her coffin has, in a lozenge beneath a ducal coronet, all the coats and quarterings of the Howards impaling those of Sherburne.—Opulent and respectable as the latter family was, it might be hinted of this princely alliance, *Cloth of gold do not despise, &c.*

† This epitaph, or rather history, together with the last, were written by the Duchess herself, who had certainly no mercy on the marble-cutter.

‡ For some account of the Stantons, see Lord Orford's *Anecdotes of Painting*, vol. III. p. 150; and *Gent. Mag.* Nov. 1790.

§ In the epitaph of Isabel Sherburne, p. 468, they are said to have been erected at her proper charge; but I suppose a sum of money was left her for that purpose.

Esq. which was valued, at the suppression, at £.4. 7s. 8d. But the present spacious and well-built chapel is scarcely earlier than James I.; for, in an old copy of the epitaph of Katharine Pennington, 1628, I find it described as fixed “in choro novo ecc. de Mitton.”—It may probably have been erected for the purpose of receiving the tomb of Sir Richard Sherburne, the oldest which it contains.

The aisle immediately preceding this (though certainly not the first) appears to have been erected by Richard Sherburne, who died 1441; for, in the same memorandum, I find this inscription:—*Anno dni. M,CCCC,XLI, obiit p'dictus Ric' et erat hic intumulatus in die ascensionis ejus anime propitiatur deus amen.*—And part of a Gothic screen, which has evidently been removed, yet remains under the arch of the tower, on which the words *intumulatus in die ascensionis* are still legible.

2d Cal. Nov. 1328, Archbishop Melton appropriated this Church to the Abbey of Cocker-sand, reserving 40s. *per ann.* to himself and successors, and 20s. to the deacons of his cathedral; ordaining also a perpetual vicar, presentable by the convent, who shall have the area or garden of the said church, called Fermonogarth, extending from the back house of the rectory to the church, on which the convent shall erect for the vicar an hall, chamber and kitchen, bake-house, brewhouse, stable, and granary, at their own costs, which the vicar shall repair and maintain. Also the vicar shall have four oxgangs of land, exempt from tithe while tilled at his cost. Also the whole hay-tithe of the town of Mitton, and mortuaries; also tithes of wool and lamb, goats, cows, calves, albi, bees, brood geese, pigs, fowls, mills, line and hemp; and the tithe of curtelages of the whole parish, and all quadragesimal and small tithes, alterage, &c. together with ten marks sterling, out of which the vicar shall find bread and wine for the confection of Christ's body, lights, vestments, and books.

Again, Richard Scroop, archbishop (between 1398 and 1405) re-ordained the vicarage as follows:—

That there should be a perpetual vicar—one of the canons of Cockersand, presentable by the abbot and convent, whose portion should consist in the manse of the rectory, four oxgangs of land, twenty marks sterling, and the convent to bear all burdens, ordinary and extraordinary*.

Lastly, 21st of June 1438, a composition was confirmed between the abbot and convent as rectors, the vicar of the church, and Sir John Tempest and others, inhabitants of Waddington. I suspect this to have related to the foundation of the Parochial Chapel of Waddington†.

In a report of certain referees appointed by the Crown in a dispute between Samuel Felgate, vicar of Mitton, and Richard Sherburne, of Stonyhurst, Esq. I find that the latter produced a patent or grant from King Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth, (expressed as if they were the same), wherein is granted to the ancestors of the said Richard Sherburne, the rectory and patronship of Mitton aforesaid, which did appeertain to the last abbot of Cockerland. And from a memorial of a succeeding vicar, I find “that, during the distractions of the civil wars, John Webster, an army surgeon, well known in this country by the style of Dr. Webster, got

* Torre's MSS.

† I have since met with the original composition, and find my conjecture to be right.

possession of the vicarage of Mitton (for he was a celebrated preacher in those days), and in 1649 sold part of the glebe to the impropiator.

This is our old friend Johannes Hyphantes, a dextrous and versatile man, who, by the joint help of medicine and theology, was able to keep his head above water through all the changes of those tempestuous days.

Thus much for the Church.

With respect to the Manor*—I find, that in the town of Mitton-cum-Wythegyll were 3 car. which Ralph de Mitton held of the fee of Lacy, who held of the king *in capite*, by no rent.

But, the Mittons becoming extinct, this manor reverted to the Lord Paramount; and in 1256, 37th Henry III. the manors of Mitton and Bashall were granted by Edmund Lasey, Cons. Cest. to Thomas Talbot, who bore A. 3 lioncels saliant Purpure, langued and armed Az.

He died about 2d Edward I. leaving Sir Edmund Talbot, steward of Blackburnshire, who married Johan, daughter of Sir Robert Holland, of Denton. He died 3d Edward II. leaving Sir Thomas and John, grantee of Hapton. Sir Thomas Talbot, knighted by Edward III. married Elizabeth, daughter of James Bellers, and had Sir Edmund, who married Margaret, daughter of Sir John Byrome, and had Sir Thomas, who married Margaret, daughter of Nigell de Halton, of Halton, in Craven. He was successively Governor of Barwick, 10th Richard II. of Guines, in Picardy, 12 *ejusd.* served in Ireland 19 *ejusd.* and died 15th Henry IV. leaving Sir Edmund Talbot, who married Agnes Arden.—He was Sheriff of Yorkshire 22d Henry VI.; and died 1st Edward IV. leaving Sir Thomas, who married Alice, daughter of Sir John Tempest, of Bracewell, and had issue Sir Thomas and Edmund.—These Thomas, father and son, were the betrayers of Henry VI. Thomas, the father, died 13th Henry VII.

Sir Thomas Talbot, the son, married Florence, daughter of Henry Pudsey, of Bolton, Esq. s. p. Edmund Talbot, Esq. married, 1st, Jane, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Robert Harrington, of the family of Hornby, by whom Thomas, who died, aged 13. Secondly, Anne, daughter of Sir Percevall Hart, of Lullington, had issue Sir Thomas. Edmund, the father, died 11th Henry VIII. and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Sir Thomas Talbot married Cicely, daughter of William Venables, baron of Kinderton. He was knighted 6th Edward VI. and died 1st Elizabeth, leaving Henry Talbot, of Bashall, who married Millicent, daughter of Sir John Holcroft, of Holcroft, knight, and had issue Thomas and John. This Henry died 13th Elizabeth.

Thomas Talbot, Esq. married Elizabeth, daughter of John Bradley, of Bradley Hall, com. Lanc. Esq. Sheriff of Lancashire 30–37th Eliz. and died s. p.

John Talbot, Esq. his brother, married Ursula, daughter of Jo. Hammerton, of Hellefield Peel, Esq. had issue Thomas.

Thomas Talbot, Esq. last of the name, married Anne, daughter of Richard Fleetwood, of Penwortham, Esq. 7th James I.; had issue two daughters. Elizabeth married, 1st, Thomas

* I had unaccountably overlooked the first grant of this manor from Ilbert de Lacy, in the comprehensive charter, which I have already proved to be prior to 1102, *vide* p. 290—"Sciant, &c. quod ego Ilbertus de Lacy, dedi et incartavi Radulpho le Rouse et her. suis in perp. Magnam Mitton—Halghton (Aighton), &c."—I suspect this grantee to have assumed the name of Mitton, and to have been founder of the church, of which, after the example of the Deans of Whalley and rectors of Blackburn, he must have been patron and incumbent; as it may be proved upon chronological grounds, that one of the Radulphi, styling themselves Personæ de Mitton, lived at this very time, *vide* p. 467.—If this conjecture be well weighed, it will be found to be very little short of moral certainty.

† Townl. MSS.

The Emblazonment of the Arms, in the Painted Window of Whalley Church.

The ornamental paintings in the Window are various. Next to Dr. Whitaker's coat of arms, near the top of the Window, is the Rebus of ASHTON, an *ash* in a *tun*; and on the opposite side is that of BOLTON, a *bolt* in a *tun*. The four apostles are in the four central compartments. At the top of the compartment on the left, is the Lancastrian Rose, crowned, upon four azure leaves; and corresponding, on the right, is the Portcullis, crowned, on an azure ground. Under the red rose are two labels, inscribed, *Audate dominum*, *Iustus et domine*, } Under the portcullis are other two labels, inscribed, *Iustus et pie bibamus*, *Inte domine sperabi*, with a branch and white rose on one side. with a branch and pomegranate on the other side.

- A 1. THOMAS D. WHITAKER, L. L. D. Vicarus de Whalley,** sable, three mascles argent.
- B 2. EPISCOPUS CESTRENSIS;** arms for Dr. George Henry Law.
- 3. HENRICUS DE LACY, Com. Linc olim Dna. de Blackburnshire or, a lion rampant purple.**
- 4. ABBATIA DE WHALLEY, gules, three whales haurient or;** in the mouth of each a crosier of the last.
- 5. ARCHIEP. CANTUAR, patronus ecclesia;** arms for Dr. C. M. SUTTON; argent canton sable.
- 6. DUCessa DE BUCCLEUGH, Dna. de Blackburnshire;** arms of Montague.
- 7. CURSON de Whalley Abbey, argent, a bend sable, thereon three martlets of the field;** a crescent for difference.
- 8. TOWNLEY DE TOWNLEY, ex Decanis de Whalley orian;** argent a fess sable; in chief three mullets of the last.
- 9. PARKER DE BROWSHOLM, Forrestarius de Bowland;** vert, a chevron between three stags' heads caboshed or.
- 10. ASHETON Dna. DE DOWNHAM argent, a mullet sable, pierced or.**
- 11. BANASTRE Dna. DE ALTHAM, argent, a cross fleury sable, a flesh pot in the dexter chief point of the last.**
- 12. BEAUMONT Dna. DE MITTON PARVA, gules, a lion rampant within an orle of crescents argent.**
- 13. CLAYTON Dna. DE BARNSIDE, argent, a bend sable, three roses or, impaling Townley of Barnside. Crescent for difference.**
- 14. NOWELL NUP Dna. DE READ, argent, three covered cups sable.**
- 15. STARKIE DE HUNTROYD, Dna. de Merlay mag. argent, a bend betwixt six storks sable.**
- 16. WELD Dna. DE WISWELL, azure, a fess nebulé between three crescents ermine.**
- 17. WHALLEY DE CLERKHILL, Dna. dam. man de Whalley, argent, three whales' heads erased, lying fess-ways sable two and one.**
- 18. BRADDYL OLIM DE PORTFIELD, argent, a cross lozengé vert, over-all a bend goboné ermine and azure.**
- 19. CUNLIFFE DE WYKEOLLER, olim de Cunliffe, sable, three conies current argent.**
- 20. HALSTEAD DE ROWLEY, gules, an eagle displayed, ermine, beaked and legged or, a chief chequé or and azure.**
- 21. HARGREAVES DE BANK, azure, a fess or, fretty gules, between three stags in full course or, attired of the second.**
- 22. HARGREAVES DE ORMEROD, same as 21, impaling Ormerod as 24.**
- 23. HOLDEN DE HOLDEN, sable a fesse between two chevrons ermine; between the fesse, and under the upper chevron a covered cup or.**
- 24. ORMEROD DE ORMEROD, or, three bars gules, in chief a lion passant of the second; allowed as the ancient coat armour to Oliver Ormerod, rector of Heatspill, county of Somerset, (descended from John Ormerod, a younger brother of this family,) in the visitation of that county, 1623, by Henry St. George and Sampson Lennard, Bluemantle, Marshals, and Deputies of William Cambden, Clarenceux king of Arms.**
Ormerod de Rossendale, arms as before. Allowed 1804, to George Ormerod, Esq. of Cheshire, representative of G. third son of Peter Ormerod, of O. Esq. Crest on a wreath, a wolf's head couped at the neck; barry of four, or and gules; in the mouth an ostrich feather erect, proper. Confirmed to the said George Ormerod, by Sir Isaac Heard, Garter, Knt. and Ralph Bigland Norroy, Esq.
- 25. PARKER DE ALCANCOATS, same as No. 9, a crescent for difference.**
- 26. STARKIE DE TWISTON, same as No. 15, a crescent for difference.**
- 27. WHITAKER DE SIMONSTONE, same as Dr. Whitaker, A No. 1.**

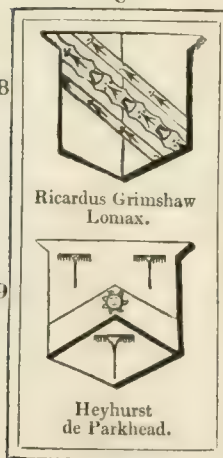


Lancet window.
C

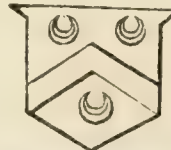
FOUR ARMS IN TWO LANCET WINDOWS.

Lancet window.
D

- 28. RICARDUS GRIMSHAW LOMAX, party per pale, or and sable; a bend engrailed and cottised ermine, charged with three escallops, gules.**
- 29. HEYHURST DE PARKHEAD, argent, a chevron azure, charged with a sun, or, between three hay-rakes proper.**
- 30. TAYLOR DE MORTON, upon a chief sable, three escallops or.**
- 31. Insignia Vitusta Familiæ de HOLDEN, argent, six eagles displayed, three, two, one, and gules.**



ABBAS TOPECLIFFE,



Cotton, of Dillworth;
Gu. chevron between 3 crescents argent.

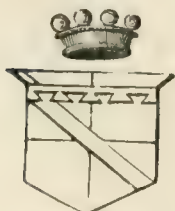


T. LANCASTER.

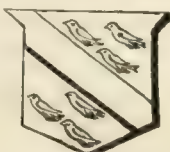


TOPECLIFFE, first abbot on record at Whalley, 1350; per pale or, and sable, three crescents counterchanged.

There was also, at the time the window was put up, a most exquisitely fine picture of our Saviour, painted by that excellent artist NORTHCOTE, presented to the church for the altar-piece, by ADAM COTTOM, Esq. of Whalley, who had before given to the same church a fine-toned organ.



PONTEFRACT



TEMPEST.



RISTON



Edwards, of Halifax.



SHERBURNE.



Gregson.

A. No. 1.



as D. Whitaker, L. L. D.
Vicar of Whalley.

B. No. 2.



Episcopus Cestrensis.
Dr. George H. Law.

3



Henricus de Lacy,
Com. Linc. olim Dna.
de Blackburnshire.

8



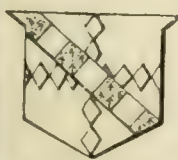
Townley de Townley,
decanis de Whalley
orian.

13



Clayton Dna. de
Barnside.

18



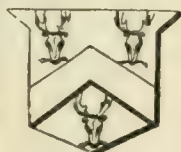
Braddyl olim de
Portfield.

23



Holden de Holden.

Abbatia de Whalley.



Parker de Browsholm,
Forrestarius de Bowland.



Nowell nup Dna. de
Read.



Cunliffe de Wykeoller.



Ormerod de Ormerod,



Archiep Cantuar,
Patronus Ecclesia.
Dr. C. M. Sutton.



Ashton Dna. de
Downham.



Starkie de Huntroyd
Dna. de Merlay mag.



Halsted de Rowley.



Parker de Alencoates.



Duessa de Buccleugh,
Dna. de Blackburnshire.



Banastre Dna.
de Altham.



Weld Dna.
de Wiswell.



Hargreaves de Bank.



Starkie de Twiston.



Curzon, de Whalley
Abb.



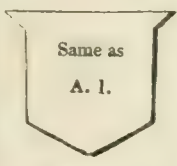
Beaumont Dna.
de Mitton parva.



Whalley de Clerkhill
Dna. dam. man.
de Whalley.



Hargreaves
de Ormerod.



Same as
A. 1.

Whitaker
de Simonstone.

The Window is executed in a masterly style of workmanship, by that ingenious artist Mr. James Hall Miller, of Swallow-street, London.—1816.

All the names, &c. are painted in ancient black letters.

Lewis, of Marr, Esq. s. p.; 2d, Theobald Burgh, visc. Mayo: she died 1650, s. p.;—and Margery married William Whyte, Colonel for the Parliament, who died about the year 1660, and having purchased the other moiety of Bashall, devised the whole to his own relations.

The present house of Bashall is a plain large hall-house, apparently erected since the extinction of the Talbots.

It has been recorded by Christopher Townley†, as a tradition of the neighbourhood in his time, that Henry VI. when betrayed by the Talbots, foretold nine generations of the family in succession, consisting of a wise and a weak man by turns, after which the name should be lost.

Something like these hereditary alternations of sense and folly might have happened, and have given rise to a prophecy fabricated after the event: a real prediction to this effect would have negatived the words of Solomon:—"Yea, I have hated all my labour which I had taken under the sun: because I should leave it unto the man that shall be after me, *and who knoweth whether he shall be a wise man or a fool?*"*

This, however, is not the only instance in which Henry is reported to have displayed that singular faculty, the Vaticinium Stultorum.

Next is the village and parochial chapel of Waddington, probably erected in consequence of the agreement mentioned above, though a beam in the chancel bears date, as I remember, 1540. Of the Parkers of Browsholme, interred in this church, the following memorial is engraved on a large plate of brass, with the arms.

D. O. M.

Bonæ Memorix et
Spei æternæ.

Edward' Parker arm' ex antiqua Parker-
oru' Familia de Brovsholme in Com'
Ebor' oriundus, quondam de Aulâ Claren-
si in Academia Cantabrig' Graduat^{us}
et de Honorificâ Societate Hospitii
Graiensis Juriconsult^{us} necnon Com-
itat' Ebor' et Lancastr' Ivstitiar-
ivs Pacis et Quoru'.

Qui

Deum coluit
Legiantiam tenuit
Pacifice vixit
Neminem læsit
Sv'v' civique tribuit,

Hic

Mortales Reliquias donec in CHRO resur-
gant mortales deposuit in Vigiliis
Sti Jacobi Ao. Salutis M. D. C. L. xviii.

C. A. P. D.

D. O. M.

Virtuti et Honori
Sacrum

Hic requiescit in Pace Maria
Filia Rich'i Sunderland de
High Sunderland Arm' et
Mariæ Filiæ Richi Sotenstall
Quonda' Prætoris Londinensis
Uxor Edvardi Parker Arm'
Variis et eximiis Animi Virtuti-
bus exornata et ditata, fuit enim

Erga

Devm pientissima

Maritum obsequentissima
Liberos indulgentissima
Servos æquissima
Proximos amicissima

Pauperes et } Eleemosynaria liberalissima.
Egenos }

Placide in Dno. obdormivit et terrenam
Vitam pro cœlesti commutavit xvjj die
Redemptionis nostræ M. D. C. L. xxjjj.

C. A. P. D.

* Eccles. ii. 18, 19.

Horum mutui Amoris charissima supersunt Pignora, Thomas Parker Arm' Iusticiari' Pacis, Robert' Parker Gen'. Edward' Parker I. C. Roger' Parker Gen. et Maria Uxor Thomæ Heber de Hollinghall Gen'. Richvs vero Filius Natu Quartus præmissus est.

Florida Pax vivis, Requies æterna sepultis.

Parentibus suis omni Pietatis officio maxime colendis

Robert Parker, illorum secundo-genitus, hoc Monumentum

Posuit.

In archbishop Holgate's return of the chantries, the chapel of Waddington, par. Mitton, was found to be of clear value £.3. 15s. 4d. and the chantry of our lady in the same chapel £.3. 3s.

Here is a large and handsome hospital of the foundation of the Parker family.

Of the æra of the parochial chapel of Grinleton*, I have no information.

PARISH OF SLAYDBURN.

The church of Slaydburn is of much higher antiquity than it has been generally understood or represented to be, *i. e.* of the endowment of John de Lacy. For, in the charter of Hugh de la Val, which can scarcely be referred to a later period than the beginning of Henry I. are granted to the priory of Kirkby (Pontefract) "*Ecclesia de Slaydburn, cum his quæ ad eam pertinent.*" Dods. MSS. v. 161. And upon the restoration of the rightful owners, Henry de Lacy, the first, regranted to the same house "*Ecclesiam de Sleitburna cum capellis et terris et decimationibus.*" Dods. v. 161, f. 28, 29.

The monks of Whalley abhorred Delaval's charter, of which they had long felt the effects, and therefore upon all occasions studied to keep it out of sight. This will account for the very different representation contained in their memoir, which follows:

"Tunc nulla ecclesia illis partibus habebatur nisi solum Waudan Chapell, quæ quidem Capella nunc est ecclesia Parochialis de Slaydburn. Dns. Joh. de Lacy, comes Lincolnæ, tempore suo dotavit dictam Capellam cum IIII bovatis terræ jacent' in villa de Slaydburn, qui quidem comes postea dedit advocationem dictæ Capellæ cuidam de Hammerton, nomine Orme

* The following letter from R. Rauthmell, the antiquary of Overborough, addressed to Mr. afterwards Bishop Mayter, A. D. 1741, relating to the chapel of Grinleton, is sufficiently characteristic of the man.

"Dear Sir,

"If you would be pleased to procure the Queen's Bounty, £.200, you would perform an excellent charity. I have a large congregation that attend constantly, but they are very poor; they are willing, but not able to raise the other half. My two chapels are in the Alpes of the West Riding, and I have just now calculated that I have rid over the Alpine Mountains to attend and performe divine service at Grindleton chapel above 3000 miles, and the whole yearly stipends put in one sum amount not above £.60. I am, &c. RICH. RAUTHMELL."

At Edisford, on the site of the hospital and chantry, are still remaining several shields of arms in stonework, particularly the lion rampant and the fret of Roger de Lacy. And to throw things of the same kind together, at Worston are three shields, probably brought from Whalley in the time of the Asshetons, to whom it was devised by the Greenacres. They are, 1st. the lion rampant of Lacy; 2nd. quarterly France and England; 3d. three salmons hauriant (I was before mistaken in saying they were in pale), the proper bearing of the abbey.

(this

(this was the benefactor to Edisford Hospital), et dictus postea dedit advocacionem supradictam Priori et Monachis de Pountfret. Primus namque rector ejus Capellæ (see how the story labours from this inconsistency in the terms) fuit quidam Thomas de Hammerton, post quem successit Petrus de Cestria, et sic Parochialis Ecclesia fuit effecta. Inde dicto Petro successit quidam Willielmus dictus Nunny, post quem successit mediate Wmu. de Wirksworth, qui nunc."

On this statement I have to observe :

1st. As the rectors of Slaydburn began to cast a longing eye on the tythes of the Forest of Bowland, it was the object of the monks of Whalley to depress the antiquity of that church as much as possible, and to carry up the proofs of their own claim to an æra prior to its foundation.

2d. It is not impossible that, although glebe lands in general are mentioned as belonging to the church of Slaydburn, in the charter of Henry de Lacy, the monks might be correct in their account of its second endowment, with four oxgangs of land, the usual proportion of glebe, by Earl John.

3d. The succession of rectors not affecting their claim is probably correct.

4th. The story of Orme de Hammerton, and his donation, was probably invented to account for a fact which was notorious, namely, that the priory of Pontefract was at that time actually seized of the advowson, and to account for it in such a manner as to keep the dreaded charter of Delaval out of sight.

5th. Here is an instance which rarely occurs, of an advowson granted to a religious house, and never followed by an endowed vicarage ; but this circumstance is probably to be accounted for from the poverty of the benefice.

After the time of Wirksworth, who, from the words *qui nunc*, and the date of this memoir, which belongs to Abbot Lyndlay's age, must have lived about the year 1350, there is a breach in the chain of incumbents in this church till the 5th of Henry VI. when William Newark occurs rector, and afterwards to the year 1470, or thereabouts, when the dispute already recorded under Whalley Abbey fell out between the monks of that house and Sir Christopher Parsons : he was a long-lived man, for I find letters of administration of the effects of this rector granted by the prerogative court of York to Richard Beaumont, Esq. Jan. 5th, 1507. He was intimately connected with the Beaumonts, of Whitley ; and the following letters, with copies of which I have been favoured by their present worthy representative, throw light upon some dark transactions of those times.

" Right wyschippfull S in my best man^r y^t I cane I recomend me to you desyryng hartily to here of your welefar^e. S I hafe resayvyd your wrytynge and psayvys ham v'ey wele and also I send George of Mytton to y^e pson on y^e 'Thursday afore all halo day and y^t y^e pson hafe grauntyd y^t I sall hafe a p'micion both sydys and y^e rentall of hornby. Also he has poyntyd me y^t I sall not com to hym or y^e morne aft mtynnmes day and I coud not cause hym to poynt no son^r for he seyde he coud not geyt hyt or then. And I sall kepe y^t day w^t y^e grace of god And geyt of hym all if I cane S I wold avyse you and my cosyn John herryngton man be in no Jupte of sekenes to geyt all y^e evydens of hym y^t ze can or S James com up for he is purpast

to

to com hastily. Also S James and y^e pson of Sladeborne thynke y^t my cosyn John was puseyned and y^t his Svant was hyryd to do it by my brodr S Edward and yf it so be then he forfet^r all moreov^r I send Netylton for S James to mete me and speke w^t me and he said y^t he wold come home to me and yf he so do or we leyfe ze sal hafe word and as for John heton and Rog^r Leyv^r they come not here zet I send ham a lett^r by Thom^s Orscha and I had no word agayne. Also S ze wryte to me for mone and ze knawe y^t I can make no schift or candylmes bot yf ze thynk I sold go boro it of my lord Archbyschop* and yf ze will y^t I so do send me a byll by S I sall send Netylton to zou alshastly as I can also S on y^e frydday aft^r aft^r ze de-partyd come John Thornell ayer S and Will^m Wilkynson S Robt aneley and R Richytt and wold hafe dyscharge hym and wold take none at hym Also S pray zou to kepe zou out of all Japtese and to make myche of zour selfe and the holy trenete hafe zou in hys blusyd kepeyng.

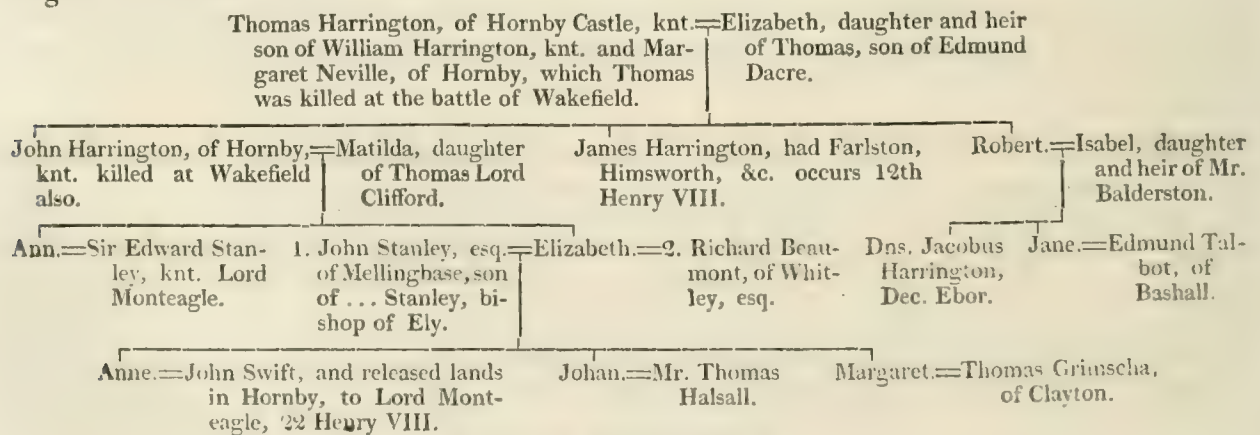
Your wyfe Elezabeth Beaumont.

“To my husband be y^e byll delivd.”

“To my Ryght wyrshēipfull & moste hartile welbiloved gud maistres Bea^umontte be thē dd Maistres as hartile as I can I recomend me unto you and of yo^r gud myend in Althyngē I am Right glode and wher^eas ye saye maist^r Sir Edward Stanley has schewit that Kyng Edward maide award betwixte you and yo^r Unkyllē Tuttle Kyng Edward made nev^r nown award nor nown such can be schewit und^r seales of auctorite, it was so laibored that Kyng Richard comanded a Note to be Drawne and caused the Chaunceler of the Duche to examentt the trwe valor of al the maners & lyvehode the wiche yo^r fad was lawfully possessed and deyt seased off and yett this notwithstanding Kyng Richard never made ward betwixē you and yo^r Unkyls. And wher^e ye disire evidaunc^e of c^tan plac^e ye knaw S James Herryngton has theym. And more of thes evidaunc^e in gud faith I wote nott. Bott alsuche laund as wer^e in fe sympyl^r wiche yo^r ffadr deyt seased off ar yo^r by the trwe course of the lawe of Yngla^und. And thus Almyghty Jhu have yon & my mast^r yo^r husbaund with all yo^r Child^r ev^rmore in h^t Blessed ptecoon at Slaitburn by your^e awn lovyngē fr^und to be sempyll power.

“The Pson of Slaitburn.”

These letters, which, in point of antiquity and curiosity, may be classed nearly with those of the Pastons, refer to some obscure facts in the history of the Harringtons and Beaumonts, which I will endeavour to elucidate: and first, by the following authentic table, compiled from original evidences.



* I suppose Archbishop Savage.

From

From this table, with the letters and other evidences, bearing date the 22d Henry VIIth, it appears that Sir Edward Stanley had obtained a grant of the manor of Hornby, &c. from that king after the attainder of Sir James Harrington, uncle of his lady Anne, who, together with Elizabeth Beaumont, was daughter of his brother Sir John Harrington, of Hornby. The cousin, John Harrington, whom the parson of Slaydburn thought to be poisoned at the instigation of Sir Edward Stanley, does not appear in the pedigree. He was probably son of Sir James, and was taken off young, *i. e.* before the attainder of his father, as it would have been superfluous afterwards, when corruption of blood had rendered the father incapable of transmitting any inheritance. By this felony it is hinted that Sir Edward Stanley had incurred a forfeiture; which was true, supposing the fact to be proved. In the next place, the parson of Slaydburn affirms that Mrs. Beaumont had a right to all the lands (he must mean a moiety,) of which her father Sir John died seized in fee simple. This was plain, for such lands would have descended to the heirs general; but a settlement was pretended, an award of the king to that effect set up, and Sir James, the brother, was supposed to have been tenant in tail, a pretence which it greatly concerned Sir Edward to maintain, for all these lands, of which Sir James had actually been seized, were included in the forfeiture, and the forfeited lands were by grant his own. Thus this base man having married the daughter of Sir John Harrington, in order to obtain the whole instead of a moiety of his lands, probably procured the forfeiture of her uncle, poisoned her cousin, and defeated the claim of her sister and co-heir by a pretended settlement. This is a piece of family history unknown before; and it leaves a stain upon the memory of Sir Edward Stanley, which neither his valour at Flodden, nor the foundation of his beautiful chapel at Hornby, can ever wash away. That chapel is said to have been vowed at Flodden; but it might secretly be intended as an expiatory offering: at all events, the friends of poor John Harrington might have inscribed on his tomb what yet remains on the front of the chapel.

Edwardus Stanley miles, Dns. Monteagle, me fieri fecit.

In the beginning of Parsons's incumbency occurs a very singular transaction in the history of this church; for, in the 36th Henry VI. Nicholas Hall, prior of Pontefract, and his convent, convey the advowson of Sladeburn to Lau. Booth, clerk, Nicholas Byron, Esq. and others, who in the next place grant and confirm the same to the chantry of Saint Catharine, in the church of Eccles, A.D. 1456.—Lastly, the rectory aforesaid is appropriated to the said chantry by William Booth, Archbishop of York, and confirmed by Pope Paul the Second, in a bull which would almost of itself make a volume*. Notwithstanding all this, no vicarage was ever endowed. I have never met with another instance of the appropriation of a rectory to a chantry.

After a long interval occurs Edm. Townley†, of whom I meet with the following singular letter:

“For Edward Parker Esq^r. att Browsholme, these—

This is A very unman'lerly request I'm making to you, but (y^e exegincy of y^e affair is such y^t though with blushing I must request you to let this bearer have two gallons or (if not so

* The emacniats were not inferior in verbosity to modern conveyancers.

† I know not who was his patron, or on what terms he obtained the benefice; but, in the heads of some satirical verses made upon him by his step-son Halsted, I find the two words Simony and Slaidburne close together. *Vide* more of this man under Barnley.

much, yet what you can spare, of) Claret, for now we find by our Vessel y^t it will not be sufficient to fit y^e Communicants on Sunday, some persons have tapt it—unknown to us. We had our runlet from Lancaster & was all we could get in the Town; howevar it would have done our business if there had been no foul play. Sir, if this will consist with your conveniency, I will either pay you what you please for it, or will send you the same quantity as soon as I can procure it, if you can furnish me; yet, if you thought they had as much at Waddow y^t they would spare it if you would write to M^r Wilkinson by this bearer, it would be a great favour; but I'm very much affraid we must use (y^e practice of) the Greeke & Armenian churches, & mix water in our wine. God will have mercy but not sacrifice therefore I doubt not he will pardon us, necessity pleading our excuse. So dear Sir, with service to your Father, &c. I rest

“Your obliged Humble

Servant, E. Townley.

“Slaidburn, Ap. 10.=91.”

On this extraordinary representation it may be observed—1st, That claret, and not port wine*, was in general use so late as 1691; 2d, That two gallons were required for the communion in a country parish church—it is to be feared, therefore, that the consecrated element was sometimes drank to excess at that time, as it is now and then in country churches at present; 3d, A small runlet was all that could then be obtained at Lancaster, where some hundreds of pipes are now imported annually; 4th, It was then doubtful whether the wine cellar at Brows-holme could furnish two gallons of wine—a quantity which would not exceed the consumption of many single days, in the life-time of its last resident and hospitable owner.

The chantry of our lady, in the parish-church of Sladeburne, founded by Peter Shawe, was returned of the clear yearly value of £.5. 6s. 8d. †

The advowson, however, seems to have continued in the chantry of St. Catharine till the Dissolution, and was afterwards granted to, or purchased by, the Littletons, of Hagley, who sold it to repair some of the breaches made in their great fortune by the civil wars of the last century. It is now the property of James Wigglesworth, Esq.

* Port wine was at that time usually called Claret in the North, as it is still by the common people.

† Abp. Holgate's return of chantries.

BOOK VI.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIRS.

CHAPTER I.

JOHN DUGDALE,

SON of James Dugdale, of Clitheroe, gent. from whom he inherited an estate, which he disposed of, and settled at Shustoke, in Warwickshire, where he had an only son, afterwards the famous antiquary Sir William Dugdale, whose hereditary connexion with this parish I am proud to commemorate. The name of Dugdale is still common in the neighbourhood.

WILLIAM HEATLEY,

Born at Dunkenhalth, now a very aged man, and Abbot of the English Benedictine Monastery of Lamspring, to which an independent principality is annexed*. Having been disappointed in the necessary information with respect to the life of this dignitary, I have to regret the barrenness of the present article; yet am unwilling to lose an opportunity of recording, among the living natives of the parish of Whalley, a small ecclesiastical sovereign. For while the great spiritual Electors of Germany have been borne down by the tempest which now rages over Europe, it is the privilege of the abbot of Lamspring, insulated by the barren plains of Westphalia, to have little but the primitive wealth of mast and hogs to attract the plunderers of mankind; and while the fertile banks of the Rhine continue, from year to year, a field of blood, this diminutive prince remains undisturbed, and may end his days in the peaceable retirement of his own cloister.

Sir JONAS MOORE, Knight,

Born in Pendle Forest, where the two names have frequently been united; and, according to family tradition, related to the author of this Work. I have however sought in vain for the register of his baptism.

Of this person I know no more, than that he was a minor philosopher, in the earlier part of the last century, and lived in London, where he had some office about the Tower.

He was author of a little volume entitled "England's Interest," in which he undertakes,

* He was elected Feb. 25, 1762; and died at Lamspring Sept. 15, 1802, aged 85.

1st, to show how land may be improved from 20s. to £.8, and so to £.100 *per acre per annum*. 2d, The easiest and quickest way of raising a Nursery. 3d, How to make Cyder, Perry, Cherry, Currant, Gooseberry, Mulberry, and Birch Wines, as strong and wholesome as French and Spanish Wines; and the Cyder and Wines so made to be sold at 3d. a quart, though as good as Wine now sold for 18d. 4. Directions for Brewing the finest Malt Liquors better and cheaper than hitherto known. 5. Instructions for breeding Horses, much cheaper and to far greater advantage than any yet known. 6. Of the Husbandry of Bees, and the great benefit thereby. 7. Instructions for the profitable management of Fish-ponds, and for the encrease of Fish. 8. A Guide for young Anglers; teaching them the best method of catching Trout, Carp, Barbels, Jacks, Pikes, Perch, Roach, &c.; also, to dress them in the newest fashion. Lastly, Physic for Families; containing many useful Medicines for several distempers, particularly the Plague. By Sir J. Moore. London, 1721.

On the whole, he appears to have been a sanguine projector, of some knowledge, but of no great comprehension or judgment.

ALEXANDER NOWELL,

Second son of John Nowell, Esq. son of Roger Nowell, Esq. and Grace his wife, daughter of John Townley, of Townley, Esq. and Isabel Sherburne, of Stonyhurst, was born at Read, A.D. 1506. Wood, Bishop Tanner, and the Compilers of the “*Biographia Britannica*,” are alike mistaken, in supposing him to have been son of Dowsabell Hesketh, who died, leaving an only son Roger*, from whom the present family are descended; for, on her decease, John Nowell, the father, contracted a second marriage with Elizabeth Kay, of Rochdale, by whom he had issue Alexander, the subject of the present article; Laurence, of whom in the next; Robert, Attorney of the Court of Wards; and Elizabeth, who, A.D. 1530, marrying Thomas Whitaker, of Holme, gent. became, in 1547, mother of the celebrated Dr. William Whitaker.

Of young Alexander, it may reasonably be conjectured, that he received the first tincture of classical learning in the neighbouring abbey, then probably one of the best seminaries in the country, where an apartment still retains the name of the “*Old School House*.” At thirteen, he became a member of Brazen-nose College, Oxford, where he is said to have continued thirteen years, and took both the degrees in arts, though, for some reason which does not appear, not till some years after he became of sufficient standing.

He was elected, in course, fellow of his college, and soon became distinguished not only for learning and piety, but for his zeal in the cause of the Reformation, during the last dangerous years of Henry VIII.

Dec. 5, 1551, he was installed prebendary of Westminster; and, in the first Parliament of Queen Mary, had the singular fortune (for it could scarcely be sought by himself) to be returned

* Roger Nowell was a very irreligious man, and never attended any public worship. This may illustrate Dr. Paley’s remark, that the English practice of leaving the whole estate to the oldest son, spoils only one in a family; but, when it is considered that the younger brother of this man was one of the most eminent Christians which the Church of England ever produced, it is impossible to forget a more serious passage, “*There shall be two men in one bed; the one shall be taken, the other left.*” Luke xvii. 34.



ALEXANDER

Dean of St. Pauls,

An. 1511.

PISCATOR



NOWELL, D.D.

Obiit 15. Dec. 1555.

95.

HOXNEM.

Gordon clay

Y^d Graces moste
3 Maij 1568. humble

Jo. Sar.

12 Januarij 1595

Y^d honorable Lordship



Humble at Comandement,
Alexander Newell.

Famulus tuus, sibi multis
nomnibus connectissimj.

Laurentius Newellj.

I desire not to live more idly,
but more at libertie,
For the Dean of Pauls house in London.

Novemb-19. 1595. Y^d Honors unuoz his Chaplain
Willm Whitaker.

burgess for Loo, or Westlow, in Cornwall, though his election, as might have been foreseen, was declared void, on account of his having a vote in the House of Convocation.

About the same time, being schoolmaster of Westminster, he appears to have drawn up, for the use of his pupils, at least an outline of that admirable Catechism, which he lived to complete and publish in more auspicious days. But he now discovered, and happily in good time, that purity and perspicuity of style, when employed in the cause of reformation, had no charms for Bonner; and like Erasmus, whom he appears somewhat to have resembled, both in elegance and timidity, feeling no appetite for martyrdom, he put himself under the protection of Mr. Francis Bowyer, a merchant, afterwards sheriff of London, and by his assistance withdrew to Frankfort.

Merchants at that time, from their intercourse with the Hanse Towns, appear to have been generally favourable to the Reformation; and the same cause which inspired them with the inclination, furnished them with means and opportunities, first, of transporting the persecuted clergy, and afterwards of remitting contributions for their support.

Here, in consistency with the moderation of his own principles, Nowell united himself with the episcopal congregation, yet in a spirit of charity towards all the exiled brethren, equally remote from the imposing arrogance of Cox, and the puritanical rigour of Whittingham. This character, the effect of a clear head and calm temper, followed him through life. Unaltered by the charms of preferment, and the sunshine of a jealous court, we find him, in his latter days, the advocate by turns of Udal, a conscientious puritan, and of Townley, a peaceable recusant.

On the demise of Queen Mary, he was the first exile who returned to hail the accession, and to share the bounty of queen Elizabeth; nor were his hopes long deferred; for on Jan. 1, 1559–60, he became archdeacon of Middlesex; on June 21, of the same year, prebendary of the seventh stall in Westminster Abbey; and on Nov. 17, 1560, he attained to the summit of his preferments*, and probably of his wishes, in the rich deanery of St. Paul's, which he enjoyed through a long and tranquil period of forty-one years, without any relaxation of diligence, or abatement of zeal, or decay of intellect; happy in the esteem of all good men, and in the general, though not uninterrupted favour of his royal mistress, before whom he was a frequent and faithful preacher for 30 years. In the pulpit he seems to have possessed an useful versatility of talents; for, in his excursions to his native country, he is said to have been eminently successful, when preaching was little practised and less encouraged, in bringing over the rude and bigoted people of Lancashire to the Established church.

With the same benevolent intention he founded a grammar-school at Middleton, in that county, and endowed it with £.30 *per ann.* together with exhibitions of £.3. 6s. 8d. each, to thirteen scholars for six years, provided that, if that school should at any time be deficient in persons properly qualified, recourse should then be had to the schools of Whalley and

* By this is meant that he never attained any higher rank in the church, nor probably sought it—But after he became Dean of St. Paul's, several valuable pieces of preferment were heaped upon him: such as the prebends of Wildland and Tottenhall, in his own church, which he held in succession; the rich parsonage of Hadham, in Hertfordshire; a canonry of Windsor; and, lastly, the headship of Brazen-nose College, Oxford, which he held only three months. October 1, 1595, on occasion of this last appointment, he was created D.D. with an especial grant of precedence over all the doctors in the University, as well on account of his age (at least 84), as his station and dignity in the church.

Burnley, and in failure of candidates from thence, to any other school within the county of Lancaster*.

In the year 1570, he published the celebrated Catechism, which, as it had been undertaken as a kind of synopsis of the doctrines of the Church of England, at the request of Cecil, as it had been reviewed and interlined by the convocation, in the year 1562, and was at last committed to the press at the joint request of the two archbishops, may, in some measure, be considered as a work of public authority. Of this little book, it is not too much to affirm, that the orthodoxy of its precepts is equalled by the purity of its style; and that, as it was written at a time when the Church of England had neither forgotten nor grown ashamed of her own doctrines, a late republication of it by the present learned and vigilant Bishop of Chester†, is entitled to the gratitude of every friend to the Establishment, or to genuine Christianity. The general introduction of Nowell's catechism into schools and colleges, might be a means of reinfusing a new portion of that spirit which once animated our pulpits, and of opening upon the minds of young preachers better views of religion than have been generally exhibited of late, excepting in combinations which disgrace them.

In the year 1575, Mr. Nowell received an elegant tribute of gratitude in a classical translation of the Catechism into Greek, from his nephew, Mr. Whitaker, then fellow of Trinity College, and rising to great distinction in the University of Cambridge.

The celebrity of the original work, sometimes perhaps called the Catechism, by way of eminence, gave rise to an opinion that Alexander Nowell was "the composer of that good plain unperplexed Catechism, which is in our good old Service Book." Such are the words of old Izaak Walton, who, as he lived near the time, and conversed familiarly with the first ecclesiastics, might have been better informed, though the real author of that excellent formula, probably bishop Poinet, has never been clearly ascertained.

At length, after having prolonged his life by temperance, exercise, and tranquillity of mind, to ninety-five years, he died full of honour as of days, Feb. 13th, 1601.

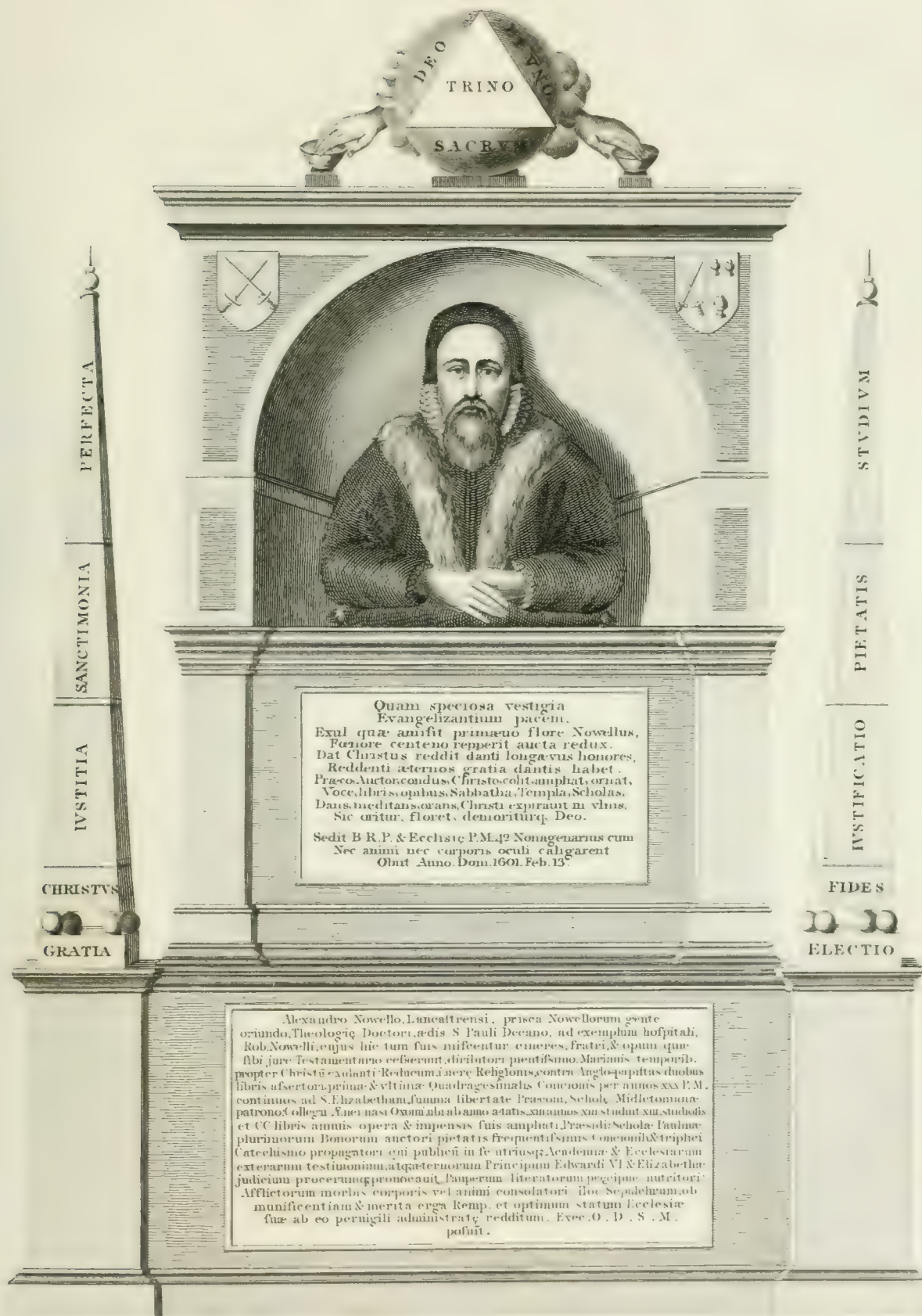
He is recorded by Izaak Walton, a man of the same tranquil devotion, and who attained nearly to the same length of days with himself, to have spent a tenth part of his time in angling, an amusement suited beyond every other to calm and contemplative minds, and sacred, as it should seem, to the relaxation of eminent divines; Donne, Herbert, Whitaker, and after them Archbishop Sheldon, having been fondly attached to it.

Dr. Alexander Nowell was interred in his own cathedral, and had a monument erected to his memory, which perished, with many more, in the fire of London; but its figure and inscription were preserved by the timely industry of Dugdale, and the immortal hand of Hollar‡.

* Wood, Hist. and Ant. Univ. Ox. lib. 11, 214.

† Dr. Cleaver (1801), Bishop of Bangor; afterwards, of St. Asaph.

‡ This is merely such a sketch as could be exhibited in a work like the present; but a more expanded life of Alexander Nowell has appeared from the excellent biographical pen of the Rev. Ralph Churton.



Viro admodum Reverendo, Gulielmo Cleaver, S.T.P. Episcopo Asaphensi, et Collegii Anei Nasi Principali, Reverendisq; ejusdem Collegii Sociis, tabulam hanc, Alexandri Nowelli, olim ejusdem Collegii Principalis, interque præcipuos ejus Benefactores semper numerandi, Monumentum ante oculos sistentem, summa animi observantia, gratitudinis ergo, D.D.D. R. Chmrtm.



*Remains of the Bust of Dean Scicell
in the Crypt of the present Cathedral
of St. Paul London. Jan 7th 1809.*

LAURENCE NOWELL.

Of this eminent scholar, the restorer of Saxon literature in England, I have met with few memorials. He was brother of Alexander, and probably indebted, like him, for the first rudiments of literature, to the neighbouring abbey. Where he completed his education*, what were his early preferments, how he escaped the *Mariana tempora*, or whether his profession of religion at that time rendered them dangerous to him, I have no-where learned. But in the earlier part of queen Elizabeth's time, we find him active in the cultivation and encouragement of the Saxon language, which, after the dissolution of the monasteries, in some of which it had been systematically taught†, and, after the fatal dispersion of their MSS. and charters, was in danger of falling into total oblivion.

With this claim to royal patronage, and aided probably by the interest of his brother, who then stood high in the favour of Elizabeth, he became dean of Litchfield, into which dignity he was installed April 29th, 1559. He was also prebendary of York and Chichester, and rector of Haughton and Drayton Basset, in this diocese. He died in 1576 or 1577, leaving a widow‡, four sons, and several daughters, and is supposed by Willis§ to have been interred in the church of Weston, in Derbyshire. Camden, who was under obligations to Laurence Nowell, has honoured him with this eulogy:—"Vir rara doctrina insignis, et qui Saxonice majorum nostrorum linguam desuetudine intermortuam et oblivione sepultam primus nostra ætate resuscitavit."

He left behind him, 1st, "Vocabularium Saxonicum," MS. in Bib. Bodl. compiled A.D. 1560. 2d, "Collectanea e Chronico Gregorii Caerwent Monachi Cœnobii Glocestriensis ab Anno 681 ad An. 1290," &c. MS. Bib. Cotton. 3d, "Fasti Ecclesiæ Wigorniensis." 4th, "Polychronicon et Perambulationes Forestarum temp. Hen. III. Pedigrees of the British Kings, Foundation of the Abbey of Tewkesbury, and the Succession of Abbots to the year 1400." A miscellaneous work in MS. formerly in Thoresby's Museum.

The late Mr. Lye, in his accurate edition of Junius's Etymologicon, has availed himself of the labours of the dean of Litchfield.

THOMAS TALBOT,

Second son of John Talbot, of Salesbury, Esq. and Anne Banastre, of Altham, was born at Salesbury, and educated at Oxford. In 1580, he was keeper of the Records in the Tower. He assisted Camden in the Catalogue of Earls for the "Britannia;" and left, 1st, "Collections relating to the Antiquities of Yorkshire," MS. in the Cotton Library, together with several other MSS. purchased by Sir Robert Cotton of his executors. 2d, "Analecta quamplurima

* He was admitted of Brazen-nose College, Oxford, about the year 1535. and took the degree of A.M. in 1544. Wood, Hist. and Antiq. Univ. Ox. p. 216.

† Particularly in the Abbey of Malmesbury.

‡ Relict of a Mr. Glover. His children, according to the family pedigree, pen. Ant. were Samuel, Laurence, Robert, Alexander, Catharine, Mary.

§ Cath. vol. I. p. 400.

diversi generis, viz. ex quibusdam Chronicis, cartis aliisque autenticis Registris, Epitaphia, Genealogia, et alia ad rem historicam spectantia," MS. in the Heralds' Office.

In the dedication to Mills's History of Honour, he is called "Limping Thomas Talbot, a great genealogist, and of excellent memory*."

THE TOWNLEY FAMILY.

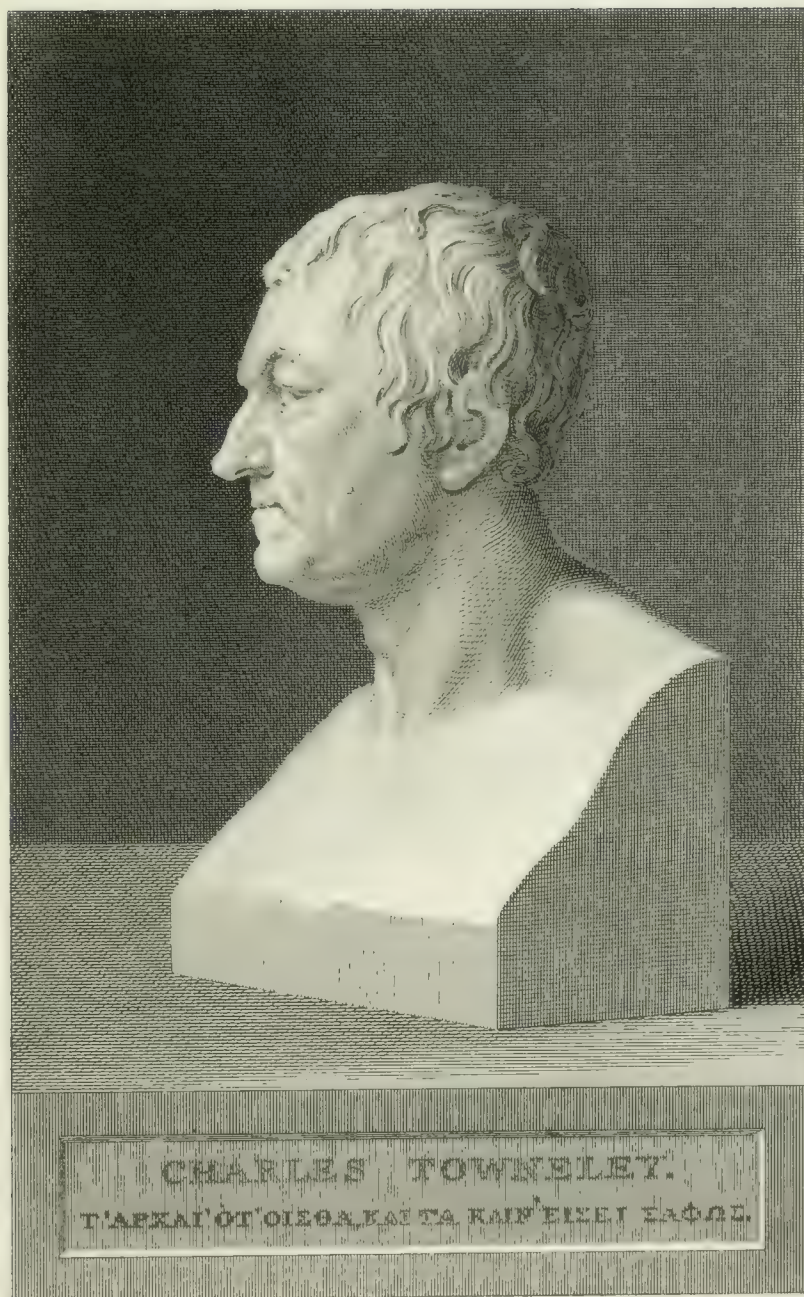
This is not one of those long lines which are memorable only for their antiquity. In the two last centuries it has produced a series of persons distinguished for their talents and virtues. Of these, though last in time, yet first in point of interest, was its late elegant and accomplished representative.

CHARLES TOWNLEY was the oldest son of William Townley, of Townley, Esq. and Cecilia his wife, sole heiress of Ralph Standish, of Standish, Esq. by Lady Philippa Howard, daughter of Henry Duke of Norfolk. His paternal grandmother was heiress of the house of Widdrington. He was born in the house of his ancestors October 1, 1737; and succeeded to the family estate, by the premature death of his father, in 1742. This event, united with religious considerations, sent him, in early childhood, to France for education; to which, however, much more attention was paid than is usual in the seminaries of that country. At a later period he was committed to the care of Turberville Needham, a man of considerable reputation at that time upon the continent as a natural philosopher. His own native taste and activity of mind carried him far beyond his companions in classical attainments; and a graceful person easily adapted itself to all the forms of polished address, which are systematically taught in France†. Thus accomplished, he came out into the world, and was eagerly received into the first circles of gaiety and fashion, from the dissipations of which it would be vain to say that he wholly escaped. These habits of life, however, in which imbecility grows old without the power, and vanity without the will, to change, after having tried them for a few years, his vigorous and independent mind shook off at once; and by one of those decisive efforts of which it was always capable, he withdrew to the Continent, resumed his literary pursuits, studied with critical exactness the works and principles of antient art, and gradually became one of the first connoisseurs in Europe. During this period of his life he principally resided at Rome: from whence, in different excursions, he visited the remotest parts of Magna Græcia and Sicily. I have heard him relate, that on arriving at Syracuse, after a long and fatiguing journey, he could take neither rest nor refreshment till he had visited the fountain of Arethusa. This, though a trifling, is a characteristic circumstance, for he never spared himself, nor ever desisted from any pursuit, till he had either attained his object or completely exhausted his strength.

Though far from indifferent to any of the fine arts, statuary was his favourite, and he soon became too ardent a lover of antiquity to remain a spectator of its fairest forms without courting the possession. His principal agent at Rome, after he ceased to reside there, was Mr. Jenkins.

* Gough's Anecdotes of British Topography, vol. II. p. 497.

† To be convinced how long the French have been our masters in this accomplishment, see the Life of Edward Lord Herbert, p. 45.



How he acquired so many specimens of antient art from the East, I always neglected to inquire, and have now no means of learning. When his “dead family,” as he was wont to call them, grew considerable, he purchased for their reception two successive houses in London; the latter of which (in Park-street, Westminster), he fitted up with great elegance, and made it his principal residence till his death; which happened, to the unspeakable grief of his friends, January 3, 1805.

The Townley Marbles were now become a national object: the Trustees of the British Museum, therefore, obtained from Parliament a grant of £.20,000, probably not half the original cost; and for this sum they were purchased from the family. In the midst of an expensive war, and under the administration of one whose great mind rarely condescended to patronise the fine arts, this may be considered as a remarkable testimony to their value.

On the whole, they were undoubtedly the most select assemblage of Greek and Roman sculpture ever brought into England. That of the Earl of Arundel, the first which travelled so far beyond the Alps, though much more numerous, appears, from the remnants of it which are preserved, to have been filled with subjects of very inferior merit. The same, perhaps, may be said of a few celebrated collections yet remaining in some noble houses. But, in the Townley Museum, there was not a single statue, bust, or basso relievo, which did not rise far above mediocrity; and, with the exception of seven or eight subjects beyond the hope or possibility of private attainment, it certainly contained the finest specimens of ancient art yet remaining in the world. Among these may be distinguished the far-famed head of Homer, the apotheosis of Marcus Aurelius, the younger Verus, the Astragalizontes, a small but exquisitely beautiful group*, the Isis†, the female Bacchus‡, the ivy-crowned Muse, and the small bronze of Hercules Alastor, found at Biblus in Syria.

The Townley Museum was also rich in gems, terra cottas, sepulchral monuments; and, above all, in a series of Roman imperial large brass, second only in extent and preservation to that of the late King of France, which alone had cost the collector above £.3000. The Greek medals were rather specimens than a collection; having been selected for a particular purpose, which will now be explained.

Mr. Townley was a zealous advocate for the mythological system of D'Ancarville§, who compiled the greater part of his curious work in Park-street, and derived some of his best illustrations from specimens in that collection.

* This is probably a copy from the bronze group by Polyclethus, mentioned by Pliny, as existing in his time, in the Atrium of Titus, l. xxxiv. c. 8.

† This figure is remarkable for the attributes given to the Rerum Natura Parens by Apuleius, Met. l. xi. “Cujus (verticis) media quidem supra fronte plana rotunditas, in modum speculi vel immo argumentum (qu. arcuamentum vel augmentum) lunæ candidum lumen emicabat. Dextra lævaque sulcis insurgentium viperarum cohibita, spicis etiam cerealibus desuper porrectis.”

‡ ——— “Tibi cum sine cornibus adstas,

Virgineum caput est.”

OVID. Met. l. iv.

§ See “Recherches sur l'Origine et les Progrès des Arts de la Grece, à Londres, M.DCC.LXXXV.” I am indebted to the subject of the present article for a copy of this work, enriched with his own notes, and with engravings never published of the principal statues and busts in his possession. The Homer has been engraved for the splendid edition of the Iliad lately published at Oxford. Prefixed to the Introduction of the “Recherches” is a profile of Mr. Townley, as on a Greek medal: reverse, ΠΙΠΟΝΟΙΑ: but the likeness is not a good one. He was himself no contemptible engraver.

Of this system, which has not been generally received in England, it must be allowed that, amidst the silence of the earlier writers of antiquity, it is powerfully supported by the later Platonists, and the remains of ancient art. The symbols employed by sculptors and engravers to adumbrate the creative, destroying, and restoring powers of the universe, appear to have been connected with the mysteries. By the vulgar they were considered as the attributes of common Polytheism; by the initiated they were referred to the ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ of their own system.

But, to return: though an indefatigable writer, Mr. Townley never printed any thing but a Dissertation on the Ribchester Helmet, in the *Vetusta Monumenta* of the Antiquarian Society. The reason of this reserve may partly have been much native delicacy of mind, and partly a consciousness that his English style was tinctured with foreign idioms. Indeed, he never spoke his native tongue but with some hesitation, and had frequent recourse to French and Italian words to remove his embarrassment.

I have just now ascribed to him much native delicacy of mind: a quality never more conspicuous than in the familiar, extenuating manner in which he spoke of his own antiquarian treasures: treasures such as the Medici might have boasted of.

“Contemptæ dominus splendidior rei.”

To young connoisseurs, and in general to his inferiors in taste and science who sought his assistance, he was an active and zealous patron, sparing neither his interest nor his exertions to promote their views. For many such acts of friendship the writer of this memoir has reason to remember him with the warmest affection and gratitude.

But it would be injurious to the memory of this excellent person to consider him merely as a virtuoso. He was one of the most benevolent and generous men I have ever known. The demands of taste, however importunate, could never tempt him either to rapacity or retention. In his conduct to a numerous tenantry he was singularly considerate and humane: and whether present or absent from his house in the country, the stream of his bounty to the indigent never dried up or diminished. In one year of general distress, approaching to famine, he distributed among the poor of the neighbouring townships a sum equivalent to a fourth part of the clear income arising from the estate. His personal habits, though elegant, were frugal and unostentatious. He never even kept a carriage. He was an early riser, and an exact œconomist of his time. To his own affairs he was minutely and skilfully attentive. In his later years he grew more attached to his native place, and displayed, in adorning the grounds about it, a taste not inferior to that which distinguished his other pursuits. His temper, though naturally cheerful, was calm and sedate. His conversation, though regulated by the nicest forms of good-breeding, was seasoned with a kind of Attic irony, not always unfelt by those about him.

graver; and a sardonyx bicolor, in the same work, bears his name, “Car. Townley sculpsit.” I may also be allowed to add, that the light thrown on the architectural projections in Basire’s beautiful plate of the Cloister Court of Whalley, was from a correction by Mr. Townley’s hand. At the time of his death, a magnificent plate of one apartment in his museum, from a painting by Zoffani, was, as it is yet, under the engraver’s hands. It contains a tolerable likeness of himself at forty-five; and of his friends, the Hon. Mr. Greville, Mr. Astle, and Mr. D’Ancarville. But the misfortune is, that, for the sake of effect, many of the subjects have been transferred from their real situations. The stipulated price of this plate was no less than £1200.

His

His manner had much both of dignity and sweetness. He was happy in a vigorous constitution, and still more so in a slow and sensible decay; for, after half a century of uninterrupted health and spirits, which gave but too keen a relish to every enjoyment, a lingering disorder which hung over him for the three last years of his life, co-operating with other means, brought him to a deep and serious sense of religion; and in this sense he died. Excepting the last circumstance, he may well be represented in the beautiful character of Atedius Melior, by Statius*:

“ Cui nec pigra quies, nec iniqua potentia, nec spes
 “ Improba, sed medius per honesta et dulcia limes,
 “ Incorrupte fidem, nullosque experte tumultus,
 “ Et secrete palam, qui digeris ordine vitam;
 “ Idem auri facilis contemptor, et optimus idem
 “ Comere divitias, opibusque immittere lucem.”

Mr. Townley was interred, January 17, 1805, in the family chapel at Burnley in Lancashire, where those who love his memory would rejoice to see the best judge of sculpture in Europe commemorated by a bust at least. Added to that memorial his name would be enough: for, till this generation shall have passed away, the truest sepulchral panegyric would be useless—in another it would be suspected.

The following, however, has at length been chosen, and is entitled to a place here for its classical purity and elegance.

M. S.
 CAROLI TOWNELEII,
 viri ornati, modesti;
 nobilitate stirpis, amœnitæ ingenii, suavitate morum,
 insignis;
 qui omnium bonarum artium, præsertim Græcarum,
 spectator elegantissimus, æstimator acerrimus, judex peritissimus,
 earum reliquias, ex urbium veterum ruderibus effossas,
 summo studio conquisivit, suâ pecuniâ redemit, in usum patriæ reposuit;
 eâ liberalitate animi, quâ, juvenis adhuc,
 hæreditatem alteram, vix patrimonio minorem,
 fratri spontè cesserat, dono dederat.
 Vixit annos LXVII. menses III. dies III.
 Mortem obiit Jan. III. A. S. MDCCCV.

JOHN TOWNLEY, Esq.

Son of Charles, second son of Sir John Townley, knight, married Mary, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Richard Townley, his uncle. He was celebrated for his recusancy and sufferings. In Peck's "*Desiderata Curiosa*," are many memorials relating to him and his fellow-sufferer,

* *Sylvæ*, l. ii. 3.

Sir John Southworth. The following inscription, under a portrait of himself, his lady, and children, in the library at Townley, will supply what is wanting in this narrative:—

This John about the 6 or 7 yere of her ma.tie. yt. now ys, for professing ye apostolicall catholick Romain faith, was imprisoned first at chester castell, then sent to marishalsea, then to yorke castell. the to ye blockhouses in hull, then to the Gatehouse in Westminster, then to Manchester, then to broughdon in Oreforthshire, then twice to Elic in Cambrigeshr. and so now of : 73 : yeaues old and blinde, is bounde to appeare and to kepe with in fife myles of towneley his house, who hath since ye statute of 23 : paid in to ye Erchequer **XXII** ye mounth & doth still, yt theer is paid allready aboze fife **III**. 1601.

CHRISTOPHER TOWNLEY,

Grandson of the above, and younger son of Richard Townley, sen. Esq. was born at Townley, Jan. 9th, 1603.

This is that indefatigable transcriber, to whom the present Work is so much indebted. Of his labours, I have now discovered no less than twenty-two volumes, mostly in large folio, at Townley. Writing seems to have been the business of his life; but it is to be lamented that he did not intersperse a little anecdote and reflection with the drudgery of transcribing. Perseverance, however, was his talent, and those who have followed in the same walk are infinitely indebted to him.

He married Alice, daughter of John Braddyll, of Portfield, Esq. and widow of Richard Townley, of Carr, Esq. for which reason he is called by Mr. Whitaker and Sir Peter Leycester, Townley of Carr, though his residence before marriage was at Moorhiles. He was interred at Burnley Aug. 1674.

RICHARD TOWNLEY, Esq.

Oldest son of Charles Townley, killed at Marston Moor, was born in 1628.

The distresses of the times, and probably the natural bent of his own mind, led him to a retired and studious course of life. After his marriage with Margaret Paston, his earlier years appear to have been spent at Nocton, a fine estate then belonging to the family, near Lincoln; but, upon the Restoration, he was compelled to dispose of this, in order to heal the breaches made by sequestrations; and from that time till some years after the marriage of his son, 1685, seems to have resided principally at Townley. He then withdrew to York, where he died of a mortification, Jan. 1706-7, æt. 77*.

In Leigh's Lancashire, l. 2. p. 17, &c. is a letter from Richard Townley, Esq. to Dr. Croon, touching an instrument for dividing a foot into many single parts, invented by a Mr. Gascoigne, slain in the civil wars; a letter on the quantity of rain, *ibm.*; a table of rain at Townley, from 1677 to 1693; observations on an eclipse of the sun, in a Latin letter to Mr. Flamsted.

His attainments as a philosopher and mathematician were certainly very considerable; and

* The particulars of his complaint are related by Thoresby, in the style and spirit of an old nurse. Duc. p. 642.—Vide his elegant Epitaph, under Burnley.



JOHN TOWNELEY,

YOUNGER BROTHER OF

died A.D. 1567



of TOWNELEY ESQ.

DE ALEXANDER NEWELL.

A. 179

he is said to have been a man of mild and amiable temper, averse from business, which he devolved almost entirely upon his brother and faithful friend, who was afterwards his executor.

I cannot forbear mentioning how few steps, in the traditionary history of this family, carry us up two centuries: my informant* having conversed with an aged relative married into the family in 1685, and for several years resident in the same house with another, who was born in the reign of Elizabeth.

JOHN TOWNLEY, KNIGHT OF ST. LOUIS,

Grandson of the former, and younger son of Charles Townley, Esq. by Ursula Fermor, was born at Townley, 1697; and having been originally intended for the law, was placed in the office of the famous Salkeld. But his inclination leading him to prefer a military life, he entered into the French service, and was present at the siege of Philipsburgh, where the marshal Duc de Berwick was killed. He was afterwards honoured with the Cross of St. Louis.

Having spoken, in company with Voltaire, and other wits of the time, at Paris, of the English poem of Hudibras, and translated some small portions of that inimitable work almost extempore, he was induced to attempt a version of the whole, which he published, with the following title:—"Hudibras Poëme, escrit dans le tems des Troubles d'Angleterre; et traduit en Vers François, avec des Remarques et des Figures. A Londres, 1757."

With what success he atchieved a task of such extreme difficulty, may be conjectured from the following extract, notwithstanding its brevity:

An old dull sot, who told the clock
For many years at Bridewell Dock,
At Westminster, and Hicks's Hall,
And Hiccius-Doctius play'd in all;
Where in all governments and times
H' had been both friend and foe to crimes,
And us'd two equal ways of gaining,
By hind'ring justice, or maintaining:

Un vieux Sot, qui comptoit les heures
Constamment près de ces demeures
Où sont logés fripons et gueux,
A Westminster et d'autres Lieux,
Ou la justice se debite,
Il etoit partout émérite.
Là, sous chaque Gouvernement
Il alloit indifferemment
Poursuivre, ou defendre le crime,
Et par cette double maxime,
Il gaignoit, a solliciter
Justice, comme a l'empêcher.

The following inscription, under an engraving from a miniature portrait in the possession of his nephew, will supply the dates wanted to complete this short account.

Ad impertiendum amicis inter Gallos, Linguæ Anglicanæ non nihil peritis, facetum Poema Hudibras dictum, accurate festiveque Gallice conuertit Hic JOHANNES TOWNELEY, Caroli Towneley, de Towneley, in Agro Lancastriensi filius. Natus A.D. 1697—Denatus A.D. 1782. Grato pioque animo fieri curavit Johannes Towneley nepos.—A.D. 1797.

* John Townley, jun. Esq.

JOHN WEBSTER.

Of this extraordinary man, one of the ablest and most learned that have been connected with the parish of Whalley by birth or habitation, I have been able to retrieve very few particulars, but from incidental hints which he gives of his own history in his works.

In his epitaph, he states himself to have been born in Villa Spinosa, in Agro Cucullato; that is, at Thornton, in Cuxwold; and he speaks, in one passage of his works, so familiarly of the neighbourhood of Cambridge, that I presume him to have been educated in that University. Whether medicine or theology were his original destination, I do not know: but it is certain that he entered into holy orders, and about the year 1634 was curate of Kildwick, in Craven, where he seems to have had the first opportunity of exercising that sagacity in detecting imposture, for which he was afterwards so conspicuous. I refer the Reader to the account of the Pendle Forest witches in this Volume, and shall here subjoin Webster's own account of the young impostor there mentioned:

"This said boy was brought into the church of Kildwick, a large parish church, where I, being then curate there, was preaching in the afternoon, and was set upon a stall to look about him, which moved some little disturbance in the congregation for a while. After prayers, I enquiring what the matter was, the people told me it was the boy that discovered witches; upon which I went to the house where he was to stay all night, where I found him, and two very unlikely persons that did conduct him and manage the business.

"I desired to have some discourse with the boy in private; but that they utterly refused. Then in the presence of a great many people, I took the boy near me, and said, 'Good boy, tell me truly and in earnest, didst thou see and hear such strange things of the meeting of witches as is reported by many that thou didst relate? But the two men, not giving the boy leave to answer, did pluck him from me, and said, he had been examined by two *able* justices of the peace, *and they did never ask him such a question.* To whom I replied, the persons accused had therefore the more wrong."

As the laws of England and the opinions of mankind then stood, a mad dog, in the midst of a congregation, would not have been more dangerous than this wicked and mischievous boy, who looking around him could, according to his own caprice, put any one or more of the people in peril of tortures or of death.

On another occasion, he was called to visit a boy supposed to be possessed, of which he gives the following account:—"I presently judged it to be neither natural disease nor supernatural distemper, but only knavery and imposture; and told the father and the son, that I could soon cast forth all the devils that he was possessed with, but then I must have him in mine own custody, and none of them to come near him nor speak unto him. A long time I expected to see him in one of his fits, but his devil was too timorous of my stern *countenance and rough carriage.*"

At what time Webster forsook the Ministry of the Church of England I cannot discover; but, during the civil wars, he certainly attended one of the armies in the capacity, as may be inferred from the following passage, rather of a surgeon than a chaplain:

"For we ourselves, in the late time of rebellion, have seen some thousands of dead bodies
that

that have had divers wounds, and lying naked, and being turned over and over, and by ten or twelve thrown into one pit, and not one of them have issued any fresh and pure blood."

That Webster really practised surgery is evident, not only from the style which he gives himself in the title-page of his own book, but from another curious and characteristic passage, which I will subjoin :

" We ourselves having practised the art of medicine, in all its parts, in the North of England, where ignorance, popery, and superstition, doth much abound, and where, for the most part, the common people, if they chance to have any sort of the epilepsie, palsy, convulsions, or the like, do presently perswade themselves that they are bewitched, forespoken, blasted, fairy-taken, or haunted with some evil spirit ; and if you should, by plain reasons, show them that they are deceived, and that there is no such matter, but that it is a natural disease, say what you can, they shall not believe you, but account you a physician of small or no value."—Hence, I am sorry to say, that our Author, who was probably a better physician than a casuist, infers the lawfulness of using periaptas, or any other insignificant things, to hang about their necks, assuring them that it is a most efficacious and powerful charm ; and so you may cure them, as we have done great numbers."

But surely this is doing evil, that good may come ; for, by parity of reason, a clergyman who was sent for to visit a hypochondriacal man persuaded that he is actually possessed, if he believed that such a stratagem might tend to the removal of the disorder, would be justified in practising upon him all the forms of dispossession.

When Webster speaks of " the late Rebellion," he uses the language of his later days, when his book was written ; for, as he returned to the office of a preacher during the Usurpation, and became a surgeon once more after the Restoration, it may be presumed that he thought the conduct by which the then existing authorities obtained their power was no rebellion. Yet it must have been his politics, rather than his theology, which were warped. He was a very learned divine ; but the authors to whom he perpetually refers were the best theologians of the Church of England ; neither is there a tincture of puritanical cant in his writings. His taste had evidently been formed on better models.

He complains, that in the year 1658 all his books and papers were taken from him ; a robbery of which no other account can be given, than that he then laboured under some suspicion of loyalty. However this may have been, he seems to have withdrawn, soon after the Restoration, from Mitton to Clitheroe, where he finally renounced his ministry, and spent the remainder of his days in study, metallurgy, and the practice of medicine.

With some inconsistency in his principles, Webster was certainly an extraordinary man. Had his penetration and rational incredulity, his indefatigable industry, and profound erudition, had the benefit of modern discoveries, he would have been a philosopher of the first order. Besides the two ancient languages then critically understood by every scholar, he read and cited with facility the Hebrew, German, Italian, and French. Of his skill in Hebrew he thus modestly speaks :—

" It is far from us to compare ourselves with those learned men that were masters of the Hebrew and Greek tongues, being in comparison but a smatterer in those languages ; yet have, in our younger years, both studied and taught them unto others ; and, as far as we undertake, we hope we need not fear the censure of the most rigid critic." His medical knowledge was the

best of his times, collected from multifarious reading of the old physicians, frequently corrected in their fancies and superstitions by his own better judgment.—His stories are often very lively, and sometimes picturesque.

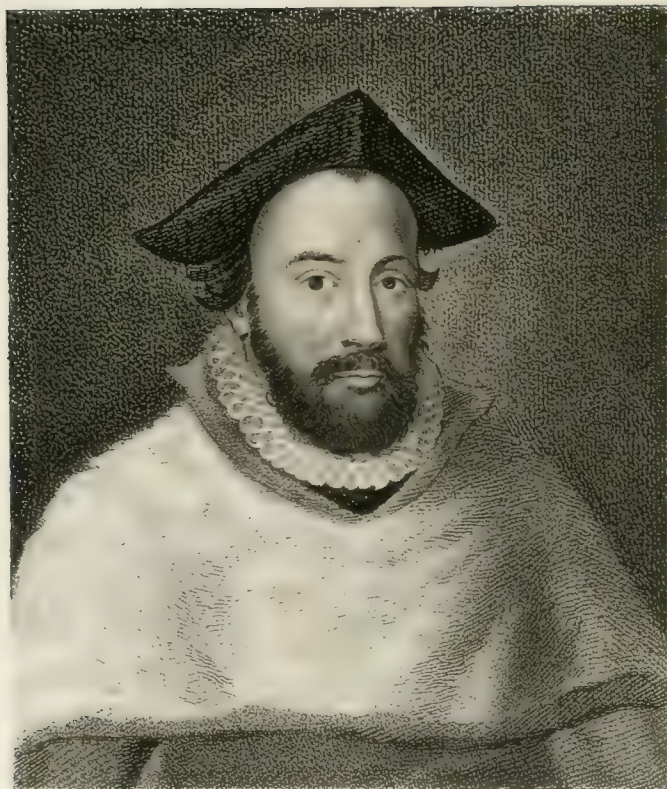
Of both these, the following are specimens:—


“In my younger years, I being in company with divers gentlemen, whereof two were masters of arts (in Burrow Bridge), we espied a great crowd and ring of people; and drawing near, there was a person commonly known, through most of the northern parts of Yorkshire, by the name of John Gipsie, being as black as any of that tribe, with a feather in his hat, a silk slasht doublet upon a fair Holland shirt, counterfeiting himself half drunk, and reeling to and fro, with a tape tied fast together at the two ends, and throwing it, as it were carelessly, two or three times about a smooth rod that another man held by both ends, and then crying, it is now fast for five shillings; but no sooner reeling and looking aside, the man that held the rod did put off the bout of the tape again, and still John Gipsie would cry and bet that it was fast: then would there come two or three, and bet with him, and win and go away, as it were laughing him to scorn; yet still he would continue, and pray the fellow that held the stick not to deceive him, and plainly shew the people that it would be fast when the bout was put on. Then would the fellow that held the stick still put off the bout, when John Gipsie looked away; whereby the people believed that he was in drink, and so deceived by him that held the rod; and so many would come and bet with him and lose, so that he used to win much money, though the bout was put off every time, and none could discern any alteration in the string. This strange feat, which was one of the neatest that ever I saw in all my life, did so surprize my companions, and in part myself, that some of them were of opinion that he had some stone in the ring upon his finger, by virtue of which he performed the trick. The most part concluded that it could not be done but by the power of the devil, and resolved to come no more near John Gipsie. But *I, that was much guilty of curiosity*, knowing the way how all the common jugglers about Cambridge and London did perform their tricks, slipt away from my company, and desired to hold the stick, which he refused not; and so, in a short time, perceived how it was done. They may deride this story that list, and yet it may serve as instruction to the wisest; and there are hundreds yet living who knew this person and where he was born, which was at Bolton Bridge, near Skipton, in Craven.”

The following passage, in which he is speaking of a sound judgment as necessary to a competent witness, is grotesquely told:—

“They ought to be of a sound judgment, and not of a vitiated and distempered phantasie, nor of a melancholic constitution; for these will take a bush to be a bugbear, and a black sheep to be a demon; the noise of the wild swans flying high in the nights to be spirits, or, as they call them here in the North, Gabriel Ratchets; the calling of a daker hen in the meadow, to be the Whistlers; the howling of the female fox in a gill or a clough, for the male, to be the cry of fairies.” The Gabriel Ratchets, in our Author’s time, seem to have been the same with the German *Rachtvogel* or *Rachtraven*. The word and the superstition are still known in Lancashire, though in a sense somewhat different; for the Gable-Raches are supposed to be something like litters of puppies yelping (gabbling) in the air. Ratch is certainly a dog in general*.—The Whistlers

* See Junius, in voce.



Wilhelmus 'Willelmus' J. J. P. H.
natus apud H. lma  *1715,*
Amstae (Antelbriga) *1715.*

are, I believe, the green or whistling plover, which fly very high in the night, uttering their characteristic note.

We are at present little aware of the mischiefs from which such men as Webster sought to deliver their age and country. Let the Reader take his own account;

“By such wicked means and unchristian practices, divers innocent persons lost their lives; and these wicked rogues wanted not greater persons (even of the ministry too) that did authorize and encourage them in their diabolical courses: and the like, in my time, happened here in Lancashire, where divers, both men and women, were accused of supposed witchcraft, and were so unchristianly and inhumanly handled, as to be stripped stark naked and laid upon tables and beds to be searched, for their supposed witch-marks: so barbarous and cruel acts doth diabolical instigation, working upon ignorance and superstition, produce.”

The powerful artillery of our Author, directed, as it was, against the mischievous superstition of his times, was unfortunately pointed over the heads of the stupid and superstitious people among whom he lived, while it seems not to have reached those who were capable of being benefited by it. It may be doubted whether Sir Matthew Hale, for example, who condemned men without scruple for this imputed offence, ever read “Webster’s Discovery of pretended Witchcraft.”

He was neglected alike by the wise and the unwise; but what he sought to effect by force of reason has since been accomplished by the general progress of philosophical knowledge in one quarter, and by a gradual oblivion of ancient usages and opinions in another.

He died at Clitheroe, where all tradition of him is now lost, leaving behind him an excellent library, valued at more than £.400, of which a catalogue is preserved at Browsholme. He had also a sort of cabinet, one article of which travelled into Thoresby’s Museum, who says that it had been among the curiosities of Mr. Webster, of Clitheroe. He was born Feb. 3d, 1610, and died June 18, 1682.

WILLIAM WHITAKER.

The life of this eminent divine has been so often and so copiously written*, that I shall content myself with a few leading facts and dates in those parts of his history which are already known, with the addition of some circumstances drawn from authentic family documents.

William Whitaker was third son of Thomas Whitaker, of Holme, gent. and Elizabeth his wife, one of the daughters of John Nowell, of Read, Esq. By this marriage he was not only descended from the first families of Lancashire, the Sherburnes, Townleys, Stanleys, and Harringtons, but allied to a constellation of distinguished ecclesiastics, whose erudition and talents were superior to their stations: for his mother’s brethren were Alexander and Laurence Nowell, respectively deans of St. Paul’s and Litchfield, whose lives have already been given; and her sister Margaret was mother of Woolton, Bishop of Exeter, whose daughter married Francis

* *Vid.* Vit. et Mort. Whitakeri, prefixed to his works in fol. Gen. 1610.—Holland’s *Heroologia*; Fuller’s *Worthies in Lancashire*, Do. Abel Redivivus; *Biographia Evangelica*; and many scattered facts in Strype’s *Memoirs of Whitgift*.

Godwyn, bishop of Hereford, (son of Thomas Godwyn, Bishop of Bath and Wells), the learned commentator "*De Præsulibus Angliæ*."

The marriage contract of Thomas Whitaker and Elizabeth Nowell, of which the original is in my possession, bears date Feb. 3, 1530. Her fortune was 40 marks, and her jointure 46*s.* charged upon all the "manors, meases, lands, tenements, and services, of Richard Whitaker, her husband's father," who was then alive*.

William, the subject of my narrative, was born in the first year of Edward VI. according to the original life prefixed to his works, "*in Prædio perantiquo et accolis notissimo nomine Holme intra Parochiam de Burndley, loco montoso.*" And, saith Fuller, "in the first year of that pious prince's reign was William Whitaker borne at the manner of Holme, in the parish of Burndley, in the County of Lancaster." In the same house, after an interval of more than 250 years, the descendant of his elder brother is now recording his life.

At this period, a dawn of classical literature began to appear, even in the remotest parts of England. Many royal foundations of Edward VI. made some compensation for the spoil committed upon hospitals and chantries; and, about the same time, one Hartgrave is said to have opened an unendowed seminary at Burnley. In this obscure retreat, and among a people sunk in the grossest ignorance, appeared the first symptoms of a genius which was soon to be heard of in the Vatican.

At twelve years old, however, young Whitaker was transplanted to a more genial soil, his uncle, Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, having taken him to his own house, and placed him in the adjoining school, then one of the most flourishing in the kingdom. Here it was found unnecessary to detain him long. Boys, not young men, were then admitted into the universities; and a public school would probably be of little farther use to a boy like him, than to wear off the coarseness of his native dialect, to correct the bashfulness of his native manners, and to give him a better taste in classical composition. However this may have been, in 1563 I find him described as A.B. and scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. Why the Dean of St. Paul's, whose interest lay in the other university, preferred in this instance that of Cambridge, must now be left to conjecture. But his other uncle, Robert Nowell, attorney of the court of wards, was intimately acquainted with Cecil; and to this connection Whitaker was indebted for an interest in that great man, which he never forfeited, though he sometimes perhaps neglected to improve it. His situation in Trinity College introduced him also to another patron, Dr. John Whitgift, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, who became master of the college in 1567.

His exercises for the degrees in arts (both of which were equally attended to at that time) afforded him the first opportunity of displaying that acuteness and strength of intellect, that facility, if not consummate elegance in the Latin language, which raised him to the Theological Chair.

In 1573 he gave a more public testimony of his classical attainments, by translating the celebrated Catechism of his uncle into Greek. On this occasion he was not inattentive to his interests or his feelings, and inscribed the Work to Cecil.

* Such was the simplicity of the times, and the scarcity of specie, that a considerable part of this fortune was paid in oatmeal, for which I have seen a release (Townl. MSS.) from Thomas Whitaker, the husband, to Charles Townley Esq. stepfather and guardian to Elizabeth Nowell, the wife.

It appears, that in those days solemn disputations in arts were held at every commencement, under the moderamen of one of the proctors ; and it happened, about this time, that those two officers contending for that honour, were both set aside by the University in favour of Mr. Whitaker, then a young M.A. who discharged the delicate and invidious office imposed upon him with great applause to himself and credit to the University.—The next important fact recorded in his life indicates a continuance of the same disposition in the senate towards him.

He was now B.D. for which degree he had performed the accustomed exercises with distinguished approbation, and was pitched upon to keep a public theological act at the commencement ; in which, as in the foreign universities at present, there was an open opposition ; the oldest doctors, and even heads of colleges, usually condescending, on these occasions, to turn opponents*.

About the 31st year of his age, and before he was of standing for the degree of D.D. he was elected regius professor on the resignation of Dr. Chadderton. At a time when great deference was paid to age, and when the university abounded with grave and learned divines, this elevation must be regarded as an evidence of very extraordinary talents in the successful candidate.

The office of Regius Professor, sufficiently laborious at present, did not then consist only in moderating over the public disputations, but also in reading theological lectures every term. In this respect, the first years of Mr. Whitaker's professorship were most usefully employed ; for his "Prælections," instead of the barren subtleties of school divinity, were a series of valuable expository criticisms on the most important books of Scripture. In 1585, he first became a controversial writer ; and in the remaining ten years of his life, with many other avocations, produced that huge tome of polemical theology, which was printed at Geneva some years after his death ; a monument at once of incredible industry, and great facility in composition. In the midst of all these toils, he had leisure to contract two marriages successively with women of respectable birth, but of puritan principles.

By their influence he was for a while prevented from commencing doctor in divinity, which the statute required ; though he had been anxious to obtain it on his first appointment, when his want of standing rendered it impracticable. But the mastership of St. John's now becoming vacant, he was, by the interest of Cecil, though after great opposition, elected to that distinguished office, Feb. 25th, 1586-7, and was then constrained, by the remonstrances of his friends, to proceed to his last degree.

In this station he continued more than eight years, discharging the duties of it with great mildness and temper, with a liberality even exceeding his resources, and with an impartiality never warped but by religious prejudice.

Dr. Whitaker was in doctrine a rigid Calvinist, and with respect to discipline, though conformable himself, yet somewhat too favourable to the puritans. On these accounts, he regarded every thing that looked like popery with perfect abhorrence ; and having long suspected an inclination towards the old religion in one Everard Digby†, a fellow of the college, he fell

* I mention these circumstances, on account of their extreme dissimilitude to modern academical manners. But of the University of Cambridge, in a much shorter interval than between that time and the present, it was observed by Dr. Caius : " Nova personarum, nova omnium rerum facies erat—nova denique docendi, discendi, et disputandi forma.

Hist. Cant. Acc. l. 1.

† He had however not mistaken his man, for Digby afterwards declared himself a Catholic.

into a very common species of injustice, that of punishing with illegal severity a trifling offence which can be proved, in order to be avenged on a much greater, which is but suspected. Digby, in a sermon, had commended voluntary poverty: this, though an heinous offence in the master's eyes, was not unstatutable. But Mr. Digby's commons had been unpaid for three weeks. He had been admonished, put out of commons by the master, sat down to table while under the sentence, and for this transgression was summarily deprived of his fellowship.

I need not ask what would be thought of such a stretch of discipline at present, when, even in those days of rigour, it was exclaimed against as arbitrary and cruel. Digby appealed to Cecil, as Chancellor of the University, and to Whitgift, as Visitor of the College during the long vacancy of the see of Ely; and was very properly reinstated. I am ashamed to relate of the master, that during this contest, finding himself not only deserted, but opposed and reproved by his old patrons, he scrupled not to court the favour of Leicester—a conduct of which those two excellent men expressed a very proper and dignified resentment.

Another ebullition of zeal and bigotry, which happened a few years after, contributed to shorten his life.

One Barrett, a fellow of Caius College, in a “*Concio ad Clerum*,” for the degree of B.D. asserted, besides some other positions of less moment, that assurance of salvation did not amount to absolute certainty; at the same time treating the names of Calvin, Beza, and Zanchy, with a levity and petulance certainly unbecoming his age and station.

The Regius Professor, with some other heads, took fire at this. Barrett was summoned before them; retracted; then withdrew his retraction, and appealed to the archbishop, whose sense of these abstruse questions seemed to approach more nearly to that of the culprit, than his accusers. The heads, for a time, declined the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan; then submitted; and, in the month of November 1595, Dr. Whitaker, together with Dr. Tindal, master of Queen's, waited on the Archbishop at Lambeth, and probably with his acquiescence, rather than approbation, drew up the nine famous propositions, which Bishop Warburton, who was far gone in the other extreme, calls the horrible Lambeth articles.

This was the last act of Dr. Whitaker's life*; a constitution previously broken by study, much anxiety, a winter journey, and neglect of proper accommodations, all conspiring to bring on a fever, which occasioned his death, Dec. 4, 1595, in the 48th year of his age.

This unexpected and melancholy event suspended Barret's, and indeed every other business in the University; the heads declaring, in a letter addressed about ten days after to the archbishop, that they had hitherto been unable to attend to any thing else†.

He was interred at a vast expence, and with unusual demonstrations of sorrow, in the ante-chapel of his own college; but, as vehement griefs are short, a mean monument was afterwards erected by the society, to record one of the greatest men that ever adorned it.

* It has been remarked of Whitaker, Chamier, Ward, and other great divines of that time, who had undertaken to fathom the abyss of Predestination, “*omnes operi esse immortuos*.” It would have been marvellous if they had not, for the question will survive till the consummation of all things.

† The fellows, however, were too much interested in the event of a successor, to sit down in the same inactivity of sorrow. Accordingly, on the third day after the master's decease, I find them, with their usual alacrity and dispatch on these occasions, addressing Lord Burleigh, either in London or at Burleigh, that their election might not be forestalled by a royal mandate.

The numerous elegies that adorned his hearse, prove the low state of Greek and Latin poetry in that age; and the only exercise I have observed among them, on which the praise of classical elegance can be bestowed, is a copy of Alcaic verses, subscribed “W. Bedell. Eman.” afterwards the apostolical bishop of Kilmore.

It is remarkable, that with a numerous family and limited income, together with gratuitous access to some of the best libraries of the kingdom, he had made a private collection of books, so valuable, that the Queen desired to purchase it, but her application came too late.

Dr. Whitaker was undoubtedly a man of acute and strong understanding, exercised in the most difficult questions of theology; he was also celebrated by his contemporaries for the mildness of his controversial style. What they would have denominated rancour, it is difficult to say, but religious asperity was the fault of the times. In private life he is described as gentle and humane, extremely temperate, fond of no bodily exercises but archery and angling; and of no sedentary amusement but chess: of a mild though dignified deportment; and a robust and vigorous constitution (the effect perhaps of his native climate and early habits), which has descended with little interruption, in his elder brother’s house, to the last generation. I have never been able to trace his descendants.

It would be an injury to this great man, whose life I have not written with the blind partiality of an admiring relative, to suppress the two following panegyrics on his memory:—“That honor of our schools, and angel of our Church, learned Whitaker, than whom our age saw nothing more memorable. What clearness of judgment; what sweetness of style; what gravity of person; what grace of carriage, was in that man. Who ever saw him without reverence, or heard him without wonder?” Bishop Hall, Dec. 1st, Ep. 7.—“*Quod unquam seculum tot tamque continua doctissimorum hominum busta funestarunt? Illam auream ubertatem, illam silvam hominum in omni artium genere prestantissimorum, quam non dico majorum ætas sed pueritia nostra vidit florentissimam, eam pæne omnem juvenus nostra vidit extinctam—WHITAKERUM, Bezam, Zanchium, Junium; addo etiam, alterius licet Musæ, Scaligeros, Lipsiumque, cum nondum per ætatem æstimare potuimus (proh dolor) amisimus.*”—Joh. Hales orat. fun. D. Thomas Bodley.

Having been favoured by the late learned and worthy master of St. John’s College, with a perusal of the Bursar’s books during the mastership of Dr. Whitaker and his successor, I have transcribed from them the following memoranda.

In the compotus of 1588, the name of Mr. Digby has a line drawn through it, and appears no more.

	£. s. d.		
1591. To the Master, for his journey into Yorkshire - - - - -	5	10	8
Q. Whether to visit his friends or to inspect the College Estates, or both.			
1696. For Dr. Whittaker’s Funeral, in part - - - - -	8	11	8
Mr. Love, for Dr. Whittaker’s Funeral - - - - -	0	32	11
Dolphin for the Funeral (wine) - - - - -	0	36	8
To the butcher, for Dr. Whittaker’s Funeral Feast - - - - -	0	13	0
To the Marbler, for Dr. Whittaker’s tombe - - - - -	6	13	4

It would not have deserved twice the money at present.

Dr. JOHN WOLTON, BISHOP OF EXETER.

After the account given of this Prelate by my learned and excellent friend Mr. Archdeacon Churton, in his *Life of Dean Nowell*, his uncle, I should not have inserted his name in this catalogue for any other purpose, than to prove, after all which has been said to the contrary, that he was really born at Whalley; for it appears from the register of Bishop Grindal, when Bishop of London, that at an ordination holden April 25th, 1560, among others was ordained priest John Wolton, born at Whaley, in *Cheshire*, aged 23. So says Strype; adding, “afterwards Bishop of Exeter.”

I have not an opportunity of consulting the original register, but have no doubt, that either *Cheshire* is an original mistake of the secretary for *Lancashire*, or that the entry was *Dioc. Cestr.* which the biographer carelessly read *Com. Cestr.*

CHAPTER II.

DISSERTATION ON THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE, &c.

A GENERAL history of English œconomics, if executed with taste and spirit, would be an amusing and interesting work. The following observations embrace only the subject of a single, though important chapter, in such a volume, extend merely over a remote provincial district, and are animated by little more than an ardent desire of investigating every appearance which can illustrate the manners of our ancestors.

Into what recesses of their native woods the inclemency of this climate drove the Setantii, what caves they scooped out of the earth, or what cabins they framed for shelter, it were now as idle to inquire, as it would be to investigate where the foxes of those days burrowed, or the ravens built their nests. Their attempts to lodge or secure themselves were slight and indolent; in fact, they were careless of self-accommodation, and at a time when whole tribes must have been convoked to rear the massy columns of a temple, they seem to have had no conception of the use of stone in the construction of dwellings, or even for the purposes of fortification. Superstition is evidently the first and most active principle in the mind of a savage.

What was the general style and disposition of Roman villas, we know; and those which had been extended round the common centre of Coccium, if any such there were, would only differ from those of Italy as the first erections of a planter in America vary from the house and offices of an English gentleman at home.

The Saxons among us, without even the exception of churches, built universally with wood. It is therefore no wonder, that after the lapse of eight centuries, every memorial of such structures should have perished. Besides, their houses, with some exceptions, adapted to their general habits, would be rude, and low, and small.

After the Conquest, our native forests remaining with little diminution, the use of wood in the construction of houses continued to be general; and the first deviation from this practice was introduced by the practice of kernelling and embattling manor-houses, of which more hereafter. It is difficult to assign with exactness the æra of buildings which have no inscribed dates, and of whose erection there are no records. But perhaps we may refer the oldest specimens of architecture in wood now remaining among us, to the time of Edward I. Instances of this style are found alike in the halls of some ancient manor-houses and their gigantic barns, which are little more rude than the other. The peculiar marks by which they are distinguished are these:—The whole structure has been originally a frame of wood-work, independent of walls, the principals consisting of deep flat beams of massy oak, naturally curved, and of which each pair seems to have been sawed out of the same trunk. These spring from the ground, and form

form a bold Gothic arch overhead: the spars rest upon a wall-plate, as that is again sustained by horizontal spurs, grooved into the principals. It was then of no importance, that such erections consumed great quantities of the finest ship timber; and indeed the appearance of one of these rooms is precisely that of the hull of a great ship inverted, and seen from within. Specimens of this most ancient style, in perfection, are the old hall of the manor-house at Samlesbury, and the Lawsing Stedes Barn, at Whalley*. In the reign of Henry IV. we have a specimen, in the hall at Radcliff, of a deviation from this primitive model: there the principals have two springers; one from the ground, another from a rude capital about eight feet from the ground; but the square of the building is considerably raised, and the arch encroaches less upon the apartment within. The style of architecture in wood evidently kept pace with that in stone; and when, in the time of Henry VII. the arch in stone-work became broader and more depressed in the centre, a correspondent change was introduced in our ancient timber buildings. Wooden pasterns, indeed, still descended to the ground, but they were now become perpendicular, and square, and fluted. From the top of these, elegant and ornamental springers received horizontal roof-beams, while all was still open to the roof above, and the rafters continued to rest on a wall-plate. Thus the idea of a complete frame, independently of the walls, was still preserved; but the low basement story of stone, sometimes to be observed in our most ancient buildings, now advanced to the square, though the cross-pikes are generally of wood. This precisely describes the hall of Little Mitton, and another noble specimen of somewhat later date, the West wing of Samlesbury Hall, built by Sir Thomas Southworth, A.D. 1532, of which the outer wall, however, is of brick, and the earliest specimen of that material with which I am acquainted, in the compass of this work. The wood employed in the construction of this last mansion, must almost have laid prostrate a forest; and while the principal timbers were carved with great elegance, and the compartments of the roof painted with figures of saints, while the outsides of the building are adorned with profile heads of wood, cut in bold relief, within huge medallions, it is curious to observe that the inner doors are without a pannel or a lock, and have always been opened, like those of modern cottages, with a latch and string. I am not sure that panneling in wainscot was introduced before the reign of queen Elizabeth. It is also remarkable, that in this house the boards of the upper floors, which are indeed massy planks, instead of crossing, lie parallel to the joists, as if disdaining to be indebted to the other for support.

Immediately on the disuse of timber buildings, the obtuse-arched roof was exploded, and a flat roof, divided into square compartments by contignations of wood, was introduced, and continued in halls more than a century after. Here, however, for a time, the cross-timbers were fluted, and the light perforated springers occasioned the transition to be less observed. These were afterwards succeeded by plain corbels of stone, and the mouldings omitted.

The general decay of native woods occasioned an universal disuse of this material, in buildings, about the latter end of Henry VIIIth's time. The first instance of an entire hall-house of brick and stone is Stubbley, near Rochdale, unquestionably of that period; and in the reign of Elizabeth, which was a new æra in domestic architecture, numbers of old timber-halls having gone to decay, were replaced by strong and plain mansions of stone, yet remaining.

* Here, instead of walls, there are nothing but oak boards, fixed diagonally, like a Venetian blind.

This may suffice to explain the general style in which our ancient mansions were constructed, and the materials of which they were composed.

We will now consider more particularly their different classes and appropriate forms.

The mansions of our forefathers may be arranged, according to the descending scale of society, in the following order :

1. The castle; 2. The castlet, peel, or tower; 3. The ancient unembattled manor-house; 4. The greater and less embattled mansion of Queen Elizabeth or James I; 5. The ordinary hall-house; 6. The farm-house; 7. The cottage.

Of the first, enough has already been said, both in the present Work and many others.

With respect to the second, independently on the incursions of the Scots, who frequently penetrated, in their marauding excursions, to the South of Clitheroe or Whalley, in times of turbulence and bloodshed, when family feuds often ended in slaughter, the lord of a manor, or considerable land-owner, would frequently deem himself unsafe in the protection of an ordinary dwelling-house, even against a neighbour. Such was the origin of the castlet, tower, or peel, of which we have several instances remaining, as others are preserved by tradition.

Of this kind, and erected unquestionably with this view, is the south wing of Townley, extremely strong, and till lately furnished with the corbels of a machicolation. Another specimen was the tower, and probably the older castle of Hapton. Another was, the tower of Bearnshaw, in Hundersfield, though near the verge of Cliviger, of which there are some remains. Hellefield Peel, in Craven, was a complete specimen of this style; such, in short, were the border-houses in general: single towers, that is, of several stories, contrived for the reception of cattle beneath and a family above, and well calculated for resistance against a sudden assault by a small number of defendants.

3. Of the ancient unembattled manor-house.—With whatever material these mansions were constructed, all agreed in one circumstance; that they surrounded a quadrangle, as they were generally defended by a moat. This last precaution supplied the want of strength in their walls and gates. The quadrangular style of building, probably derived from the general form of Roman villas in Britain, and adopted by our Saxon ancestors, was copied and extended in the cloistered courts of monasteries, colleges, and hospitals; indeed in all erections of which the object was not so much defence as sequestration and partial confinement. Mr. Whitaker (*Hist. of Manchester*, vol. II. 4to.) has given a well-imagined sketch of an early baronial mansion, which exactly coincides with this idea; and he has discovered, in the ancient parsonage of Manchester, the remains of a similar structure—"The quadrangular form (as he truly observes) was the unvarying economy of such houses:" and it seems to have included, with greater attention to convenience than to delicacy, at least in some instances, the barns, stables, and other offices*.

Et pecus et dominos communi clauderet umbrâ.

* After this was written, I saw with a mixture of pleasure and surprize, the following passage in the *Crit. Review* for March last: "After the numerous elucidations which have been thrown on the ecclesiastic and castellated style of gothic architecture, we have always regretted that a work of some extent had not been dedicated to the domestic architecture of our ancestors, from the cottage to the tower."—It is not impossible, that at some future period these hints may be expanded to a work of some extent.

The manor-house of Alvetham appears, from the foundations, to have been quadrangular, as it was certainly moated. Salesbury Hall, constructed partly of wood and partly of stone, has been quadrangular also. Radcliff Tower* has already been considered, and Samlesbury, of which only two sides now appear.

Of the same form have been many of the most opulent parsonage-houses in England, emulating, at an humble distance, the monastic or collegiate style, to which the taste and habits of their builders would naturally direct them.

The only specimen in the neighbourhood†, of a true baronial residence, with an upper and base court, is Houghton Tower, which crowns the summit of its lofty ridge, and from its extent appears, at a distance, almost like a fortified town. Here the stables, and other offices of the farm, constitute the lower court, in exact conformity to Andrew Borde's directions for the construction of great houses, 1542.

4th. Next is the embattled house of Elizabeth or James I. This was of two kinds, the greater and the less: one, an improvement upon the rude quadrangle; the other, an expansion of the ancient castlet; one luminous and magnificent, with deep projecting bow-windows; the other lofty, square, compact; and both proving themselves to be the works of tranquil times, at liberty to sacrifice strength to convenience, and security to sunshine. Of such houses it is a well-known complaint of Lord Bacon, "that one knows not where to become, to be out of the sun."

Stonyhurst is a noble specimen of the first kind, though it has never been completed. It is at present rather more than half a quadrangle, with a magnificent gateway, disgraced by two heavy modern cupolas; a large hall, with a screen, and bow-windows adorned with armorial bearings in painted glass; a large "chamber of state‡," now a drawing-room, a gallery, and chapel, besides other apartments, all on a large scale. The air and effect of the whole is that of something between a castle and a college. Had the quadrangle been entire, it would have been greatly superior to the only house I have seen much resembling it, *viz.* Hardwick, in Derbyshire, built by the famous Countess of Shrewsbury. The æra of its erection has been already ascertained.

Another example of this disposition of apartments, though infinitely inferior, is Dunkenhagh, of which I ascribe all the additions to the old house of the Rishtons, to Sir Thomas Walmsley. But the old hall, now the kitchen, if yet existing, stands upon crooks, and is of high antiquity.

Of the second species, the parish affords a single and perfect specimen in Gawthorp, which has already been described and engraved.

The characteristic accompaniments of these houses within, were huge arched fire-places in their halls and kitchens; chimney-pieces in their "chambers of state" richly carved, and adorned with armorial bearings in wood, stone, or alabaster, much in the style of contemporary monuments, raised hearths, long and massy tables of oak, bedsteads of the same, frequently inlaid§, and from their bulk calculated to last for centuries; portraits upon boards; and, in short, a whole system of internal ornament and accommodation, intended to resist the ravages

* These, indeed, were partly embattled.

† It is without the verge of the original parish.

‡ Andrew Borde, *ubi sup.*

§ Inlaid oak with arms, cyphers, scrolls, &c. in white wood, began about the end of Elizabeth's reign.

of time, without an idea of the revolutions of fashion. One apartment, seldom omitted in houses of this rank and date, but never found in those of higher antiquity, was a long gallery for music and dancing, sometimes 150 feet long; a proof that the hall was now beginning to be deserted. At all events, the practice of dining in these great apartments at different tables, according to the rank of the guests, was scarcely continued below the Restoration. Till that time, however, the old train of "Sewers and Senescalls" were mostly kept up. But the general interruption of old hospitality, in great houses, occasioned by the civil wars, and afterwards the introduction of foreign manners, in consequence of the return of the royal family and their numerous dependents, occasioned a total revolution in domestic economy, and consequently in architecture. The great hall of Lambeth was indeed rebuilt by archbishop Juxon, who perhaps thought the old style best became the gravity of an archiepiscopal palace; but it was probably the last specimen; and, in the reign of Charles II. the sash-window and model of the square modern house were first imported from Italy. The new taste, first introduced near the capital, gradually spread into the remotest districts. As our old mansions decayed, they were rebuilt after the new form; and those which remain have been preserved, not so much by the care as by the desertion or extinction of the families to which they belonged. In addition to this change of style without, the introduction of mahogany, about a century ago, formed a new æra in the history of internal accommodation.

Next is the ordinary hall-house:—

A class of buildings, of which the specimens are as numerous as the middle or lower rank of gentry two centuries ago, and as substantial as their old inhabitants were robust. This form is of very high antiquity; consisting of a thorough lobby, an hall, with a parlour beyond it on one side, and kitchens and offices on the other. In this respect, no change took place upon the general erection of stone houses in the reign of Elizabeth; and whoever wishes to see in what manner the inferior gentry were lodged, three or four centuries ago, will inform and congratulate himself at once, by studying the Grange of Whalley*. This is a valuable specimen; for, though we know pretty well how the peer, the monk, the knight, the lord of a manor, were lodged at that period, we should, by no other instance that I know of, have been able to form a guess at the accommodations of the next inferior rank. The general arrangement, therefore, of this building, is what hath been already described. The whole rested upon crooks of the oldest form; the windows were apertures about six inches wide, not originally intended for glass; the floors of clay, the chimney wide and open, the partitions of rude oak; the apartments, one only excepted, low and narrow. So lived our yeomanry and smaller gentry of old! and such, probably, their houses continued, down to the beginning of Elizabeth, when the forests and the old houses being generally decayed together†, and a period of great tranquillity commencing, a

* I conceive that the agent and bailiffs of the abbey resided in this house.

† There were, however, in the neighbourhood, stone houses of a much earlier date, indicated by a peculiar species of masonry, which consists of deep, rude, and irregular courses, piled up at random, with scarcely the stroke of a chissel or even hammer upon them. Many of the stones appear, upon inspection, to be of that peculiar kind, which in Cliviger, Worsthorn, &c. has been spread, more or less, over the whole surface of the ground, and is easily distinguishable from quarry-stone by "shakes" or fissures, and by nuclei of iron-stone. These appearances afford a strong presumption that the buildings in which they are found were constructed at or soon after the time when the lands around them were essarted and cleared for cultivation. Remaining specimens of this manner of building in the parish, the South wing of Towley, the kitchen end of Barcroft, one wing of the house at Hesandforth, and till within the last twelve years, the old chapel at Holme, which had only six courses of masonry from the groundwork to the square.

general spirit of stone-building, in this rank began, especially in the neighbourhood of Burnley. Fulfilled, Rowley, Ormerod; Hurstwood, and part of Holme, having certainly been built during this reign, as was Banktop a little earlier, and the principal part of Barcroft somewhat later. In all these the original form was retained, though with great enlargements. On the right of the entrance was the hall, lighted usually by one great *range* window, a massy table beneath; at the lower end a gallery for music, or to connect the apartments above; and a fireplace, embracing in its ample span almost all the width of the room, the Christmas scene of rude and boisterous festivity: beyond was uniformly a parlour, where, till the days of our grandfathers, on a ground floor paved with stone, disdaining, or unacquainted with, the accommodation of carpets, and in an oaken bedstead, massy as the timbers of a modern house, slept the hardy master and mistress. Here their offspring first saw light; and here too, without a wish to change their habits, fathers and sons in succession resigned their breath. It is not unusual to see one of these apartments transformed into a modern drawing-room, where a thoughtful mind can scarcely forbear comparing the present and past; the spindled frippery of modern furniture, the frail but elegant apparatus of a tea-table, the general decorum, the equal absence of every thing to afflict or to transport, with what has been heard or seen or felt within the same walls, the logs of oak, the clumsy utensils, and above all, the tumultuous scenes of joy or sorrow, called forth perhaps by the birth of an heir, or the death of an husband, in minds little accustomed to restrain the ebullitions of passion.

In the windows of such houses, and their contemporary mansions of the rank immediately above them, are often found remains of a painted glass, in a style which seems to have been fashionable about the beginning of the last century. They consist of arms, cyphers, figures of animals, personifications, &c. of which the drawing is extremely correct, but the colours faint and dingy, very unlike the deep and glowing tints of the foregoing centuries. These were probably of Flemish manufacture.

To complete the picture of these ancient and interesting mansions, we are to add huge barns, long and low, with bending roofs; high stone walls, grey with mosses and lichens; courts and gardens, adorned with yews or other venerable evergreens, and backgrounds formed of aged oaks, ashes, and sycamores, frequently overhanging deep glens, and inhabited by colonies of rooks.

Let it not be thought a trifling or impertinent digression, if we now take a view of the interior economy of the families who inhabited these houses from the reign of Elizabeth down to the civil wars in the last century, or a little later. They were precisely in that station of life which James I. pronounced to be the happiest in human society, *i. e.* beneath the rank of a sheriff and above that of a constable. Their system of life was that of domestic economy in perfection. Occupying large portions of his own domains, working his land by oxen, fattening the aged, and rearing a constant supply of young ones; growing his own oats, barley, and sometimes wheat; making his own malt, and furnished often with kilns for the drying of corn at home, the master had constant and pleasing occupation in his farm, and his cottagers regular employment under him. To these operations the high troughs, great garners, and chests, yet remaining, bear faithful witness. Within, the mistress, her maid-servants, and daughters, were occupied in spinning flax for the linen of the family, which was woven at home. Cloth, if not always manufactured out of their own wool, was purchased by wholesale, and made up into
clothes

clothes at home also. They had much plate and few books, but those generally theological. Yet the grammar-schools, not then perverted from their original purpose, diffused a general tincture of classical literature. Their simple way of life required little arithmetic; but they kept a rude kind of day-books (from some of which, accompanied with ancient inventories, this account has been collected), and in the old figures, Arabic numerals not having yet been generally introduced.

The fortunes of daughters were partly paid in cattle, or even oatmeal; and the wardrobe of a wife, which was to last for life, was conveyed by oxen in a bride-wain, much adorned, and a chest enriched with carving.

This is the pleasing side of the picture.—On the other hand, the men were rough and boisterous, and quarrelsome: their feasts, though generally regulated by the festivals of the church, were banquets of Lapithæ and Centaurs; but it required the œconomy of half a life to enable men in this rank to afford to die, for their funerals were scenes of prodigality not to be described. I have seen the accounts of an executor, in the “sober” times of the common-wealth, from which it appears, that at the funeral of an ordinary gentleman, in the chapelry of Burnley, £.47 (more than treble that sum at present) were consumed almost entirely in meat and drink: 10s. indeed, were allowed to the preacher for a sermon; by which his congregation, no doubt, were well prepared to edify in the evening; and 5s. to the scholars, for verses on the deceased. So low had this species of flattery (which is still continued, and sometimes brings out very elegant compositions in the universities) then descended. Still their intemperance, though enormous at some seasons, was rather periodical than constant: their farming operations would ordinarily keep them employed. They had however no planting*, gardening, or music, some one of which, at least, a country gentleman now requires; for fishing they had few opportunities; shooting flying was unknown, though nets were much in use; if they addicted themselves to hunting, which is always a social diversion, they grew idle and sottish, and their estates, not of magnitude enough to bear neglect, always went to ruin.

Next in the scale is the old farm-house, of which I could point out some specimens from three to four centuries old, supported on crooks†, low, dark, and picturesque. But great numbers of these, from dates and other circumstances, appear to have been re-built early in the last century, and they were evidently abridgments of the hall; for in these the lower wing is completely cut off, the hall is become an “house,” the screen contracted to a “speere‡,” and the great arch supplanted by an oaken mantle-tree; but the parlour still maintains its relative situation and ancient use. In these dwellings, driven as to their last retreat, are seen many remains of antient furniture, which have seen better houses and better days; the long table, the carved “armary,” the dated wardrobe, all, when under the hands of a good housewife, bright and clean; and here “the smoky rafters,” loaded with winter provisions, and the great

* Their oak-woods mostly grew up of themselves: the first artificial plantations, which were of Scotch fir, commenced about a century ago.

† I much doubt whether there are any specimens of crooks in houses or barns, later than the time of Henry VIII. By crooks are meant arched timbers ascending from the ground to the roof. The large barns which succeeded, were constructed with perpendicular columns of timber, forming something like a nave and two side aisles.

‡ This word is found in the old ballad of the heir of Linne, but does not appear to have been understood by Dr. Percy. It is a partial screen of wainscot, where there is no lobby, between the door and the fire.

chests (like the *Cistie Stiffylog* * of the Welch) rammed with oatmeal, which is calculated to outlast the year, fill the mind with pleasing ideas of rustic plenty and antient simplicity. Happy would it be if these blessings were always accompanied with temperance in the use, and a sense of gratitude to the Giver.

Last in this view, though first perhaps in that of humanity and religion, is the Cottage; a structure of which, frail as it is, many instances remain in the nether town of Whalley, anterior (as appears by the decisive evidence of their timbers) to the dissolution of the abbey. These are single apartments without chambers, open to their thatched roofs, and supported upon crooks. The modern dwellings of our poor, from the durable materials which compose them, are productive of more comfort than those of most other countries, to their humble inhabitants. For here are no wattled and clay-built cabins, pervious to wind and weather; no shivering wretches, crippled for want of shelter or of fuel; but before the present disastrous season their condition was comparatively easy. Yet even then, what sums were levied upon the frugal industry of the farmer, by idleness and excess! Evils which nothing but an attentive and vigilant execution of the laws will ever palliate. Improvidence, combined with indocility, is another feature in their character; and a general aversion (which nothing but the horrors of famine have been able to subdue) to cheap soups, and other frugal preparations of coarse animal food, together with an obstinate neglect of the old gardens and orchards, which often lie unfenced and trodden down before their doors, opposes another obstacle to the improvement of their condition.

Some, indeed, will every where be found, of more flexible natures and more teachable understandings; but such, I fear, is the general character of our peasantry, that excepting at seasons like the present, which compel them to do what they are enjoined, and to receive what is provided for them; he who shall undertake to feed or to instruct them, in ways to which they have not been accustomed, may applaud his own good fortune if he meet with no other return than neglect.

* See Pennant's *Snowdonia*, p. 116.

CONCLUSION.

The History of Whalley being now completed, it may not be improper to take a parting view of the whole subject. We have surveyed then a bleak and barren district on the western side of the English Appenine, traced the few remains of its original inhabitants; and investigated the progress of the Roman conquests—their settlements at Coccium, their elegance and skill in arts, their decline, and final departure. We have next beheld a rude unlettered tribe from the forests of Germany, availing themselves of the abandoned and depopulated state of the country, to introduce their laws and language (the basis of our own), to fix by their settlements the sites of our present towns and villages, and in general, to form the rudiments of our present manners and habits. We have traced, under this period, the origin of one ecclesiastical establishment, which, besides laying the foundation of a great religious house, has, in the progress of population, been branched into six dependent parishes, and nearly forty subordinate chapelries. We have next considered the effects of the Norman conquest on the state of property: seen the gradual surrender of our primitive manors to the superior lord, and the successive grants of the same to a new race of feudal chiefs, the ancestors of many antient families yet subsisting.

From this survey, some reflections naturally arise.

And, first, it is impossible to take a view of the pedigrees which swell the second part of this work, without being struck by the long uninterrupted descent of so many estates in the same families.

This fact may be accounted for, from causes partly favourable to morals and partly not; such as the universality of marriages (a certain effect of chastity), want of curiosity or ambition, and therefore constant residence at home; domestic amusements, more gross than costly; and an indisposition to change of habits. Moreover in these descents, the most superficial observer will not fail to remark the frequency and facility of divorces before the Reformation. These are to be explained, not on the principles of such separations at present, but from the craft of the canonists, who bound hard, that they might be paid for loosing again. Accordingly such marriages were often annulled, as being within the prohibited degrees; but they were more generally espousals merely, formed in childhood, which subsequent attachments inclined the parties to dissolve. Another general remark will be, that the law of primogeniture is, on the whole, not very favourable to the oldest son: the Townleys, Southworths, and Sherburnes, indeed, produced some military characters, and they were undoubtedly assisted in their way to eminence, by the number of their dependents. But those who have distinguished themselves in the other walks of life, have been generally younger brethren of families. The present work exhibits one literary character alone, who was possessed of the family estate.

Again, those opulent houses, whose property is not to be traced to a feudal origin, have been generally raised by the profession of the law. Some indeed, have grown to consequence by habits of œconomy, and gradual accumulation. But a new principle is now introduced, which threatens gradually to absorb the whole property of the district within its own vortex.

I mean

I mean the principle of manufactures, aided by the discoveries lately made in the two dangerous sciences of Chemistry and Mechanics. The operation of this principle is accompanied with another effect, of which it is impossible to speak but in the language at once of sorrow and indignation. Indeed it can only be considered as so much pure unmixed evil, moral, medical, religious, and political. In great manufactories, human corruption, accumulated in large masses, seems to undergo a kind of fermentation, which sublimates it to a degree of malignity not to be exceeded out of Hell!

On the other hand, society languishes by dispersion. In those parts of the district before us, of which the population is scattered in inconsiderable villages, civilization is in a very backward state. Farmers and husbandmen are, of all mankind, least impressible with the truths of religion. Selfish, fraudulent, unfeeling, intemperate, with rigid nerves and firm health, the hour of sickness, accident, or distress, is to be awaited, and that generally in vain, in order to awaken them to a sense of their real state. Besides, in such situations, religious offices are seldom performed with animation or effect. The practice of medicine, from distance, want of adequate rewards, and other causes, labours under equal disadvantages. In cases of sudden alarm, those only who have resided in such situations, know the distress arising from the want of prompt and skilful medical assistance. I have heard of an instance, within the compass of this work, in which a blacksmith was called to bleed a dutchess.

Lastly, the police of these districts is next to nothing: for the lower order of people, educated without domestic discipline, have no conception of exercising or submitting to authority in civil life. Blackstone somewhere expresses an apprehension of harm, from acquainting people of the rank of constables with the extent of their own authority: it may indeed now and then be the case, that an half-witted, forward fellow, in such an office, will be very troublesome; but timidity, indecision, and above all a slavish fear of blame, are the general characteristics of these people; so that you shall have fifty Verges's to one Dogberry.

The same observations will apply to the important office of a churchwarden.

In manufacturing towns and districts, of which we have several, there is more religion, but there is more fanaticism: the sedentary habits and feeble constitutions of artizans or mechanics predisposing them to religious impressions, while the weakness of their understandings exposes them to every delusion which it requires any power of discrimination to detect. How delicate and difficult is the office of the established Clergy in such situations; how diligently ought they to watch over the multitudes of souls committed to them; how carefully to feed them with food at once wholesome and palatable at home, that they may not seek the latter, without attending to the former, abroad!

In such situations, however, on the whole, society has greatly the advantage: religious offices will be better performed and attended; the other professions more skilfully exercised; the police more exactly regulated; and charity more liberally and systematically administered.

APPENDIX.

POPULATION OF THE ORIGINAL PARISH OF WHALLEY.

According to the Census A.D. 1801.

PRESENT PARISH OF WHALLEY.

<i>Forests of Blackburnshire.</i>		<i>Parish of Rochdale.</i>	
*Rossendale	9492	Castleton	5460
†Pendle	3294	Hundersfield	10671
Accrington	2246	Butterworth	3923
Trawden	1443	Spotland	9031
Ightenhill Park	126	Saddleworth	10665
	16,601		39,750
<i>Forest of Bowland.</i>		<i>Parish of Ribchester.</i>	
No Return obtained.		Township of Rochester	1172
<i>Whalley, with the Seven dependent Townships.</i>		Dilworth	524
Township of Whalley	876	Dutton	398
Wiswall	349		2084
Little Mitton, Henthorn, and		<i>Parish of Chipping.</i>	
Coldcoats	76	Township of Chipping	927
Pendleton	914	Thornley with Wheatley	387
Read	311		1214
†Padiham	2118	<i>Parish of Mitton.</i>	
Simonstone	298	Township of Mitton	242
Hapton	395	Aighton	810
	5337	Bayley	251
<i>Chapelry of Burnley.</i>		Chargeley	199
Township of Burnley	3305	Bashal	310
Habergham Eaves	1919	Bradford	328
Cliviger	1058	Waddington	466
Briercliff, with Extwisle and		Grinleton	915
Worsthorn	1399		3521
	7681	<i>Parish of Sladeburne.</i>	
<i>Chapelry of Colne.</i>		Parish of Whalley	48407
Township of Colne	3626	Blackburn	29799
Folrig	833	Rochdale	39750
Marsden	2322	Ribchester	2084
	6781	Chipping	1214
<i>Portions of the Parish lying between the Calder and Hyndburne.</i>		Mitton	3521
Accrington Vetus	831	<i>Total Population of the original Parish, as far as the Returns have been obtained.</i>	
Altham	328		124,775
Clayton-le-Moors	1130		
Church	323		
Oswaldtwisle	2710		
Haslingden	4040		
Huncote not returned	9362		
<i>Portions of the Parish lying between Pendle and Ribble. Chapelry of Clitheroe.</i>			
Clitheroe	1368		
Chatburn and Worsten	543		
Merlay Mag. et Parv.	75		
<i>Chapelry of Downham.</i>			
Downham	470		
Twiston	189		
	2645		
<i>Total Population of the present Parish</i>			
	48,407		
<i>Parish of Blackburn.</i>			
Township of Blackburn	11,980		
Walton, not returned.			
Cuerdale	170		
Samlesbury	1664		
Balderston	615		
Osbaldeston	252		
Salisbury	236		
Dinkley and Wilpshire	472		
Billington	844		
Harwood Mag.	1659		
Harwood Parv.	104		
Rishton	1051		
Clayton-le-Dale	419		
Ramsgrave	298		
Over Darwen	3587		
Lower Darwen	1646		
Tockholes	758		
Mellor	1439		
Witton	461		
Pleasington	614		
Eccleshill	346		
Livesey	1184		
	29,799		

* Some parts of Rossendale are returned under Haslingden.

† Some parts of Pendle Forest are returned under Padiham.

POPULATION OF THE ORIGINAL PARISH OF WHALLEY,

According to the late Census, A.D. 1811.

PRESENT PARISH OF WHALLEY.

<i>Forests of Blackburnshire.</i>		Oswaldtwisle	3512	<i>Parish of Rochdale.</i>	
Rossendale	13,199	Haslingden	5127	Castleton	6723
Pendle	4215	Huncote	514	Hundersfield	14,666
Accrington	2381		12,318	Butterworth	4872
Trawden	1941			Spotland	10,968
Ightenhill Park	107			Saddleworth	12,579
Extra parochial	1111			Spotland, nearer side	3952
	22,954			Spotland, farther side	7016
<i>Forest of Bowland.</i>		<i>Portions of the Parish lying between Pendle and the Ribble.</i>			60,776
No Return obtained.		<i>Chapelry of Clitheroe.</i>		<i>Parish of Ribchester.</i>	
<i>Whalley, with the seven dependent Townships.</i>		Clitheroe	1767	Township of Ribchester	1461
Township of Whalley	1004	Chatburn	481	Dilworth	861
Wiswall	488	Merlay Mag. et Parv.	75	Dutton	440
Little Mitton, Henthorn, and		Worston	157		2762
Coldecoats	76		2480	<i>Parish of Chipping.</i>	
Pendleton	930	<i>Chapelry of Downham.</i>		Township of Chipping	1007
Read	419	Downham	537	Thornley with Wheatley	433
Padiham	2556	Twiston	215		1440
Simonstone	336		752	<i>Parish of Mitton.</i>	
Hapton	533	Total Population of the } present Parish	64,019	Township of Mitton	254
	6342	<i>Parish of Blackburn.</i>		Aighton	1296
<i>Chapelry of Burnley.</i>		Township of Blackburn	15,083	Bayley	
Township of Burnley	4368	Walton	4776	Chargeley	
Habergham Eaves	2839	Cuerdale	159	Bashal *	
Cliviger	1193	Samlesbury	1589	Bradford	358
Briercliffe, with Extwistle	1220	Balderston	636	Waddington	1088
Worsthorn	309	Osbaldeston	278	Grinleton	1022
	9929	Salisbury	295		4018
<i>Chapelry of Colne.</i>		Dinkley	250	<i>Parish of Sladeburne.</i>	
Township of Colne	5336	Billington	893	Parish of Whalley	64,019
Folrig	1032	Harwood Magna	1676	Blackburn	39,899
Marsden	2876	Harwood Parva	126	Rochdale	60,776
	9244	Rishton	1084	Ribchester	2762
<i>Portions of the Parish lying between the Calder and Hyndburne.</i>		Clayton-le-Dale	520	Chipping	1440
Accrington Vetus	885	Ramsgrave	484	Mitton	4018
Altham	383	Over Darwen	4411	Sladeburn	2175
Clayton-le-Moors	1423	Lower Darwen	1805		
Church	474	Tockholes	1077	<i>Total Population of the original Parish, as far as the Returns have been obtained,</i>	
		Mellor	1548	175,089	
		Witton	819		
		Pleasington	599		
		Eccleshill	374		
		Livesey	1126		
		Wilpshire	291		
			39,899		

* Included in Waddington.

A D D E N D A.

P. 31.

I have lately inspected this camp more accurately, and have procured a sketch of it. The area within the trenches amounts to four acres 30 perches, statute measure, and appears to have been levelled with great exactness.

It has had a double wall and foss. The larger stones of the wall have, from time to time, been removed; but the smaller ones, which remain, universally bear marks of fire. The North and East sides are rectilinear, but those on the South and West have followed the line of two very precipitous banks, which have added greatly to the strength of the place. Immediately at the foot of the Western rampart is a line of springs.

The site of this work was admirably calculated for a camp of observation, as it commands the Vale of Calder, a considerable tract of Ribblesdale, all the high grounds towards Accrington and Haslingden, and the wildest parts of Pendle Forest.

P. 34.—HIGHWALL WELL.

Highwall Well appears to have been the cold bath of the Abbey, for which purpose it is singularly well contrived. It is walled with excellent hewn stone, about four feet and a half deep, and is contracted, step by step, as follows: first, are two circles, the lower much narrower than the higher; then a square, inscribed within the last circle; and beneath all, a rhombus, inscribed within the last square. The convenience of this contrivance, for the purpose of going in and getting out, as well as for immersion, is obvious.

Clerk Hill was sold by Richard Assheton and John Braddyll, the purchaser of Whalley Abbey, to John Crombroke, for £.152. 10s. 8d. in the 7th of Edward VI. It was described by the name of “Clerkhyll, otherwise Snelow.” The Crombrocks retained it to the year 1699, when they sold it to Thomas Whalley, for £.735. Such has been the increase in the value of land in this neighbourhood, in little more than a century, that this identical estate is stated to be worth nearly £.400 *per annum*.

Lower Clerk Hill was long the property of the Hammonds, from whom the great Dr. Henry Hammond lineally descended.

P. 34, line 28.

This tumulus is called the Loe Hill, and is nearly 120 yards in circumference at the base, more conical than sepulchral tumuli usually are, but less so than Saxon keeps when entire. At a small distance are the remains of a large cairn of stones. In the summer of the year 1815 I obtained leave to dig into the Loe Hill, which appeared to be evidently artificial, as no part of it was stratified. On the contrary, the whole, as far as the investigation proceeded, was made up of large water gravel, mixed with exceedingly tough marle, of which there is a bed by the river side. The labour and expence of removing such materials was found so great,
that

that we were compelled to desist before we had arrived at the centre, so that unfortunately nothing was found. I must not omit to add, that on a point of high woody ground washed by the Calder, and where it formerly united with the Ribble, is a very deep trench, consisting of about two thirds of an oval. The rest has been carried away by the current. As I have little doubt that Loe Hill is either the sepulchral tumulus, or at least a memorial of Alric, I think it highly probable that this was a fortified post, made use of in the engagement, when he was slain.

P. 49.—DE STATU DE BLAGBORNESHIRE.

“Tempore Ethelberti Regis, qui cœpit regnare A.D. DXCVI. Beatus Augustinus, Anglorum Apostolus, missus per beatum Gregorium Papam ad instantiam dicti regis, prædicavit in Anglia. Fuit apud Whalley in Blagborneshire Ecclesia quædam parochialis constructa in honorem omnium sanctorum. In cujus quidem Ecclesiæ cœmeterio erant cruces quædam lapideæ tunc erectæ et vocatæ a populo cruces S'ci Augustini, quæ sub eodem nomine usque hodie ibi durant, appellataque erat tempore illo ecclesia supradicta Alba Ecclesia subtus Legh. Infra fines autem ejusdem Ecclesiæ continebantur tota Blagbornshire et tota Boland, et sic annis plurimis perdurabant. Post hæc autem crescente fidelium devotione, numeroque credentium augmentato in partibus illis, constructæ fuerunt aliæ tres ecclesiæ infra Blagbornshire, videlicet Ecclesia de Blagborne, Ecclesia de Chepyn, et Ecclesia de Ribblechester; parochiæ earundem Ecclesiarum ab invicem distinctæ, et certis undique limitibus designatæ. His autem temporibus, dum dictæ Ecclesiæ taliter fuerint ædificatæ, non erat in Blagborneshire, apud Clyderhow, vel alibi, castrum ædificatum, neque capella quæcunque præter Ecclesias supradictas, nec dominus aliquis qui patrociniū dictarum Ecclesiarum vindicaret, sed rector quilibet terram et villam in qua Ecclesia sua fuerat situata tanquam dotem Ecclesiæ suæ tenuit et possedit, ipsamque Ecclesiam suam sic dotatam tanquam patrimonium suum gubernavit, successorem sibi de filiis suis vel amicis libere subrogavit, interveniente duntaxat acceptatione seu institutione Episcopi Lichfeldensis; fuerantque diu rectores de Whalley et de Blagburn præcipue, homines uxorati et domini villarum. Et quidam de Whalley, Decani non personæ fuerunt appellati. Cujus causa verisimilis æstimatur, quod, tempore foundationis ejusdem Ecclesiæ, et per tempora diu postmodum subsequencia, populus illarum partium tam rarus fuerit tamque indomitus et silvestris, tanta insuper vulpium et ferarum nocivarum ibidem extiterit multitudo, necnon locus quasi hominibus inaccessibilis videbatur, quod tam Episcopi quam officiales eorum, jurisdictionem ordinariorum, pertinentem ad officium communium Decanorum, præfatis rectoribus reliquerunt, causis difficilioribus duntaxat Episcopi reservatis.

Ac per hunc modum ordinabantur Ecclesiæ usque ad tempus Regis Wilhelmi Conquestoris scilicet per CCCCLXX annos et postea usque ad concilium Lateranense, prout ex antiquis et veracibus Chronicis patet. Quis autem dominium de Blagborneshire tenebat ante tempus Regis Wilhelmi, sub certo in Chronicis non habetur. Vulgaris opinio tenet et asserit quod quot fuerant villæ, vel mansæ, vel maneria hominum, tot fuerunt Domini, nedum in Blagbornshire verum etiam in Rachdale, Totington, et Boland, quorum nullus de alio tenebat, sed omnes in capite de ipso rege.

Memorandum, quod rectores de Whalley, ab antiquo fuerant uxorati, et decani vocabantur, tenebantque dictam Ecclesiam una cum Ecclesia de Rachdale jure quodam hæreditario, ita quod

quod semper filius patri, vel frater fratri, vel alius parens proximior, hæreditarie succedebat. Sic quod, defuncto quocunque Decano, statim filius ejus, &c. offerret se Domino de Blagborneshire tanquam hæredem proximum illarum Ecclesiarum, et acceptis ipsius Domini literis hoc testantibus ad episcopum loci, presbyteros aliquos, in prædictis ecclesiis et earum capellis servituros, ad eundem Episcopum cum suis et præfati domini literis transmitteret pro cura parochianorum subeunda, vel saltem pro licentia et potestate ministrandi Ecclesiæ sacramenta in eisdem Ecclesiis et Capellis. Et per istum modum regebantur Ecclesiæ supradictæ usque ad Concilium Lateranum.

Et sciendum quod primus rector, sive Decanus de Whalley, de quo in registro Diocesanorum Lichfeldiensium mentio reperitur, vel cujus nomen est in Chronicis vel apud plebem, vocabatur Spartlingus, vocabatur Decanus de Whalley, cui successit Liwlphus Cutwolfe filius suus et hæres, decanus ejusdem Ecclesiæ appellatus. Post hunc successit Cudwolfus ejusdem Ecclesiæ Decanus. Huic successit Henricus senior hæres, similiter ejusdem Ecclesiæ Decanus. Post quem Robertus filius suus, et ejusdem Ecclesiæ Decanus; et huic successit Henricus, junior, filius et hæres. Cui successit Wilhelmus Decanus. Post hunc successit Galfridus senior, ejusdem Ecclesiæ similiter Decanus. Iste Galfridus senior desponsavit filiam Dni Rogeri de Lascy, tunc Domini de Blagborneshire. Huic etiam Galfrido successit Galfridus junior, filius suus et hæres, ejusdem ecclesiæ Decanus; cui successit Rogerus filius etiam suus et hæres, qui ultimus ejusdem Ecclesiæ extitit nominatus, nec ex tunc permittebatur successio hæreditaria in Decanatu, obstante Concilio Lateranensi.

Quamobrem dictus Rogerus continenter vixit et ad sacerdotalem se fecit ordinem promoveri; consideransque quod beneficia ecclesiastica non debebant ex tunc per concessionem hæreditariam occupari, volensque nobili viro Johanni de Lacy, com. Lincoln. et D^{no} de Blagborneshire cognato suo placere, et jus patronatus totius Ecclesiæ suæ cum capellis sibi et hæredibus suis transferre, cessit Rectoriæ et Decanatu, solum sibi retinens, per assensum Episcopi, ejusdem Ecclesiæ vicariam: unde Dominus Comes ad personatum dictæ Ecclesiæ de Whalley, quendam clericum suum Petrum de Cestria præsentavit. Qui quidem Petrus extitit primus ejusdem Ecclesiæ persona nominatus, atque ad præsentationem ejusdem comitis admissus et inductus eandem Ecclesiam tenuit per totam vitam suam, videlicet per LIX annos et amplius. Idem tamen Petrus pro tempore dicti Rogeri non habuit de præfata Ecclesia nisi L marcas annuatim; et dictus Rogerus totum residuum Ecclesiæ habuit dum advixit nomine vicariæ, prout in literis præsentationis et institutionis dicti Petri, et ordinationis Episcopi inde factis, satis liquet. Huic autem Petro successerunt in personatu prædicto religiosi viri abbas et conventus quondam de Stanlaw, nuper de Whalley, et intraverunt in Manerium de Whalley, D^{no} Greg. de Norbury tunc Abbate, VII Id. Ap. A. D. M.CC.XCVI.

P. 51, line 24.

This hypothesis is remarkably confirmed by a passage in Harding's Chronicle, which I have since met with :

Upnge Arthure then in Abalon so dyed,
Wher he was burried in a Chapel faire,
Whiche nowe ys made and fully edified :

But then yt called was the black Chappel
Of our Ladye, as Chronicles can telle.

This black chapel seems to have been made of wood, but in the time of Harding it was certainly "made, and fully edified," of stone.

P. 57.—CASE of the MONKS of PONTEFRACT.

" Quidam antecessorum Com. Lincolnæ, Hugo de la Val nomine, dedit jus patronatus Eccl. de Walley Priori et Conv. de Pontefracto, qui præsentaverunt ad eam successive A. B. C. &c. qui omnes per Diocesenum admissi et instituti sunt.

Inter quos erat quidam nomine Sparlingo, quo defuncto successit ei quidam Liulphus qui cognominabatur Cuttewlf, eo quod sedens quadam vice in foresta de Rossendale, ad Lednesgreve respiciendo canes suos currentes, lupum quendam juxta se currentem decaudavit. Defuncto vero Liulpho, quidam prædecessor dicti Com^s, vacante dicto prioratu et in sua custodia existente, præsentavit *nomine custodis* quendam Galfridum ad eam, qui duxit in uxorem filiam Dⁿⁱ Gospatric de Samlesbury, de qua genuit filios et filias, de quorum progenie multi adhuc nobiles in illis partibus manent. Defuncto Galfrido successit ei Galfridus filius ejus, quasi nomine hæreditario, quo defuncto quidam Antecessor dicti Comitum præsentavit quendam Rogerum, et post ipsum Petrum de Cestria, prædictis priore et conventu reclamare non audentibus.

Vivente autem Petro de Cestria prædictus Comes dedit patronatum prædictæ Ecclesiæ de Wallay Abb. et Conv. de Stanlaw, recepta prius ab illis litera obligatoria quod quotiescunque vacaret præsentarent ad eam quem ipse vel hæredes sui vellent, nisi possent eam in proprios usus impetrare; qua impetrata augmentarent numerum solitum monachorum, ita quod ab illo tempore essent LX ubi prius fuerunt XL, et quod monasterium suum ad territorium dictæ Ecclesiæ transferrent. Postea Nicholaus Papa III. concessit eis appropriationem ejusdem, cedente vel decedente Rectore, salvis congruis portionibus pro vicaria. Postea papa Bonifacius revocavit appropriationes concessas per prædictum prædecessorem, de quibus non habebatur ipso die jus in re licet ad rem.

Postea decessit Petrus de Cestria xviii Kal. Jan. A. D. m.cc.xciv.; quo defuncto prædictus Hen. de Lacy comes tanquam in priore proposito non existens ingressus est ad præd. Ecclesiam, dictos religiosos multis diebus excludendo, qui pro ingressu habendo remiserunt dicto comiti et hæredibus suis quandam capellam infra limites dictæ capellæ existentem, valentem annuatim c marcas, et alias multas libertates infra forestas dicti comitis dictæ Ecclesiæ ab antiquo spectantes, ut venandi et omni tempore anni ad libitum capiendi. Et sic lectis ante fores dictæ Ecclesiæ super his instrumentis, die Purificationis S.M. adepti sunt ingressum, nullum jus ad appropriationem habentes, præsentante populo non parvo et clamante Væ vobis Simoniaci!

Postea composuerunt cum Rog. de Meuland tunc Episcopo appellante et sequestrum interponente, de ccc marcis sterl.; de quibus post obitum Episcopi satisfecerunt executoribus dicti Ep. de c libris sterl.; et sic pacto et prætio adepti sunt possessionem Ecclesiæ, et sic per lapsum XII ann. devolvitur collatio ejusdem ad D^{nm} Papam.

Ex præmissis patet quod dicti Prior et Conv^s habent cartam et seizinam quod non est aliud quam præsentatio cum effectu. Abbas et Conv. habent cartam solummodo eo quod nunquam præsentaverunt.

Ecclesia vero præd. valet singulis annis ad minus deductis expensis D. marc.

Qualiter vero impetraverunt confirmationem præd. Papæ Bonifacii, nulla facta mentione de conventionibus prædictis, et confirmationem Episcopi, qui tunc temporis fuerit, pro M marc sterl., et confirmationem Capitulorum Cov. et Lichf. et loci Archidiaconi pro xv℥ sterl. annuæ pensionis, non est opus exprimere. Et sciendum quod omnes rectores ejusdem Ecclesiæ usq. ad tempus Dⁿⁱ Petri de Cestria cognominabantur Decani et non Rectores.

Nuper decessit vicarius dictæ Ecclesiæ, cujus portiones secundum ordinationem valebant cl. sterl. et præsentatus est ad vicariam nuper ordinatam per D^{num} Papam quidam Capellanus, contra cujus ordinationem appellatum est per Episcopum et Archidiaconum, eo quod de jure et de facto per annum et dimidium jam vacavit, devolvitur ad papam.

Such is this singular and important case, very artfully, but untruly stated, by the prior and convent of Pontefract, or their advocates. In the first place, it was their object to prove the *jus in re*, and therefore, forgetting that Hugh De la Val, from whom they derived their title to the benefice, lived in the time of Stephen, they pretend to prove a presentation, in the person of Liulphus Cudwlph, who lived before the Conquest. In the next place, they pretend that an ancestor of the then Earl of Lincoln presented, during a vacancy, as patron of the convent; and that, in consequence, on the next avoidance, the representative of the Lacy family, presented as in his own right, but of this there is neither proof nor probability. Delaval's Charter appears never to have been confirmed, in consequence of which defect his grant to the priory of Pontefract was invalidated, and the advowson returned, with the other estates of the Lacy family, to their former owners.

The later transactions which took place between the Earl of Lincoln, Bishop Meuland, and the monks of Stanlaw, were shamefully simoniacal, and the convent of Pontefract expose them, *con amore*; but the value of the Rectory of Whalley was greatly overrated.

P. 82.

At the very time when this insurrection was suppressed, I find that the Earl of Sussex, then lord lieutenant of Lancashire, had seated himself at Whalley Abbey, in order to extinguish the last sparks of rebellion in a place which had been one great source and centre of it. For by a letter to the King, dated April 6th, 28th Hen. VIII. the Earl represents the state of this neighbourhood as follows:—"Wee, considering en what gode quietnes thes countrey is in now; as wee thinke ther can noe subjects be more obedient and dudeful to ther sovereign lord and kinge, can see noe cause, if yt may stande with your gracious pleasure that the abode ther of me th' Earl of Sussex be much necessary. I therefore being minded—charge being geven to the justices of your peaes in every quarter, to have a vigilant eye to the continuence of the same—to take my journey."

Next follow some particulars with respect to Christopher Smith, the last prior of Whalley, whom the Earl represents as "decrepted and aged, and his petition nowe is that, where the house is bounde to keep twoo pr'sts within the parish-church of Whalley, the parishioners whereof is above M^r M^r M^r people; it may pleas your highness that he maye bee oone of thoose twoo pr'sts, and to have VI or VII^r a year for his stipend, which we think it shall be a good and charitable ded, seeing that he hath been a monk in this house L years, and is almost

iii⁸⁸ years of age—not like long to continue.”—This proves the abbot, who was Smith’s immediate senior, to have been an aged man also: it had been happy for him had he fallen into the same state of decrepitude with the Prior.

It must be observed that this letter is dated April the 6th, and on the 11th of the same month the Earl of Sussex was at Furness, where he took the surrender of that house, for which he had before stipulated with the Abbot while at Whalley. It is highly probable that he removed from Whalley at this time, in order to avoid a scene which must have been painful to him, as the execution of Paslew and Eastgate took place there on the 12th of that month.

For these extracts I am indebted to West’s History of Furness, App. No. X. which is a letter transcribed by him from the Cotton Library.—Cleop. e. 4, p. 244, and kindly pointed out to me by a friend, though too late to be inserted in the text.

P. 87.

From a subsequent examination of all the remaining evidences of the Abbey, I am enabled to add the following names to the former catalogue of monks:—Fr. Rob. Brunley, Granator, 1509; Fr. Wm. Bancroft, Subcellarer; Fr. Wm. Whalley, Sacrista, 1510; Fr. Edm. Haworth, Subcellarer, 1529; Fr. Rad. Linney; Fr. Jac. Moore, Portar.*; Fr. Edm. Dinkley, Sacrist, 1529. To these may be added, from other evidences in the same collection, Fr. Thos. Law, Fr. Rad. Catteral, Fr. — Billington, Fr. Joh. Chester, Fr. Ric. Wood, Fr. Tho. Harwood. There was another, Fr. Tho. Law, a Carthusian monk of Sion, who also retired to Whalley; but the former Law and Harwood outlived their brethren, and continued, by indulgence, to say ‘mass in one or other of the side chapels of the parish-church till their deaths, the latter of which happened about 1560.—A remarkable instance either of toleration or of attachment to the old religion, in those who might easily have deprived these poor men of their last remaining comfort.

P. 113.

The following Epitaphs, absurd as they are, having been really hung over the tombs of the Lacies at Whalley, I deemed it not improper to afford them a place in the Appendix.

EPITAPHIUM ROGERI LACY.

Hic sepelitur heros generosus in orbe Rogerus
 Conjuge cum cara quam mors prostravit amara.
 Forti Sampsoni similis fuit atque leoni
 Tauro cornuto pungendi semper acuto.
 Tectum thorace nullus superare valebat.
 Regnum cum pace miles sub rege regebat.
 Nullus Trojanus sibi par fuit in probitate.
 Victor in ætate fuit, alter Waspasianus.
 Gentes linguarum male credentes variarum,
 Sectas Persarum, Medorum, Spartiatarum,
 Grecos, Cretenses, Romanos bella moventes,
 Francos, Flandrenses, nautas portis rapientes,

* The porter was always a monk. But there is a regular charge “pro famulo portarii;” so that the master porter, probably, did little more than keep an eye upon his deputy.

Hic dum pugnavit, pugnans pugnando domavit.
 Vivus ut optavit, defuncto tumba paratur :
 Pictor adornavit petram sub qua tumulatur.
 Inferni claustro careat per flatus ab austro
 Sic prece conventus fulgoris in arce retentus.
 Inclita matrona digna Matilda corona
 Sit cum matre pia Christi conjuncta Maria.
 Qui legis, absque mora, pro fundatoribus ora.

EPITAPHIUM JOHANNIS LACY.

Egregii comitis en ! hæc est tumba Johannis
 Hostibus immitis cunctis dum vixerat annis.
 Jure suum comitem luget Lincolnia mitem,
 Quem plangunt unum Cestrenca castra tribunum.
 Anglia flet rite tali caruisse Quirite,
 Et Stanlawe bonum dolet amississe patronum.
 Christi devotus miles fuit undique notus,
 Wallia, quem Scotus, timuit mundus quoque totus,
 Gallus et Hispanus, Normannus, Britoque, Danus,
 Almannus gnarus bello, Lombardus avarus,
 Indus, et obscenus gentilis, atrox Saracenus,
 Æthiopes fuscæ, Greci, Babilonia, Turci,
 Rex et Soldanus, omnis populusque prophanus,
 Hunc cum cernebat armatum, corde tremebat.
 Vicit eum vermis qui victor erat in armis,
 Sic et vincemur pro quo dicendo precemur.
 Ultima censura cum venerit illa futura
 Johannes comes a dira servetur Judicis ira.

EPITAPHIUM commendationis Joh'is de Lacy, comitis Lincolnæ, et Fundatoris
 Loci Benedicti de Whalley.

Ut hoc in loco legitur, sub hac structura tegitur
 Cor comitis Johannis,
 In carne non plus clauditur sed a carne dividitur
 In universis annis.
 Cordis et carnis unitas efficitur dualitas
 Et paritas partita :
 O misera conditio tam flebilis divisio
 Nunquam fuit audita.
 Tristantur cives Cestriæ, plangunt primates patriæ,
 Nec volunt consolari,
 Flet Pontefracti populus, vir, uxor, senex, parvulus,
 Non cessant lachrimari.

A solis ortus cardine cuncti debent ex ordine
Rurales et burgenses
Magni, minores, pariter, præ cunctis singulariter
Lugent Lincolnenses.
Nec mirum, flos militiæ jam marcuit lætitiæ,
Spes est exinanita,
Quia post hunc in sæculo carnali visus oculo
Non erit vigens ita.
Heu! planctus fit perpetuus cum pugil tam præcipuus
Privatus sit hac vita;
Planctus, ploratus, gemitus nunquam cessabunt amplius
Sæcula per infinita.
Ut Job simplex, ut Salomon doctus, et sicut Absolon
Pulcher, et Sampson fortis,
Ut Joseth fuit providus, ut Mars in bello validus,
Totius dux cohortis.
Hic erat mundi lilium, solemnitas nobilium,
Se tamen æquans imis.
Ut Moyses mitissimus, ut Josue justissimus,
Plus audax Gibeone,
Vellem fari quis fuerit, sed nulla dici potuerit
Humana ratione.
Non fuit inter millia tam promptus quis ad prælia,
Sub armis tam discretus,
Nullus ad arma promptior, in armis nec ferocior,
Post arma tam quietus.
Lorica corpus, galea frons, ense femur, lancea
Manus ejus munitur,
Scuto latus protegitur, morte tamen subigitur,
Per hoc non impeditur.
Castra, domus, familia, et opes, et his similia
Non poterunt prodesse:
Lira, census, et prædia, jam nulla dant remedia
Quin morti sint necesse.
Et jam consumptis carnibus nunc esca datur vermibus
Qui fuit tam probatus;
Nunc ejus aula tumulus, et vermis suis famulus,
Et lira fit ploratus.
Sic transit mundi gloria, sic vita transitoria
Disparet et deletur,
Sic desinis dies hominis, sic et laus ominis
Nunquam finietur.

Johannes Dei gratia, fertur sine fallacia
 Nomen interpretetur,
 Precemur ergo singuli ut iste prece populi
 Cum sanctis gloriatur:
 Et Christus vera veritas det ut sua posteritas
 Sit hæres ejus morum,
 Et hunc in cunctis prosperet, et hunc a pœnis liberet
 Æternis infernorum.

EPITAPHIUM COMMENDATIONIS EDMUNDI LACY.

Mors probat Edmundi, brevis est quod gloria mundi,
 Mendax et mundus, quamvis quandoque secundus.
 Scandere qui primo cum cœpit lapsus in imo
 Monstrat quod mundus est labilis atque rotundus:
 Nilque fit in mundo, quod non pertransit eundo
 Protinus a mundo quum sit quasi vas sine mundo.
 Ergo det Edmundo Deus a contamine mundo
 Uti jocundo vultu Christi redeundo.
 Respice qui transis, in me circumspice quid sis,
 Exemploque mei sis memor ipse tui.
 Sum quod eris, quod es ipse fui, mundoque superstes
 Florueram mundo, terra cinisque modo.
 Quid probitas, quid opes, quid honor, quid gloria mundi,
 Omnia quid fuerint, cum cecidere docent.
 Hic jacet et funus Cestrensis jure tribunus
 Me pro posse bonum sensit domus ista patronum.

P. 147.

I have lately met with the original, from which the following instrument is transcribed, among the Charters at Towneley.

“ Pateat universis per præsentēs, quod cum in visitatione Domini Archidiaconi Cestriensi quam in Decanatu de Blackburn ultimo exercuit, compertum fuit quod ecclesia parochialis de Whalley in coopertura, parietibus et fenestris, et cimiterium ejusdem in clausura multiformes patiebatur defectus, in defectu parochianorum dictæ ecclesiæ et capellarum de Colne, Brunley, Church, et Haselyngden, ab eadem ecclesia dependentibus; super quibus dictus Dominus Archidiaconus parochianos capellarum prædictarum ad certos diem et locum super dicto comperto fecit coram eo officiali suo ut ejus commissario evocari. Qui quidem parochiani capellarum dictarum eisdem die et loco sibi assignatis coram nobis commissario dicti Domini comparuerint, et quandam relaxacionem sive renunciacionem in scripto redacto diversis sigillis cum sigillo officialis Cestriensis signato per parochianos de Whalley, Cliderowe, et Dounum, factam, dictos parochianos de Colne, Brunley, Churche, et Haselynden, ut videbatur, omni onere dictæ ecclesiæ parochiali de Whalley faciendo exonerantem, et ipsos parochianos de Whalley, Cliderowe, et Dounum, in omnibus onerantem, judicialiter exhibuerint et ostenderint: unde nos commissarius

commissarius dicti domini officialis die et loco dictis parochianis capellarum prædictarum assignatis in hac parte legitime prætendentes, habita publica proclamatione in judicio nemine se opponente, dictos parochianos capellarum prædictarum de Colne, Brunley, Chirche, et Haselyngden, consentientibus omnibus in hac parte requisitis, quatenus officium nostrum præmisso cōcūit ab officio nostro dimisimus per decretum.

“ In cujus rei testimonium sigillum officii dicti domini officialis præsentibus est appensum.

“ Datum apud Werington IIII kal. Aug. anno Domini M.cccº nonagesimo tercio.”

P. 150, line 4.

The first transaction which occurs after the Dissolution is a lease of twenty-one years, from the Crown, of the Rectory of Whalley, bearing date July 8th, 30th Henry VIII. to Sir Wm. Pickering, Knt. for the rent of £.237. 13s. 4d.

Next is a lease from Pickering to Richard Assheton, as under-tenant, dated Sept. 12th, 32d Henry VIII.—This was the first footing which the Asshetons obtained at Whalley.

Thirdly, another from Henry VIII. A. R. 35, to Sir John Dantzey, Knt. who, in the 37th Henry VIII. gave it to his natural son, who soon after assigned it to Richard Assheton in consideration of the manor of Downham, &c. (*vide* Downham).

N. B. Pickering's lease was to expire in 1558, and Dauntzey's term was forty years from that time.

Lastly, the remainder of this term was surrendered to Abp. Whitgift, 26th Elizabeth, who granted the first lease from the see of Canterbury to Ralph Assheton, Esq. the elder and Ralph Assheton the younger, for the lives of the last Ralph and of Ratcliff Assheton, sons of Ralph the elder and of Richard son of Richard Assheton of Downham, brother of Ralph.

P. 209, line 21.

Whatever might be the deficiency of the Act of 7th Jac. this composition appears to have been set aside, and much severer terms imposed, as will appear from the following fragment (Assheton Papers), which proves the matter not to have been finally settled before the Restoration.—“ of Clitherowe, parcel of the Dutchy upon the King's behalf by the then Attorney of the Dutchy ll in qu and the inclosures and improvements of Commonsem made; upon a Commission for that purpose issued in the year of King James his reign, came to composition with his Majesties Commissioners, and agreed to pay for confirmation and settlement thereof forty years copyhold rent: the one moiety, upon passing Decrees for that purpose in the Court of Dutchy Chamber, and the other moiety within one moneth next after the same should be confirmed by Act of Parliament.

Decrees of all the several manors and places so compounded for were passed, and the first moiety of the Composition Money thereupon paid in King James his time: And in the sixteenth year of the late King Charles, a Bill for confirmation thereof passed both the Houses of Parliament; but through the distractions then growing was prevented of being perfected by the royal assent.

The said late King Charles, in the fifth year of his reign, granted, by letters patents, the second moiety of the said Composition Money, remaining in the Copyholders hands, to the Navy and Tower Creditors, towards satisfaction of certain debts contracted by Sir Allen Apsley

ley in victualling the Navy and Tower: who in the year 1650 obtained from the pretended Parliament then sitting an Act to confirm to the said Copyholders their customs and improvements, according to the said Compositions and Decrees: and to compell them to pay the remaining moiety of Composition Money to the said Creditors, with a *nomine pænæ* of £ 5. *per diem* upon default of payment after the 1st of September next following.

Several of the Copyholders failed in providing their money, which caused their deficiency of payment according to the Act. But the *nomine pænæ* being great, and the Creditors severe in levying it, accordingly to the power given them, those that were careful of preserving their estates, and preventing further damage, procured and paid the whole moiety together, with a great overplus, amounting to £.5,833, in all, for satisfaction of the said moiety and *nomine pænæ* forfeited: and so freed themselves and many others, who are still behinde with their due proportionable parts; and yet have no security for confirmation of their customs and estates:

All which considered, the said Copyholders having long since, as aforesaid, paid their whole composition to the King's use, do humbly pray the said Decrees and their Customes may be confirmed according to their Contract by the Parliament. And that power may be given to certain Commissioners to leavy the moneys in arrear, and reimburse to those that have laid out above their proportions so much as shall reduce the payments and account to an equality and due proportion, according to a Bill prepared for that purpose."

P. 212.—PENDLE.

A paper written by Mr. Charles Townley, and directed by him to Richard Townley, Esq. the philosopher.

"On August the 18th, 1669, between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, there issued out of the North West side of Pendle Hill a great quantity of water; the particulars of which eruption, as I received them from a gentleman living hard by, are these:—The water continued running for about two hours: it came in that quantity, and so suddenly, that it made a breast of a yard high, not unlike (as the gentleman expressed it) to the Eager at Roan, in Normandy, or Ouse in Yorkshire; it grew unfordable in so short a space, that two going to church on horseback, the one having passed the place where it took its course, the other being a little behind, could not pass this sudden torrent. It endangered breaking down a mill-dam, came into several houses in Worston (a village at the foot of the hill), so that several things swam in them. It issued out at five or six several places, one of which was considerably bigger than the rest, and brought with it nothing else but stone, gravel, and earth. He moreover told, that the greatest of these six places closed up again, and that the water was black, like unto moss pits; and lastly, that fifty or sixty years * ago there happened an eruption much greater than this, so that it much endamaged the adjacent country, and made two cloughs or dingles, which to this day are called Burst (or in our Lancashire dialect) Brast Cloughs.

Thus far this gentleman related; what follows, take from myself:—Going, since this, to see what I could of this accident, I found nothing that did contradict the abovesaid relation. What I observed more, concerning this and other eruptions, is, that passing under the N.E. end, commonly called the Butt end of Pendle, I saw several breaches in the side thereof, at

* Probably the eruption mentioned by Camden

several distances from the top: from these, stones mixed with earth had been tumbled down, and lay in such a confused order, as if they had been brought thither by such a like eruption as this last; and enquiring of a country fellow who was our guide, he confirmed the conjecture, and told us, these breakings out of water were very frequent, so that he wondered we took so much pains to go and see this late one. I went to look amongst the rubbish of stone and earth of one of these breaches, to see if I could find any thing like ore, but could find nothing. Having passed the end of the hill, and coming to the other side, we after a short time discovered the aforementioned six breaches, of which two seemed to be very near the top. I went only to the biggest of the breaches, in which I observed these particulars:—The water had taken away the soil, which was about two feet deep, and bared the rock between twenty and thirty yards in breadth, and downward a considerable deal more. It appeared evidently, that the water came from between the swarth and the rock, for at the top of the breach we saw several holes whereat the water had issued forth; others were closed up with the fall of the earth. Wheresoever the water had taken away two foot deep of the earth, the rock appeared among the rubbish. I found nothing that could be supposed to come out of the bowels of the hill, but only such stones as might be loose on the rock, amongst the earth that covered it. This is what I observed in the breach, which for bigness was most remarkable, and presume I should have found nothing worth notice in the lesser ones. Though the noise of this eruption was so great that I thought it worth my pains to enquire further into it, yet in all these particulars I find nothing worthy of wonder, or what may not easily be accounted for. The colour of the water, its coming down to the place where it breaks forth between the rock and earth, with that other particular of its bringing nothing along but stones and earth, are evident signs that it hath not its origin from the very bowels of the mountain; but that it is only rain-water, coloured first in the moss-pits, of which the top of the hill (being a great and considerable plain) is full, shrunk down into some receptacle fit to contain it; until at last, by its weight or some other cause, it finds a passage to the side of the hill, and then away between the rock and swarth, until it break the latter, and violently rush out. The great eruption, mentioned to have happened so many years ago, perhaps is that taken notice of by Camden, in his ‘*Britannia*,’ p. 613. ‘*Verum hic mons damni quid subjecto agro jampridem intulit, aquarum vim eructans, et certissimo pluviae indicio, quoties ejus vertex nebula vestitur, maxime insignis est.*’

“I know not whether it may not be worth notice, that going to the top of the hill, and observing a considerable part thereof, especially towards the skirts, where turfs had been gotten, I found that the rock reached within a yard or two of the highest part; considering this, with what I observed of the mentioned breach and several other places, I think it is very probable that the whole mountain, great as it is, is one continued rock; and it may be a question whether all other hills be so or no. But this I leave to further enquiry.”

P. 212, line 22.

Admergill, which is one of the boundaries of the parish towards Barnoldswick, is undoubtedly called, *qu.* Ald, Mere-Gill, the Gill or Gully which formed the old boundary. Here were lately found 117 pennies of Edward I. and John Baliol, King of Scotland.

In the neighbourhood of Newchurch, in Pendle, was found, several years ago, a stone mallet, with a perforation for the handle. This is inserted as the only remain of British art, in stone, ever discovered within the parish.

P. 238.

P. 239.

The following note on “Beare brades, in the old song inserted in this page, has been communicated since this Work was printed:—“*Beare brades.* Bear, that is, coarse barley, or bigg, as it is sometimes called, is said in old English and modern Scottish, to be *brair’d* or *brade*, when its leaves first shoot above the ground. Rain is, of course, indispensable to the *brair’d* of bear and all other grain.—WALTER SCOTT.”

P. 242.

The following abstract of the Computus of Blackburnshire, by Thomas Lord Stanley, Master Forester and Chief Steward, A. Edw. IV. 4to, extracted from the original Roll in the Office of the Duchy of Lancaster, will give a much clearer and more connected view of the subject than any which I have hitherto been able to exhibit.

The Freehold and ancient Copyhold, or Wapontake Rents, for the several manors there accounted for, are—

Ightenhull	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	LXL. IVs. IVd.ob.
Colne	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	XXXI. Os. XVIIIId.
Penhulton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	VII. XIs. IIId.
Worston	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	VII. IXs. IVd.
Chatburn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	XVII. XIVs. IVd.qu.
Accrington Vetus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	XII. IXs. IXd.
Haslingden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	IX. VIIIs. IV½d.
Perquisita Curiarum de Ightenhull, Colne, Chatburn, Penhulton,										
Worston, et Accrington	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	II. Os. VIIIId.
Wapontagium de Cliderhow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	LXIII. IIIs. VIIId.ob.
Officium Mag. Forestarii de Bowland, Jacobo Harrington mil.										
Deputato Ric. Nevile, com. Warwick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	XXXIV. IIIs. VID.ob.
Magistro Fox de Blackburnshire, quia expens. excedunt recept.										nil.
Man. de Todington	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	XXXIII. Os. IIId.qu.
Ballia ib'm.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	XIX. IXs. Od.

The amount of these will shew the difference betwixt the general valuation of Blackburnshire, taken anno Edw. II. after the death of Henry de Lacy, and the 4th of Edward IV. or about 160 years.

Manerium de Ratchdale;	}	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
De firma Joh. Pilkington, arm.										

Firma pasturæ in Blackburnshire.

De xxxixl. xs. IIId. de diversis personis pro terris, &c. ab ante demissis*; viz.

Nic. Shotilworth, pro Copthursthey - - - - - vis. vid.ob.

Tenentes de Padyham, pro Shapeden Bank* - - - - - IIs. Od.

R. Banastre, pro III acris prati in Blakey - - - - - IIIs. Od.

* These articles relate to lands, not of the ancient Wapontake tenure, but demised to various tenants, at an indefinite period before the date of the Computus. The next class, comprizing most of the launds and Vaccaries of the Forests, had been let out on leases for the term of seven years each, a very few years before this time: but most, if not all of them, were already approved; and, what is remarkable, were almost all re-let at reduced rents, in this year.

[Then follow a number of trifling particulars.]

De Thoma Radcliff, mil. pro Shapeden Hey (Heyhouses)	-	-	-	-	ii <i>l.</i> xiii <i>s.</i> iv <i>d.</i>
Eodem, pro xl a. in Parvo Redely	-	-	-	-	xiii <i>s.</i> iv <i>d.</i>
Jo. Legh, pro Linerode	-	-	-	-	
Wm. Leyland, pro firma herbagii in West Close	-	-	-	-	vi <i>l.</i> xiii <i>s.</i> iv <i>d.</i>
Eodem, pro Heyham both	-	-	-	-	vi <i>l.</i> xiii <i>s.</i> iv <i>d.</i>
Eodem, pro Li. Newlaund	-	-	-	-	vi <i>l.</i> vi <i>s.</i> viii <i>d.</i>
Eodem, pro Barley both	-	-	-	-	iii <i>l.</i> xi <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>

[Then follow other trifling particulars.]

Jacobo Radcliff de Radcliff, pro Parco de Musbury	-	-	-	-	viii <i>l.</i> xs. 0 <i>d.</i>
Et de Hered ^s Tho. Holden, pro Ugden et Musden*	-	-	-	-	0 <i>l.</i> xvs. 0 <i>d.</i>

*Et de clv*l.* xvs. iv*d.* de diversis personis pro terris demissis per Henry Sothill deputato Ricardi comitis Warwick, cum aliis de consilio Ducatus apud Clyderhow, anno 37^o regni regis Hen. VI. pro termino vii annor. vid.

De W. Leyland, pro herbagio Higham Close	-	-	-	-	vi <i>l.</i> vi <i>s.</i> viii <i>d.</i>
Joh. Nutter, &c. pro Nether Goldshay and Over Goldshay, cum les Craggs	-	-	-	-	viii <i>l.</i> vi <i>s.</i> viii <i>d.</i>
Joh. Pilkinton, pro parco de Ightenhull	-	-	-	-	xx <i>l.</i> vi <i>s.</i> viii <i>d.</i>
Joh. Sotehill, arm. pro Feely Close†	-	-	-	-	vi <i>l.</i> viii <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>
W. Leyland, pro le Old Laund et Parva Blakewood	-	-	-	-	0 <i>l.</i> lxiii <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>
Barnard Shotilworth, pro Wheteley Carr	-	-	-	-	vi <i>l.</i> 0 <i>s.</i> viii <i>d.</i>
Et pro vaccaria de Overbarrow forth, nuper ad c ^s	-	-	-	-	iv <i>l.</i> 0 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>
Pro Netherbarrow forth	-	-	-	-	iv <i>l.</i> xi <i>s.</i> viii <i>d.</i>
Jo. Redehalgh, pro Wateley forth	-	-	-	-	0 <i>l.</i> xs. 0 <i>d.</i>
Tho. D ^{no} Stanley et Wm. Layland, pro Redeleghe Halways, et eod.					
Wil. pro vac. de Berdshagh bothe*	-	-	-	-	xl. viii <i>s.</i> iv <i>d.</i>
Eod. W. pro vac. de Over Wycoller et Nether Wycoller	-	-	-	-	iii <i>l.</i> xv <i>s.</i> viii <i>d.</i>
Eodem, pro vaccaria de Wynewall	-	-	-	-	vi <i>l.</i> viii <i>s.</i> iv <i>d.</i>
Laur. Lister, pro piscaria aque de Colne, nuper ad iii <i>s.</i> iv <i>d.</i> †	-	-	-	-	0 <i>l.</i> 0 <i>s.</i> xx <i>d.</i>
Rich. Barton, pro Newhall Hey‡	-	-	-	-	viii <i>l.</i> 0 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>
Joh. Hargreaves, &c. pro Henhades et Frerehull§	-	-	-	-	0 <i>l.</i> iii <i>s.</i> iv <i>d.</i>
Eodem, pro vaccaria de Cowhour	-	-	-	-	vi <i>l.</i> 0 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>
Eodem, pro vaccaria de Rowtanstall	-	-	-	-	xl. 0 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>
Et vaccaria de Constabullegli	}	-	-	-	xl. 0 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>
Et pro 1 claus. vocato Okenheved Wode		-	-	-	
Ric. Barton pro vaccar. de Dede when clogh	-	-	-	-	vi <i>l.</i> 0 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>
Dict. Will.* Leyland pro vac. de Wolfenden bothe	-	-	-	-	vi <i>l.</i> 0 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>

But it appears, from another item in this roll, that “plures dictarum clausurarum de novo approvamento inclusa sunt per Rogerum Floure nuper capitalem senescallum Ducatus Lancastrensis.”—This, and consequently the origin of the Vaccaries, or inclosures within the forests, must be ascribed to the reign of Henry VI.; for Floure, whoever he was, is described as “nuper Senescallus.”—Moreover it must be observed, that all these were demised at rack-rents.

* All these are within Trawden.

† These are within Pendle.

‡ In Tottington.

§ In Rossendale.

|| Qu. De Cowhope.

Eodem

Eodem, pro vac. de Gamelsheved	-	-	-	11 <i>l.</i> 1 <i>s.</i> viii <i>d.</i>
Eodem pro vacc. de Bacop bothe et Horeleyheved	-	-	-	viii <i>l.</i> 0 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>
Eod. pro vaccario de Tunsted cum le Settyngez de Soclogh	-	-	-	iii <i>l.</i> xv <i>s.</i> viii <i>d.</i>
Et de xliv <i>l.</i> vis. viii <i>d.</i> ob.				
Jacobo de Radcliffe pro vaccaria de Hodlesden *	-	-	-	vii <i>l.</i> xiii <i>s.</i> iv <i>d.</i>
Henry Grimshagh pro le Newhey in Hodlesden	-	-	-	viii <i>s.</i> viii <i>d.</i>
Edmund Waddington pro Ikornhurst	-	-	-	xvi <i>s.</i> ii <i>d.</i>

In vadiis quatuor *Moredrivarum* in Penhull, Rossendale, et Trawden, custodientium feras extra Chaceas tam in com. Ebor. quam in com. Lanc'r, eo quod exire volebant, ne a malefactoribus capiantur, quolibet pro sept. *vid.*

Et in stipendio i hominis custodientis feras Dom. Regis apud Estmore *xs.* Rossendale *ivs.* et Trawden *xs.* ac unius hominis in Toddington in auxilium quatuor *Moredrivar'* prædict. eo quod non sufficiunt prædictas feras (defendere) in salv' ferine.

In denar. solut. pro sustentatione fossat. et sepium Nove Laund in Penhull per totum circuitum, *xxs.* Et in sustent. *vi Fald.* *vis.*

Et solut. forestar. de Penhull pro prostratione ramorum temp. yemale ad sustent'm ferarum, *iii*s.* iv*d.** Et forestario de Rossendale pro prostratione ramorum tem. yemale ad feras sust. *vis.* *viii*d.**

At three pence per diem thirty days were thus employed, which proves at once that there was much wood and many deer.

Venditio cropp. Nil de Cropp. ramorum sive de cortice quercuum, prostratarum tam ad reparationem palitii, quam quas ventus prostravit in Penhull, Rossendale, et Trawden, quod nihil hujusmodi prostrat. fuerat; nec de melle et cera silvestre, eo quod nullum hujusmodi acciderat.

Nec de Suet' prisone ib'm, quia null' suet ib'm acciderat, nec alique persone ib'in arrestate.

Hence it is evident that there were gaols in the forests, to which trespassers against the forest laws were summarily committed.

The word *suet* probably was meant to express some ancient gaol fee demanded on commitment.

In the former *Compotus* no rents are charged for Mines, but in that of the 12th Edward IV. are these particulars :

Firma minere carbonum maritimorum in Padyham *xxs.* et de firma carb. marit. in Colne et Trawden *vis.* *viii*d.**

De firm. de Sclatstones in Mercheden non recept. eo quod nullus illud conducere voluit. Sed de minera Sclatstones in Accrington, recept. *xx*d.**

* Either in Accrington or in the Graveship not the Forest of Rossendale.

William Leyland, whose name is so often mentioned, had been Deputy Steward probably by favour of Lord Stanley, whose neighbour he must have been, and had availed himself of his situation in procuring leases of very large tracts of forest land, lately converted into vaccaries.

A coal-mine was wrought at Colne in the latter end of Edward the Third's reign*, otherwise I should have fixed this as the original date of that pursuit, since become so general and so lucrative in this district.

Slatestones were now evidently beginning to supersede the primitive covering of thatch.

Rad. Mersheen pro Crokshagh hevedes, et pro vac. de High Riley	-	-	-	-	-	-	vil. iiii. ivd.
Edm. Wode pro Ikornhurst	-	-	-	-	-	-	xvis. iid.
De W. Leyland pro vaccaria de Antley	-	-	-	-	-	-	vil. os. od.
Eodem pro New Laund in Accrington, et pro vaccaria de Baxtonden	-	-	-	-	-	-	vl. os. od.
Eodem pro Crawshaw both †	-	-	-	-	-	-	vil. os. od.
Eod. pro vaccar. de Godeshagh	-	-	-	-	-	-	iii. l. xiiis. od.
Eod. pro vacc. de Luffeclogh	-	-	-	-	-	-	iii. l. os. od.
Eod. pro vacc. de Primrose Sike	-	-	-	-	-	-	il. xvis. vii. id.
Rob. Bothe, mil. pro Rowcliffe Wode	-	-	-	-	-	-	xvis. vii. id.
					Sm.		ccxxxix. l. xiiis. od.

Firma Pasturæ de Bowland	-	-	-	-	-	-	cil. os. iiii. d.
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Out of the particulars of which I shall only select

De Ric. P'ker, sen. pro ii p'tibus de Broghezholme	-	-	-	-	-	-	lxs. vi. d.
Et Joh. P'ker, sen. pro i p'te ejusd.	-	-	-	-	-	-	xxxiiis. od.
Summa receptor. a ministris							d.lxxx. l. vis. xd. ob.

But this sum, besides the necessary expences of stewards, foresters, &c. is charged with several annuities, payable to the dependents of the House of York, out of which are selected the following:

Thome Broghton, mil. pro bono servitio suo impenso et impendendo, viii. xs. Among the "servitia impendenda" was his ruinous engagement with Lord Lovel and Martin Swart, which the annuitant perhaps regarded as a matter of duty to his deceased master.

Joh. Starky, pro bono servitio, &c. cs. This was, I suppose, one of the first Starkies of Huntroid.

Ricardo Radcliff de Todmorden, pro, &c. cs.

In a Compotus of the 12th of the same reign, is another grant to John de Wadyngton, pro servitio suo in captura magni adversarii nostri Henrici nuper de facto non de jure regis Angliæ; which proves the grantee to have been instrumental in a vile breach of the law of hospitality, as the poor king was his guest.

Another article, which respects the conveyance of rents from Clitheroe to London, is extremely curious. One pound in every hundred was allowed to the steward as a kind of insurance. The whole was packed up in canvas bags, and two shillings per diem were allowed for fifteen days in eundo, morando, et redeundo, during the conveyance.

* Compotus de Bolton.

† In Rossendale.

The next article is no less interesting: "In solut. monete Wil. Stanley, mil. eo quod prædictus Wil. sum. CCXLIV*l.* III*s.* IV*d.* solverat pro CCC sagittariis per spatium IX septiman. in obsidione Castri de Alnewick circa personam regiam."

The following miscellaneous particulars are extracted from a later roll on the same subject, dated anno 12 of the same reign.

R. VIII*d.* de novo redditu de II acris de vasto Dn. Regis jacent. super Clivacher Moore in Derpley Grening sicut dimittuntur Rob'to Whitecar de le Holmes.

Solut. Abb'ti de Salley, pro quodam lampade ardente coram summo altare in ecclesia de Salley de eleemosyna Joh. de Lacy, VI*s.* VIII*d.*

The last extract which I shall produce from these rolls, will prove that great improvements in Clitheroe Castle and in the manor houses, &c. within Blackburnshire, took place under the active reign of Richard the Third.

In diversis custibus (costs) et expensis factis super reparation. et emend. infra castrum de Clyderhow, XXIV*l.* VI*s.* VIII*d.* maneriorum de Ightenhull, XXX*s.* II*d.* Whytewell et parcorum, logiorum et paliceorum eorundem, &c. S. tot. CXIII*l.* IV*s.* V*d.*

Rot. an. 2di Ri. 3ti.

This is the only mention which I have met with of a manor house at Whitewell. When it was abandoned, the site was probably converted into an inn. It is not at all unlikely that the little chapel was originally a domestic appendage to this manor house, like that of Ightenhull.

Alas! it is now gone; and how replaced, I will not say.

The last document relating to the Forests, as it is extremely curious in itself, will satisfactorily explain the subject of Puture Rents within those districts.

"To oure right trustie and well beloved Father the Erle of Derby, George Stanley, Knt. Lord Strange, Sir Henrie Halsall, Knt. Sir Jhon Towneley, Sir Ric. Sherburne, Knt. &c.

Whereas of olde use and custome the Forsters and Kepers of oure Forests of Penhull, Rossingdale, Accrington, and Trawden, have hadde of verie right and dutie at c'tayne tymes and daies meate and drinke of the tenants therin and adjoining, the which is now called Puture, otherwise Forster Fee, as is sett forth in a boke, in which boke it also apperith, that for divers displesours and annoyances that y^e seide Forsters comitted agaynst y^e seide tenants, ther wyves, and s'vaunts, y^e seide tenaunts made complaynt to our p'genitors Dukes of Lancaster, wherupon y^e seide tenaunts bounde themselves, their heyres, and tenures, to oure p'genitours, to pay for tyme being yerely XIII*l.* XIII*s.* IV*d.* to seide Forsters towards ther wages, and in recompence of ther meat and drinke called Forster Fee, y^e which was paid to y^e 1st yeare of King Edward IVth. in which yere, by lab^r and meanes made wth hym, y^e seide Puture was putt in respite, soe that CXIX*l.* VI*s.* VIII*d.* is now in respite, w^{ch}, if it shold be longer delayed, wold turn to our disherison, and y^e utter destruction of oure Forst, for lack of kepyng:

Wherfor wee will and desire, and nathless charge youe, and anie five of youe, to call before youe, as well our tenaunts nowe in being within y^e seide Forests, as other most ancient p'sons adjoining, as ye in your discretioun shall think most convenient, and enquire which of y^e seide tenaunts ought to pay y^e seide Duties, and what some ev'y one of y^m, after y^e old usage and custome ther, and therupon to compel them, and ev'y of them, to paye y^e seide some, and for default to distreyn them and ther tenures, and for utter refusing therof to seaze on ther tenures immediately, and admyt such other persons as will bee content to paye y^e s^d Duties."

This Commission, which is strongly tinctured by the avarice and severity of Henry VII. is followed by a Certificate that the Tenants of Bowland were accustomed to pay a Puture of xxxl.—x*d*. per annum, which was regularly continued to 2*d* of Richard III. and that the whole sum respited and due amounted to cccclviii*l*. xiiis. ii*d*. too large an amount to be overlooked by his Successor. Dated March 9, a. r. H. VII. 17^o.

P. 320, l. 41. Thomas Whitaker Starkie, born April 12th, 1816.

P. 327. The following is an Abstract of the Deed of Feoffment for the Endowment of the Townley Chantry in the Chapel of Burnley.

Johannes Townley, miles, d. & c. Laurentio Townley de Barnside, arm. Nich. Townley, arm. Will^{mo} Bencroft, Thome Whitacre de Holm, — & Hugoni Habergham div. terras & tenem. in Ribchester, Hothersall, &c. & omne meum ten. voc. Hoggholomes in Hapton, &c. quod unus idoneus capellanus honeste conditionis & conversationis per me & heredes meos nominandus, divina, missam & alia obsequia in capella de Burneley, ad altare B. M. V. vocat. Townley Chappel, pro bono statu meo ac Isabellæ uxoris mee dum vixerimus, ac pro a'i'bus nostris cum ab hac luce migraverimus, & pro a'i'bus Ricardi Townley militis, & Joh. uxoris ejus et omnium antecessorum meorum & omnium fidelium defunctorum. Dat. Ma. ix. a^o Hen. VII. xv^o.

This has had a better fate than the Endowment Deed of the Chantry of Holme, of which I can only find this memorial:

Rex, &c. Cum terre & possessiones quæ ad vitam & sustentationem Hugonis Watmore Cantariste sive stipendiarii in Capella de Holme infra P'och. de Whalley extenduntur ad xxxs. iv*d*. devenierint ad manus nostras, sciatis quod nos, &c. d. & c. pro term. vitæ præfato Hugoni, pensionem xxxs. iv*d*. 2*d* Edward VI.

P. 340. Robert Shuttleworth, Esq. married Janet, daughter of sir John Majoribanks, Bart. and died at Gawthorp, March 6th, 1818, leaving an only daughter and heiress.

P. 238.

Add the following letter, communicated by Mr. Parker.

“ BY THE KINGE.

“ Trusty and welbeloved wee greete yo^w well : willinge and co^mmaundinge yo^w that ye immediately vpon the seight hereof doe deliue^r or cause to be deliue^d vnto y^e bearer hereof one fatt bucke of this season towards the better furnishinge of our dyet for our President and Councill in the North : And this shalbe yo^r sufficient warrant in that behalf. Given vnder our Signet at our Citty of York the eight day of Julie, the ninth yeare of our reigne.

“ And by his Councill.

“ FR. BOYNTON.

“ To the maister of our game, bowbearer, keeper, and to all other our officers, and their deputie or deputies within y^e fforrest of Bolland, and to eu^ry of them.”

CH. HALES. W. ELLIS.
W. GEE.

P. 245.—MIDDLETON.

As this parish is one of the dependencies of the Honour of Clitheroe, the following account of the parish-church, from a late survey, will not be impertinent to the present subject.

The present fabric, which stands on an elevated site, commanding the rich tract of country which surrounds it, having been wholly rebuilt in the reign of Henry VIII. is an uniform and valuable specimen of the style which then prevailed in edifices not very richly adorned. The windows are obtusely pointed; and along the battlement, both of the nave and choir, runs a line of plain shields within quatrefoils, instead of the pierced parapet usual at that time.

On the South side is the following inscription, which ascertains both the rebuilder and the æra of the fabric.

Ricardus Assheton et Anna uxor ejus, Anno Dⁿⁱ M.DLIIII.

On the porch are also the initials R. A. A.

The tower is low; but, from the battlement, appears not to have been intended to be carried higher, and was afterwards, I know not when or why, surmounted by a very peculiar and ugly superstructure of wood. Perhaps apprehensions were entertained for the foundation, which is a bed of sand.

The choir has three ailes, of which the middle and North aile belong to the Rector, and that on the South to the Lords of Middleton, full of brasses, slabs, and mural monuments, some of which are unhappily covered with modern pews.

On a flat marble slab, beneath the stairs, are two brasses, one of the Parliamentary General of the Lancashire Forces, Ralph Assheton, the other of Elizabeth Kaye, of Woodsome, his wife, with this inscription, in capitals.

M. S.

RADULPHI ASSHETON, ARMIGERI, DOMINI DE MIDDLETON, PII IN DEUM, PATRIAM, ET SUOS,
COPIARUM OMNIUM IN AGRO LANCASTRIENSI SUPREMI SENATUS AUCTORITATE CONSCRIPTARUM
PRÆFECTI

PRÆFECTI FORTIS ET FIDELIS, QUI CUM E CONJUGE SUA ELIZABETHA, FILIA JOHANNIS KAYE DE WOODSOM IN AGRO EBORACENSI ARMIGERI, SUSCEPISSET FILIOS TRES, RICARDUM, RADULPHUM, JOHANNEM, TOTIDEMQUE FILIAS, ELIZABETHAM, MARIAM, ANNAM, OBDORMIVIT IN JESU 17^o FEBR. 1652, ÆTATIS SUE 45 CURRENTI.

The next are on mural monuments.

In this chapel lyeth the body of Sir Raphe Assheton, of Middleton, bart. who married to his first wife Mary, the daughter and heiress of Thomas Vavasour, of Spaldington, in the County of York, Esq. by whom he had two sons and six daughters. His second wife was Mary, daughter and heiress of Robert Hyde, of Denton, in the County of Lancaster, Esq. By her he had no issue. He departed this life the 3d of May, A.D. 1667, ætatis 63: in pious memory of whom his two daughters, Catharine and Mary, erected this monument.

In this chapel lies the body of Dame Mary Assheton, late wife of Sir Raphe Assheton, of Middleton, Bart. She was only daughter and heiress of Thomas Vavasour, of Spaldington, in the County of York, and died Nov. . . 1694.

Here also lie the bodies of Dorothy Assheton, her second daughter, who died 27th January 1685, aged two years and 15 weeks; and Edmund Assheton, her eldest son, who died 20th June 1688, aged one year and six months. Frances Assheton, her third daughter, who died 3d April 1690, aged four years and ten months. Elizabeth Assheton, her fourth daughter, who died 15th January 1691-2, aged seven months.

And lastly of Richard Vavasour Assheton, her second son, who died 14th February 1707-8, aged 18 years nine months.

To perpetuate the memory of his dear lady and children, this monument was erected by Sir Raphe Assheton, Bart. A.D. 1709.

Near this place lie the remains of Sir Raphe Assheton, Bart. the last of the male line of the ancient house of Middleton. In the year 1716 he succeeded his uncle, Sir Raphe Assheton, Bart. in title and estate. In 1734 he married Mary, eldest daughter of Sir Holland Egerton, Bart. of Heaton, in this county. She died in the year 1735, leaving no issue. In 1739 he married Eleanor, daughter of the Rev. John Copley, of Batley in the County of York, and Rector of Thornhill in the said County, and relict of Henry Hulton, Esq. of Hulton, in the County of Lancaster; by whom he had issue one son, who died in the year 1756, in the 12th year of his age, and two daughters, Mary and Eleanor; the former married Harbord Harbord, Esq. afterwards Lord Suffield, son and heir of Sir William Morden Harbord, Knight of the Bath and Baronet, of Gunton, in the County of Norfolk. The latter married Sir Thomas Egerton, Bart. afterwards Lord Gray de Wilton, of Heaton, in this County. He departed this life on the 31st of December 1765, in the 73d year of his age. Here are also interred the remains of the said Dame Eleanor Assheton, who closed a most exemplary life of piety and charity on the 25th day of March, 1793, aged 76; in pious memory of whom this monument was erected by their daughters Mary and Elizabeth.

On the floor are gravestones for Sir Raphe Assheton, who died April 25th, A.D. 1665, æt. 40; and for Anne his wife, daughter of Sir Raphe Assheton, of Whalley, Bart. who died Oct. 27th, 1684, in the 60th year of her age. And for Richard Assheton, of Middleton, Esq. who

who died 1765, æt. 63, as also for Elizabeth Assheton, his relict, daughter of Raphe Assheton, of Cuerdale, Esq. who died February 6th, 1795, æt. 78.

In the middle of the principal choir are two brasses, somewhat older than the present church and family chapel, the first of which proves the old fabric to have extended nearly as far eastward as the present. The first of these still bears two entire figures; one of a knight in plate-armour, the second of a lady in a square coiffure, together with the arms of Assheton quartering Barton of Middleton, but no inscription.—No inscription, however, was wanted, to prove this to be the tomb of Sir Raphe Assheton, the first of the name at Middleton, a very distinguished warrior and statesman in his time, and — Barton, the heiress of this valuable estate. These were the parents of the re-builder of the church. Beneath are the diminutive figures of six sons and seven daughters.

Near this, to the North, is another, with three figures in brass, and a groove for a fourth. Of the remaining ones, the second and fourth are in arms, the third a lady. In the countenances is evidently an attempt at something like the originals. The inscription is :

Hic jacet Alianora Laurence, quondam uxor Johannis Laurence, Ricardi Radcliffe de Tower, et Thome Bothe de Hachensall, armigerorum, quæ obit IIIII die Martii anno Domini mill'imo CCCCXXII. Litera Dominicalis A. Quorum aibus p'pitietur Deus. Amen.

In the corners are four shields of arms; one of Assheton (the lady's paternal coat), the others, empalements with those of her several husbands.

The North choir, as well as the middle one, belongs to the rector; and here, under the founder's arch, opening into the principal choir, is a tomb and brass of Edmund Assheton, who was rector of Middleton when the church was rebuilt, and who may therefore be considered as founder of the choir and north chapel. Under a figure of a priest in his vestments is this inscription :

Hic jacet Magister Edmundus Assheton, Rector istius Ecclesiæ, qui obit II die mensis Augusti A.D. MDXXXII. U'ra D'mcalis C. Cujus a'ie p'pitietur Deus. Amen.

The advowson of this valuable benefice being regardant to the manor, it is no wonder that, in three centuries, there have been six rectors of the name and family of Assheton; namely, Edmund; John, who died 1584; Abdias, and Abdias, father and son, in the latter end of Elizabeth, and under James the First; William, living in 1640; and, lastly, Dr. Richard Assheton, the late Warden of Manchester. More research might perhaps add to the catalogue.

The screen betwixt the nave and chancel is carved in very bold relief, and bears, among others, the arms of Assheton quartering Barton of Middleton. There are many scattered remnants of painted glass in the windows; the most remarkable of which, as to the figures, is nearly entire. This consists of seventeen kneeling figures, eight and nine facing each other, at the head of one of which is a priest: the rest are stiff, short, sturdy-looking old English yeomen, each with his long bow resting on one end beside him, and on a label his name above. On one side is this mutilated and misplaced inscription :

Statu Ricardi Myddleton et eorum fieri fecerunt.	qui hanc fenestram pro bono statu quorum nomina et cognomina supra ostenduntur Anno D'ni M.CCCCC. A.
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Out of this jumble there is little difficulty in making out the inscription as it stood, when entire.

Orate pro bono Statu Ricardi Assheton de Myddleton et eorum qui hanc fenestram fieri fecerunt, quorum nomina et cognomina supra ostenduntur. Anno D'ni M.CCCCC^o A.

This date seems to negative the constant tradition of the place, which is, that the figures in this window were intended to represent the archers who attended Sir Richard Assheton to Flodden Field. There is, however, space between the two last figures for the insertion of the figure X, which may have been omitted by mistake. Still, it seems improbable that such an anachronism should have been suffered to remain.

On the whole, but biassed perhaps by feeling more than reason, I lean to the tradition rather than the inscription. No Antiquary is willing to part with a relic of Flodden.

I have only to add to the account of this church, that a single, and a very peculiar remnant of the first edifice yet remains, in the arch between the tower and the nave. This is an high, sharp-pointed arch, with chevron mouldings, which, for about three feet each above the springers, is drawn out into the general curve of the span, so that the angles are wholly taken away.

The foregoing account will best be exemplified by an account of the family during the period to which their memorials in the church extend.

ASHTON of MIDLETON.

Sir Rafe Ashton, of Middleton, in the County of Lancashire, knt. son of Sir John Ashton, of Ashton-under-Lyne, knt. by his second wife Margaret, daughter of Sir John Byrone, knt. married Margaret, daughter and heir of Richard Barton, of Middleton, Esq. by whom he had issue Sir Richard; Ann, married unto John Talbot, of Salisbury, Esq.; Margaret, to Mr. John Mansfield, of the County of Cumberland; Philippa, to Mr. Thomas Cowton; Lucy, to Mr. Richard Woodthorp, of the County of York; Elizabeth; Joane; Agnes, died young; John and Edmond, both dead young; Thomas, a priest; and Rafe, who married Margaret, daughter and heir of Mr. Adam Lever, of Great Lever, in the said County.

The above-named Sir Rafe lived in the reign of King Henry the Sixth, and was one of his pages, as appears by a deed in trust made unto the Abbot of Whalley, wherein Sir John Ashton knt. his father, gives unto the said Abbot a thousand marks for the use of his said son. He came to be afterwards Knight Marshal of England, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, and High Sheriff of the County of York the 12th and 13th years of the reign of King Edward the Fourth, 1472 and 1473. King Richard the Third, in the first year of his reign, by patent, appointed Sir Ralph Ashton, knt. Vice Constable of England, a copy whereof followeth:—

“ Vice

“Vice Constabularii Angliæ Constitutio. Pat. de anno primo Ricardi Tertii, part 1, mem. 2.

Rex dilecto et fideli suo Radulpho Ashton militi salutem. Sciatis quod nos de fidelitate, circumspeditione et probitate vestra plenius confidentes, assignavimus, deputavimus, et ordinavimus, vos hac vice constabularium nostrum Angliæ et Commissionarium nostrum, dantes et concedentes vobis tenore præsentium potestatem et auctoritatem generalem et mandatum speciale ad audiendum et examinandum, et procedendum contra quascunque personas de crimine læsæ nostræ Regiæ Majestatis suspectas et culpabiles, tam per viam examinationis testium quam aliter melius visum fuerit, ex officio vestro, necnon in causis illis judicialiter et sententialiter juxta casus exigentiam et delinquentium demerita, omni strepitu et futura judicii appellatione quacunque remota, quandocunque vobis videbitur procedendum, judicandum, et finali executione demandandum, cum omnibus etiam clausulis, verbis, et terminis specialibus ad executionem istius mandati et auctoritatis nostræ de jure vel consuetudine requisitis, quæ omnia hic expressa habemus, assumpto vobiscum aliquo tabellione fide digno, qui singula conscribat, una cum aliis quæ in præmissis vel circa ea necessaria videbuntur seu qualitercunque requisita; mandantes et firmiter vobis injungentes, quod aliis quibuscunque prætermisissis, circa prædicta quoties et quando opus fuerit intendatis, causasque antedictas audiat examinetis et in eisdem procedatis, ac eas judicetis et finali executione ut præfertur demandetis. Damus etiam omnibus et singulis quorum interest in hac parte, tenore præsentium firmiter in mandatis, quod vobis in præmissis pareant, assistant, et auxilientur in omnibus diligenter. In cujus, &c.—Teste Rege apud Covent. vicesimo quarto die Octobris anno Regni primo. Per ipsum Regem ore tenus.”

The above-named Sir Ralph Ashton was, amongst others, made Banneret at Huldoufield, in Scotland, in the year of our Lord God 1482, the two and twentieth and last year of the reign of King Edward the Fourth, by the above-named King Richard, being then general of an army, and Duke of Gloucester.

Sir Richard Ashton of Middleton, Knt. son and heir of Sir Rafe, married Isabel, daughter of John Talbot, of Salisbury, Esq.; by her had issue Sir Richard; Margaret, married unto John Hopwood, of Hopwood, Esq.; Alice, to John Lawrence, Esq. secondly unto Richard Radclyffe of the Tower Esq.; lastly to Thomas Booth, of Hackinsall, Esq.; to Holt, of Stubbley, Esq. The aforementioned Lady Isabel died the seven and twentieth day of March, in the year of our Lord God 1531, 22d Henrici octavi, and lies buried in Middleton Church.

Sir Richard Ashton, of Middleton, Knt. son and heir of Sir Richard, married daughter of Sir Robert Fullishurst, of Crew, in the County Palatine of Chester, Knt. by whom he had issue Sir Richard. This Sir Richard, the father, in pight battle against the Scots, took prisoner Sir John Forman, Knight, Sarjeant Porter unto King James the Fourth, then King of Scotland, and Alexander Barrett, then High Sheriff of Aberdeen, with two others, and delivered them unto Thomas Lord Howard, Earl of Surrey, Duke of Norfolk, then General for King Henry the Eighth at Flodden Field, in Scotland.

Sir Richard Ashton, of Middleton, Knt. son and heir of Sir Richard, married two wives; first, Ann, daughter of Strickland, of Seizer, in the County of Westmoreland, knight; by her had issue Richard, Robert and John, both parsons of Middleton; which John married, and had issue Abell, Abdye also parson there, Richard, Zacharie, John, Thomas, Jamse also
parson

parson there; Rafe, fourth son of Sir Richard; Thomas, fifth son; and Leonard, 6th son; Katherine, married unto Wood, Esq.; Anne, to Richard Gerard, of Thornham, Esq.; Bridget, to Mr. Ewwood; Mary, to Mr. Goulard, of Offerton, in the County of Darbye, after unto Sir John Southworth, of Samlesbury, Knight; to his second wife, Anne, lady of Bellingham, but by her had no issue.

Richard Ashton, of Midleton, Esq. son and heir of Sir Richard, married Ann, daughter of Sir John Gerard, of Bryme, Knight; had issue, Richard and Dorothy.

Richard Ashton, of Midleton, Esq. son and heir of Richard, married Mary, daughter of Sir William Davenport, of Bromhall, Knt. had issue Sir Richard; John, died sans issue.

Sir Richard Ashton, of Midleton, Knt. son and heir of Richard, married two wives; first, Mary, daughter of Sir John Byrone, Knt.; by her had issue Richard: Winifred, married unto John Holt, of Stubley, Esq.; Mary, to Robert Holt, of Ashworth, Esq.; Dorothy, to James Anderton, of Clayton, Esq.: to his second wife, Mary, daughter of Robert Holt, Esq. by whom he had issue Rafe, Suzand, and several other children, who died before baptism.

Richard Ashton, of Midleton, Esq. son and heir of Sir Richard, married Mary, daughter of Thomas Venables, Esq. Baron of Kinderton; by her had issue Richard, died young; Rafe, James, John, William, married Eleanor, daughter of Mr. Brooke; Thomas; Dorothy, married unto Mr. John Leigh, of Boothe; Mary, to Mr. Paul Lathome, parson of Standishe.

Rafe Ashton, of Midleton, Esq. son and heir of Richard, married Elizabeth, daughter of John Kaye, of Woodsome, in the County of York, Esq.; by her had issue Richard, who died young 1630, being supposed to be bewitched to death by one Utley, who for this was executed at Lancaster Assizes; Sir Rafe; John, who married Elizabeth, daughter of John Fleetwood, of Penwortham, Esq. and purchased Burne, near Selbye, in the County of York, of the coheirs of Sir Andrew Young, knighted by his late Majesty King Charles the First, of blessed memory, for his loyalty and service, who, after the cruell murther of his late sacred Majestie, retired himselfe to Calais, in France, where he died; Elizabeth, married unto Adam Beaumont, of Whitley, in Yorkshire, Esq.; Mary, unto Christopher Bannister, of Bancke, Esq. High Sheriff of the County of Lancaster, 1669, 21 Caroli II.

Sir Rafe Ashton, of Midleton, son and heir of Rafe, was, by the favour of our gracious Sovereign Lord King Charles the Second, after his happy Restauration to the Kingdom, in the year 1660, created baronet; married Ann, daughter of Sir Rafe Ashton, of Whalley, in the County of Lancaster, Bart.; by her he hath issue Rafe, Richard, Ann, Mary and John, twynns; born 31 January 1658.

P. 265.—SIMONSTONE.

At Symonstone has long been seated a branch of the ancient family of High Whitaker, of which it is unknown whether that, or the line from which the Author of this Work descends, are the representatives of the parent stock, as both bear the same arms, without a difference.

From the charters and evidences of this family, however, I collect the following particulars:

John de Whitacre attests a charter relating to Symonstone, 10th Edward II. He had a son, Roger, living in 1326.

Richard de Whitaker, probably son of Roger, grants lands in Symonstone 7th Edward III.; after which is a chasm down to Humphrey Whitaker, who was living 7th Henry VIII.

Next

Next occurs Miles Whitaker, probably son of the last, who died 43d Elizabeth, leaving a son and heir.

Thomas Whitaker, who occurs in 1633, seems to have been father of Miles Whitaker, born in 1612, died 1705, aged 94.

Nicholas, living 19th Charles II.

He left Thomas Whitaker, born in 1670, who married Elizabeth Emot, of Emot, and left two sons ;

Miles, who died without issue, and

Thomas, born in 1701, who, by Elizabeth Webster, of Hargreave, left

Thomas Whitaker, who died in 1764, leaving Thomas Whitaker, Esq. who died 1794, leaving Charles Whitaker, Esq. now possessed of the estate, who married daughter of Samuel Horrocks, Esq. M.P. for Preston, and has issue.

P. 266.

The latter descents of the Starkies are here enlarged.

Edmund Starkie, Esq. Counsellor at Law and Burgess for Preston, in several Parliaments, o. s. p.	Nicholas Starkie, of Riddlesden.	Sarah, daughter and co-heir of Valentine Farington, of Preston, M.D.	John, Recorder of Halnaker, in the county of Sussex, o. s. p.	Thomas, daughter of George Bulkeley, of Charterhouse-square.	William, a Merchant of Manchester.	Mary, daughter of Thomas Foxley, of the City of Manchester, merchant.				
Nicholas, ob. s. p.	Le Gendre Starkie, Esq.	Frances, daughter of Walter Hawksworth, of Hawksworth, Esq.	Betty, daughter of William Dixon, of Sutton, Esq.	Nicholas, late of Frenchwood, o. s. p.	Thomas, of Frenchwood, Esq.	Catherine, daughter of E. Downes, of Shrigley, co. Cest. Esq.	Edward, o. s. p.	William, a surgeon.	Margaret, another daughter of E. Downes, of Shrigley.	Mary, living in 1815.
Le Gendre Pierce Starkie, Esq. Sheriff for the County of Lancaster, and Colonel of the 4th Lancashire Militia.		Charlotte, daughter of B. Preedy, D.D. Rector of Brinkton, in the County of Northampton, and a Justice of the Peace for that County and for Herefordshire.			Nicholas Starkie, Esq.	Edgar, in the County of Norfolk.	Edward.	William.		
Francis M. L. Y. died an infant.	Le Gendre Starkie, Esq. Sheriff for the County, 1815.	Elizabeth, second daughter of R. Gwilym, Esq. of Bewsey.		Charlotte Le Gendre.	Pierce Le Gendre.	Nicholas Le Gendre.	Catharine.	Elizabeth Susanna.	Henry Rener, Esq. of Thorington hall, Co. Suffolk.	

Pierce Starkie (uncle of the first generation above) was possessed of the manor of Barnston or Barnington, which is recorded as having been in the family since Edward I. After his death it was separated from the Huntroyd estates, and left to another branch of the family, to whom it still belongs. In consequence of a Chancery-suit, the value of this ancient estate, though not the estate itself, was recovered by Le Gendre Starkie, Esq. son of N. Starkie, Esq. of Riddlesden, the nearest relative in the male line to Pierce Starkie, Esq.

Anne, wife of John Starkie, aunt of Pierce above-mentioned, survived her husband, and afterwards married . . . Holt, of Milton. Elizabeth, wife of Nicholas Starkie, uncle of the same Pierce, was daughter of Colonel Gunter, who, with Mr. Rounsell, are mentioned in the

History of Charles II. to have hired a vessel at Brighthelmstone, in which the King made his escape to France after the battle of Worcester.

The following curious Documents relating to Laurence Starkie, of Huntroid, which are transcribed from a volume of very curious State Papers belonging to Miss Currer, prove him to have been Sheriff of Lancashire A.D. 1524, which is their date.

“ My very good Lord,

“ In my heartiest manner I commend me to you, and to thentent ye shuld p'ceive the king's pleasure if the Duk of Albany shuld invade this realme, and also to have knowledge of such news as I have, I send unto you as well my Lord Cardinal's letter of the king's pleasure, as also Brian Tuke consarning the said news, and requiring you to send them agayn unto me, and to cause all the men that ye can make to be in areadi'ss to come unto me whenever I shall send for them. And I require you to cause a post or two, or as many as shall be requisite, to be laid between you and Lawrence Starkey, the Sheriff of Lancashire, to thentent they may be in areadiness to gif warning unto him whensoever I shall send for the men of Lancashire, and that ye write unto Lawrence Starkie to lay as many post between him and the sheriff of Cheshire, to gif like warning as he shall think most convenient. Also, my lord, I require you t'advertise me of your news of Scotland, that ye may have sure espial there that ye may have knowledge what the Duke intends to doo; enswring you that I am advertised by divers espials he intends too come too Carlisle, and if he soo doo, it is requisite yt ye put into it 4000 men for defence thereof, unto my coming for rescue of the same. Written at Newcastle, the 6 day of October. From yours aswredly, T. SURREY.”

“ To my very good Lord my Lord Dacre, Warden of
the West Marches, foreanenst Scotland.”

Answer to the above.

“ My singular good Lord,

“ In most humbell manner I recommend me to your good loŕp, and have received by post your writing dated at Newcastle, the 6th of October inst^t, togetherswit my Ld. Cardinal's letter of the king's pleasure, and Brian Tukes l're of news, requiring me to send the same letters again, and to cause warning to be given to all the men that I can make to be in areadiness to give attendance on your loŕp when ye shall send for them. And that I shall also cause a post or two, or as many as shall be requisite to be laid betweene mee and Lawrence Starkey, the Sheriffe of Lancashire, for hasty warning to be given to the men of Lancashire to give like attendance, as said is. And further, that I shuld write to the said Lawrence Starkey, to cause him lay as many posts between him and the Sheriff of Cheshire for such like warning to be given for attendance to be had when yo^r said loŕp shall send for them as more at length your said writing purporteth. My lord, in most humble wise I thank you for the sending me the said letters, which I send to you agayn, herin inclosed; and as for warning to be geven to such persons as belong to me, I shall do my best therin according to your loŕps commandment. I have laid 3 posts between the said Lawrence Starkey and me; one at Lancaster, another at Kendale, being 16 miles fro' Lancaster, the 3rd at Penrith, which is 20 miles between it and Kendale. And the said post of Penrith must ride to the post accustomed besides Lanrecoſt, which is 22 miles from Penreth.

reth. And, according to your Lo'p's commandment, I have also written to the said Lawrence to cause him lay as many posts as neede shall require between him and the said Sheriff of Cheshire, for like warning. And as for news out of Scotland, I cannot advertise your loŕp thereof, so well as Mr. Carlisle this bearer can do who did speke w^t the duke of Albany in proper person, And as concerning the said Duke's nomber, I can advertise your loŕp in no wise more then I did in my last writing, but in brefe time I trust, God willing, to advertise your Lordship thereof at leisure. And if the said Duke fortune to come toward this city of Carlisle, men may be had w^t difficulty to lie in the same, but there is in it neither bowes, arrows, gonnies, nor gonnepowder. And I know your L's store is but small, howbeit, if you might lat us have any part thereof, if there is no sore ne perill, your loŕp shall have the same delivered again willing God. At the king's castell of Carlisle, 8 day of October, A^o 15 H. VIII^{ui}."

Copy of a letter to Lawrence Starkey, Sheriff of Lancashire.

"Trusty and wellbeloved,

"I commend me to you, and so it is, I have in commandment from my lord of Surrey, the king's lieut. to send you this letter, herin inclosed, and also to appoint 3 posts to lie between you and me; that is to say, one post of your appointing to lie in Lancaster, another to lie at Kendale, and the third at Penrith, whereof I have appointed 2, that is to say, at Kendale and Penrith, to thentent that by the said posts ye may have knowledge of my lord's pleasure when he shall send for you wit the men of Lancashire. Also I have like commandment from my lord to write to you, that ye shall appoint and lay between you and the Sheriff of Cheshire as many posts as need shall require, and shall be thought necessary by your discretion for giving of like warning to the Sheriffe of Cheshire. At Carlisle, the 8 day of October, anno 15 H. VIII^{ui}."

Part of a letter from the Earl of Surrey to Lord Dacre, which appears from the context to be dated 1522.

"My very good Lord,

"My lord, considering the comaundment sent to me fro my Lord Cardynall, whiche I sent to you, p'ying you to send the same agayne to me, I have sent l'res to all the gentilmen conteyned wⁱⁿ my comysson to bee in this towne (Newcastle) the xx day of this moneth, fearing they shall come slakly and w^h small powre, considering the weder that hath now been and yet is: p'ying you my lord to send the paket ye shall receyve w^t this, unto Lawrence Sterky, who shal delyver all the l'res of Lancashire to the gentilmen there, and thos that bee to the gentilmen of Cheshire he shall send theym to the Shirif there to convey theym, &c.

"Writen at Newcastell, the ixth daye of Octobr^r.

"T. SURREYE."

Answer to the last, written, as appears, two days after the former.

"My singuler good Lord,

"Y^r pakquet of l'res to me deliv^d yist. night, I sent it away so as it com to Laurence Starkye hands in Lancastre this daye, as I verily trust, be two of the klok after noone. I have alsoe made proclamations throughoute all the boundes of my wardenry, charging ev^y man to bee
in

in arredines to cu' forwards upon oone houre w'nyng where as the duke take his wey, wherof I have advtised my Lord Clifforde to be redy accordingly.

“ At Carlisle the xith day of Oct.”

In another letter in the same collection, A^o xv^o H. VIII. of MSS. now the property of Miss Currer, Laurence Starkie, undoubtedly of Huntroyd, is expressly said to be Sheriff of Lancashire that year. His name, however, does not appear in the catalogue.

The subject of these letters was a muster of the northern counties on the Scottish border, under the apprehension of an irruption by the Duke of Albany, which after much preparation and many threatenings never took place.

“ To the Right Ho'ble and my very good Lord the Earle of Shrewsburye, Leiuetenant of the North, his good Lordshipp, give these.

“ After my very hartie comendations vnto your good Lordship, like as conceiving by the contents of your letters of the five and twentieth of September, the which I received upon Michaelmas Eve, that upon further intelligence and considerations, and for the avoiding of the Qucenes Maties great and expensive chardge, minding for the present to resist the Scottish doings with a lesse force then thole armye, if it maye be; have therefore willed me to staye myselfe and the forces of Lancashire and Cheshire at home for this present, your Lo'pp's former letters to me addressed notwithstanding, and yet to remayne in such perfect readines as they may come forwards heareafter upon any sodaine warneing if the occasion shall soe require; soe have I given present order with the captaines of both shires, whereof parte were sett forwards, touching the same; and have likewise sent vnto your Lo'pp the names of sundrie of the captaines and numbers appointed in both shires, whereof many be sicke and not able to serve, as they have signified me, with further evidence in these thinges and others, by my servant this bearer, whom I hartilye desire your Lo'pp to credite, saveing that I have omitted the captaines of my owne retinue, the whiche shalbe always readye. Advertising your Lo'pp that I doe estimate the distance from my howse to Newcastle to be a hundreth and twentie miles; and albeit it were something lesse chardges to have greater numbers forthe of Lancashire, considering the distance, then the rates of the certificates of both shires doth extend vnto, yet my full trust is, that your Lo'pp will please (the rather at this my request) to burthen the same shires alike, rateably according to their severall certificates, which is three thowsand of Lancashire and two thowsand of Cheshire, and not to overchardge the nearest for so small a matter, like as your Lo'pp hath done even now, for whiche I am verie sorie; and no doubt John Osbaldston, as yee shall find, being appointed a captaine by your letters, is not meete for the purpose, as knoweth our Lord God, who ever preserve your good Lo'pp in health and honour.

“ From my howse at Newparke, the nine and twentieth day of September, 1557.

“ I received your Lo'pps letters for the setting forthe of six hundreth menn, even when these were allmost written, and have sent forth my letters for dispatch of the same.

“ Your L'opp's loveing assured Freind and Cosine,

“ EDWARD DERBY.”

“CAPTAINES in the County of Lancaster.

- “ 1. S^e Richard Molyneux, knt. or his sonne and heire two hundreth.
 2. S^e Thomas Gerard, knt. two hundreth.
 3. S^e Thomas Talbot, knt. two hundreth.
 4. S^e Richard Houghton, knt. because he is not able to goe himself,
 furnisheth but a hundreth.
 5. S^e Thomas Hesketh, knt. with others a hundreth.
 6. S^e Thomas Langton, knt. fiftie, and S^e William Norris, knt. fiftie;
 in toto a hundreth.
 7. S^e William Radclyffe, knt. or his son and heire, Alexander, which
 is a hansome gentleman, and S^e John Atherton, knt. joyned with him a hundreth.
 8. Francis Tunstall, Esq. and others a hundreth.
 9. S^e John Holcrofte, knt. or his sonne and heire, with Richard
 Ashieton, of Midleton, Esq. and others a hundreth.

“ The reste appointed in Lancashire be of my retinue.

“ EDWARD DERBY.”

P. 267.

A research into the Episcopal Registers of Litchfield has enabled me to make the following additions to the catalogue of incumbents of Padiham.

1455. Oliver Hall, inst. ad Cantariam de Padiham, fundatore venerabili viro Mro. Joh. Mareshall, LL.B.

1486. Rad. Taylor, adm. ad Cantariam de Padiham.

1494, 16 Jan. Joh. Shuttleworth, Presb. inst. ad Cant. de Padiham, vac. per mort. Taylor.

1496, Nov. 26. Wm. Hesketh, Cap. inst. ad Cant. de Padiham, per mort. Shuttleworth.

1513. Hugh Hargreave, inst. ad Cant. de Padiham, vac. per res. Wm. Eruke.

P. 289.

At Edisford, on the site of the hospital and chantry, are still remaining several shields of arms in stonework, particularly the lion rampant and the fret of Roger de Lacy;—and to throw things of the same kind together, at Worston, are three shields, probably brought from Whalley in the time of the Asshetons, to whom it was devised by the Greenacres.—They are, 1st, the lion rampant of Lacy; 2d, quarterly France and England; 3d, three salmons hauriant —(I was before mistaken in saying they were in pale)—the proper bearing of the abbey.

P. 293.—PEDIGREE OF NOWELL.

In the Lancashire visitation by —, 1567, MSS. Williamson F. 30, Queen's Coll. Oxford, is the following account of the Nowells of Little Merlay:—“ William Nowell, of Little Mearley, Com. Lanc. second brother to Adam Nowell, had yssue Henry, who married and had yssue Roger, his eldest sonne, with others. Arms, P. pale quarterly of 4; 1st and 4th, Nowell in the 1st, a crescent in chief for diff.; 2d and 3d, a pelican vulnerating herself and feeding her young, Or.; nest on the stump of a tree, between two branches, leaved proper.” This coat is unknown to me.—I am indebted for this information to the Rev. Ralph Churton.

P. 294.

P. 294.—WORSTON.

I have now before me an original charter, which has been erroneously ascribed to John de Lacy the first, whereas it evidently belongs to John the second, having been granted before his second marriage, which entitled him to the style of Earl of Lincoln. The date may most probably be fixed about the year 1220. The seal, with an equestrian figure, is partly remaining, but the inscription has been frittered away.

“ Sciant, &c. quod ego Joh^s de Lascy Constabular. Cestr. &c. &c. &c. Gwidoni filio Thome de Cherlton . . . unam bovatom ĩre in villa de W^rtheston, quam Will^s præpositus de eadem villa de me tenere consuevit reddendo inde annuatim mi’ et hæredibus meis pro omni servicio et exactione duo collaria ad leporarios ad festum S^ci Oswaldi.

“ Hiis testibus. D^{no} Hug. Pincerna et Alano Clerico tunc Senescallis. Henr. de Notingham, Colin de Quartermar’, Ebrardo Teutonico (a Tyas whom I never met with before), Baldwino Theuton’, Walfo de Ludham, &c.”

Next follows another grant by the same Gwido, as appears, who had then assumed the local name of Worston, to Adam his son.

“ Sciant, &c. quod ego Ydo de W^rston, d. &c. Ade filio meo, totam terram meam cum prato in territorio de W^rston; tenend. sicut ego tenui de Joh. de Lascy, reddendo inde annuatim duo collaria leporar. de fest. S^ci Egidii (the first grant has St. Oswald).

What follows is very singular:

“ Pro hac autem donatione dedit mihi dictus Adam dentem solidi argenti in neãte (probably necessitate) mea.

“ Hiis testibus Ad. de Blackburn tunc Senescallo de Blackburneshire, Hug. f. Hug. Cunstab. Castr. de Clyd. Ad. Noel, Joh. de Heriz, Walt. de Wadinton, Walter de Standen, Hug. Querderay, &c.”

These charters, which are contained in a small box apparently coeval with the older, are accompanied by two dog-collars, which have evidently not been used.

It seems probable, therefore, that they were constantly kept by the owners of the estate, in order to make the payment if demanded, and to save a forfeiture. They are studded with brass nails, and fringed with green silk.

P. 338.—GAWTHORP.

A later examination of this house has enabled me to correct and enlarge the account of it, as follows:—

The house, probably begun by the Chief Justice, but certainly finished by Laurence Shuttleworth, rector of Wichford, his next brother and successor in the estate, is a lofty embattled pile, with large embayed windows, of many lights. The whole is covered with lead, and surmounted by a single turret in the middle of the roof.

After long abandonment and neglect, it has lately been re-fitted and re-furnished, with great taste, by the present owner. The hall, a large wainscoted room of two stories, with a gallery, has been converted into a dining-room, and the former dining-room into a drawing-room. The fine oak wainscot is much in the same style with that at Levens and Sizergh, and inlaid in the same manner. The plaister-work, with deep cornices, and a sort of stalactites, from the
roof,

roof, is rich and entire. The fire-places are of the original massy stonework, each with elevated hearths and stone ridges, which render fenders unnecessary. Nothing is to be lamented but the want of light external objects, which are excluded by the height of the windows. On the fourth floor of the house, and looking to the South, is a gallery twenty-five yards long, in which, for the present, are placed the numerous family portraits; among which, among others of later date, are to be distinguished the builder or finisher, in a clergyman's habit, with the arms and difference of a second brother; next, his brother Thomas, in a turnover, exactly resembling that on the portraits of Shakespeare; and his lady, a Lever, in a large ruff. After this pair, are a very handsome pair of portraits; namely, Richard Shuttleworth, Esq. with a very acute and elegant countenance, about fifty, with a plain Puritan band; and his lady, heiress of Barton, with a high-crowned hat on the top of a very elaborate head-dress. His son, Captain William Shuttleworth, who was killed fighting for the Parliament, appears in armour, with smoke, and an indistinct view of an engagement in the back-ground.

After these are several of later date, which I am unable to appropriate. In the dining-room below is an excellent painting, by Wright of Derby, of James Shuttleworth, Esq. grandfather of the present owner, his lady, and a daughter.

For the Pedigree of the Shuttleworth family a few corrections are here subjoined:—Ann, wife of Thomas, died in 1637, aged 68. Richard, their son, married Fleetwood, daughter and heiress of R. Barton, of Barton, Esq. His brother, Nicholas Shuttleworth, was of Forcet. The wife of James Shuttleworth, Esq. was daughter and heiress of *Robert Holden*, Esq. of Aston. The present possessor of Gawthorp married Janet, daughter of Sir John Majoribanks, bart.

P. 344.—TOWNLEY PEDIGREE.

In the church of Brotherton, in the North aisle, the burial-place of the Byron family, is a mural monument, thus inscribed:

Sub saxo, quod pedibus teris, jacet
 CLEMENS TOWNELEY,
 Ricardi Towneley de Towneley, in agro Lancastrensi, Arm.
 Filius natu maximus,
 E Maria Clementis Paston, Norfolciensis, itidem Arm. filia,
 Puer XII annorum, et ejus indolis ingenuæ
 Quam in grandioribus vix inveneris,
 In cœtaneis frustra quæsieris:
 Ne autem in loco cui nullius majorum cineres concrediti
 Lateret ignotus,
 Hoc qualecunque monumentum benemerentis filii memoriæ
 Mœsti parentes posuere.
 Obiit A.D. 1666.
 14 Cal. Jul.

On the Stone beneath:

Hic jacet
 CLEMENS TOWNELEY.

P. 352. Pedigree of WHITAKER of HOLME.

The Rev. Thomas Thoresby Whitaker, A.M. died in consequence of a fall from horseback, August 28, 1817, at the Vicarage house of Ribchester, and was interred Sept. 2d, in the Chapel of Holme, where a tablet of white marble is inscribed to his memory, with the following Epitaph :—

A. R. Ω.

THOMAE . THORESBEIO . WHITAKERO . A . M .
 ECCLESIAE . ANGLICANAE . PRESBYTERO
 NEC . INDOCTO . NEC . INDISERTO . NEC . IN . INFIRMOS
 INOPESVE . OFFICII . SVI . VNQVAM . IMMEMORI
 GNATO . CONIVGI . PARENTI . HAVD . POENITENDO
 LITERARVM . GRAECARVM . ADPRIME . GNARO
 MORIBVS . SOCIIS . STVDIISQVE . LIBERALIBVS
 ORE . ETIAM . EXTINCTO . SPIRITV . VENVSTO . AC . BENIGNO
 INGENIO . CAETERA . MITISSIMO . SOLA . IN . VITIA . ASPERO
 DISCIPLINA . DENIQVE . CHRISTIANO . PENITVS . IMBVTO
 CVIVS . INTER . NOVISSIMOS . CRVCIATVS
 SOLATIA PARVM . INCERTA . EXPERIEBATVR

 PARENTVM . SPES . AC . DELICIAE
 ANTE . DIEM . XI . EQVO . LAPSVS . MORTEM . OBIIT
 IV . CAL . SEPT . A . S . MDCCCXVII .
 ANNOS . NATVS . HEV . PAVCOS . XXXI . MENSES . VII . DIES . XXVIII .
 RELICTA . CONIVGE . MOESTISSIMA
 CVM . FILIOLO . VNICO . MOERORIS . EXPERTE
 PROPE . GERMANAM . CARISSIMAM
 ITA . ENIM . MORIENS . IPSE . IVSSERAT
 FRATERN0 . CORPORE . DEPONENDO

 HAEC . CITRA . SESQVIANNI . SPATIVM . BIS . ORBVS
 IN . IMMENSI . DESIDERII . SOLAMEN . QVALECVNQVE
 SCRIPSI . PATER

P. 429.—WALTON.

The Manor of Walton was granted by Henry de Lacy the first, probably about the year 1130, as follows :

“H. de Lacy, &c. dedi Rob. Banastre Walatun cum pert. Melver et Heccleshall et Haravuda et duas Derewentas, &c. pro servitiō unius Militis. Test. Ric. fil. Gubalt : et W. fil. Adelm, et W. de Federstun, et Hugh fil. Lefwin, et Elway fra. ejus,” &c.

The

The fourth of these is the original Grantee of Alvetham.

It passed to the Langtons as follows:—"Edmundus Hen. R. Angl. fil. dedi D'no Joh. de Langton amico karo maritag. Alicie consang. et her. D'ni Rob. Banastr. defunct." *

The Chapel of Walton, which stands on a pleasant elevation, has been nearly rebuilt, excepting the choir, within the last twenty years, or little more, and a kind of transept has lately been added to it.

The following are the principal epitaphs:

On a brass plate,

Here lyeth

the body of a pure virgin, espoused to the Man C^t Jesus,
Mrs. Cordelia Hoghton, whose honorable descent you know.
Know now her ascent.

"While in that hall this virgin did remain,
To which this antient chappell doth pertain,
Christ by his friends prov'd her affection kind,
By pore, sick, sore, diseas'd, and blind;
And hourelly finding at his mercy seat
So many prayers both from and for her met,
Kindly invites her, by his Servant Pale,
To the hill country from this lower dale.
She knew his face: with heart and soul most free,
Behold the hand-maid of the Lord, said shee.
So fits her for th'ascent, which proving steep,
And shee not weell in breath, stopt here to weep.
But call'd on to make speed by hasty Death,
Left her tir'd body here to gather breath.
Her soul, sound in this faith rehears'd above,
And constant in her, vow'd pure virgin love:
Mounts Sion Hill, loos'd from corruption's band,
A Maid of Honour with the Lamb to stand.

"A. H. P. Sepult. May 29, 1685."

A handsome plain monument, with the arms carved above, made of white marble:

"Underneath this seat lies the body of S^r Charles Hoghton, Bart. He was a gentleman of exemplary piety and extensive usefulness.

"Died the 10th of June 1710,
aged 66.

Also the body of Dame Mary Hoghton,
eldest daughter of John L^d Viscount Maserene,

* Dods. V. 131—132.

in the kingdom of Ireland,
 and relict of **Sr Charles Hoghton, Bart.**
 she was a lady sincerely religious,
 and valuable in every relation;
 remarkable for humility,
 and diffusive in charity,
 died the 30th of April 1732.
 They lived desired,
 and died lamented.
 ‘ The memory of the just is blessed.’

A plain brass plate :

“ By the appointment of **Sir Charles Hoghton, Bart.** deceased, this plate of brass is here affixed to intimate to all persons whatsoever, that it was his desire, nobody for time to come should be buried under this seat or pew, belonging to the **Hoghtons**, where his remains are interred, except the **Lady Hoghton**, his relict, if she so desire. **Anno Domini 1710.**”

A neat white marble slab, with an urn :

“ **Sir Henry Hoghton, Bart.**
 died March 9th, 1795,
 aged 67.”

A white marble slab: a truly modest account of a gallant soldier. His deeds will be recorded in the annals of his country :

“ **Major General Daniel Hoghton,**
 died in the battle at **Albuera**,
 in **Spain**, **May 16th, 1811**,
 aged 41.”

A brass plate, with the arms engraved on the top of it :

“ Here lieth the body of **Sarah**, the wife
 of **Ralph Assheton**, eldest son of
Richard Assheton, of **Cuerdale**, **Esq.** who
 departed this life in the 21st year
 of her age, **June the 20th, anno Domini 1700.**

**Nunc obiit, cohibe lachrymas, nec credito, lector,
 Vitam, quæ fuerat non nisi sancta, brevem.”**

Cut in stone: the arms of the **Hoghtons** above, and motto, “ **Malgre le tout.**”

“ The South part of this Chancel belongs to
Sir Gilbert Hoghton, **knt. and bart.** builded . . .” (date obliterated.)

“ The

The arms of the Asshetons, with several quarterings, with the motto
 “Nec arrogo, nec dubito.”

The whole of these monuments and inscriptions are in the chancel of Walton-le-dale church.

As part of the great engagement betwixt Duke Hamilton and Cromwell, A. D. 1648, was fought within Walton (for Darwen Stream with blood of Scots embued,) is one of the boundaries of the township, I had hoped that some memorials of such an event might have been found in the Register of the Chapel, but unfortunately that record does not commence till several years later.

It contains, however, an entry of the interment of a captain and three soldiers slain in the second battle of Preston, and interred Nov. 1715.

The manor of Walton passed from the Langtons, palatine barons of Newton, to the ancestors of Sir Henry Hoghton, Bart. the present lord, on a very singular occasion.

I saw, more than fifteen years ago, the copy of a memorial addressed to Queen Elizabeth and the Privy Council, A. R. 18, by Henry Earl of Derby, Lord Lieutenant of the county, and the Grand Jury, stating the following facts:

Richard Hoghton, of Hoghton Tower, Esq. who then resided at his house of Lea, near Preston, had a feud with the Baron of Newton, his neighbour. Other mutual provocations seem to have taken place, but the last fact which brought the matter to a crisis was this—Mr. Hoghton had taken some cattle belonging to a Widow Singleton, damage feasant, and impounded them at Lea. The Widow was patronized by the Baron, who in the spirit of the times, took this short and decisive method of replevying the goods. He assembled eighty men, well armed, and on a Sunday evening presented himself in this array on a lawn directly in front of the house at Lea. Mr. Hoghton, though he had only thirty men, rashly sallied out of the house, and a regular engagement took place, in which himself and one of his servants were left dead upon the spot. In this memorial the Lord Lieutenant and Grand Jury complain that no Jury could be empannelled to try the indictment preferred against the Baron and his accomplices for the murder. Thus the matter lingered for some time, until the Hoghton family were at length content to accept a rich manor, and the Baron to part with his best estate, rather than abide the uncertain issue of a verdict.

P. 430.—SAMLESBURY.

The following letter from William Lord Eure and Thomas Lord Wharton, contains a very honourable testimony to the courage and knightly qualities of Sir John Southworth. It bears date Oct. 22, 1557.

“To the Right Hon. oure singular good Lord Francis, Erle of Shrewsbury, Lord Lieut^t in the North, these haste.

As to your ips lettres of the xxth, understanding that ther was no enterprize appointed upon ye enemye on this syde, therefore Mr. Tunstall is passed from Berwicke, and to-morrow Sir
 Thomas

Thomas Talbot, John Osbaldiston, and Tho. Charnocke, prepares to passe from this towne to Berwicke. And since our lettre, written with Mr. Tunstall, wherein wee named also Sr Jhon Southworth his going away, hee hath made request y^t wee would bee a meanes to y^r tp, yt he might continue in service here with his hundred men, and to have alsoe putt to his leading an other hundred men. Hee sayes hee is a yonge man, and desirous to knowe švice in warr; and as wee thinke hym to bee comended therein, being a towarde and tall gentlilman, wee require y^r tp to favour this his honest suit."

P. 431.—BALDERSTONE.

The following is a curious Memorial of the heiress of the Family, who derived their name from this place, and were lords of it during many generations:—

Seventh day of January 1497. I, Dame Jane Pilkinton, widow, make and ordain this my last Will and Testament.

First, I bequeth my bodye to be buried in ye Nunnes Quire of Monketon, in my habit, holding my hande upon my breast, with my ring upon my finger, having taken in my resolves the mantel and the ring; and whereas, &c. &c. stand seized in all my moieties of the Mannor of Balderston, and all other Mesşes, &c. which were W^m Balderston, my fader, in the townes of Balderston, Mellor, &c. my will and mind is, that my said feoffees shall suffer me to receive the rent and pñfts of the s^d lands during life, and after my decease, that they stand to the use of Sir James Harrington, knt. my sister's son, and after his decease, to the use of Thomas Talbot, of Bashal, son and heir of Edm. Talbot, Esq. and Jone his wife, d^r and one of the coheirs of Sir Robert Harrington, of Hornby Castle, k^t, and the lady Isabel his wyff, my sister, and the heirs of the body of the s^d Tho^s Talbot, for ever, and for default, &c. then to thuse of Rich^d Radcliffe and Ellen his wife, which Ellen was aunt to mee, and sister unto W^m Balderston my fader, and to those of Osbaldeston, son and heir of John Osbaldeston and Eliz. his wyff, another sister of W^m Balderston, my fader.

P. 431.—OSBALDESTON.

This is a small township, but of great fertility, stretching along the Southern bank of the Ribble, about half of which was the demesne of the Osbaldestons, and the rest demised to tenants.

The manor-house, which stands low and sheltered, within a moat, is pretty entire, though greatly mutilated. It appears to have consisted of a centre and two wings, opening southward, with a deep projection in the middle of the central part. What remains appears, from the style and arms, to have been erected by Sir Edward Osbaldeston, about the latter end of the reign of James the First.

The present cow-house, at the West end, appears to have been a gallery about 60 feet long, with two deep embayed windows and transom lights.

The upper room in the central projection is fitted up with brown wainscot, in oblong and lozenge pannels.

In the plaster above the chimney-piece are the arms and numerous quarterings of the family, with the cyphers E. O—D. O.

Over the stable-door, on the impost, are the family arms, with the cyphers **W** and **B**, with the date 1593.

On the open green, westward from the house, are lines of large stones, forming three sides of a quadrangle, which seem to have been intended as bases for crooks of oak, and to have formed the outline of a more ancient house. There is yet a tradition, that the chapel projected from the North wall, near the kitchen door, and nearly from the corner where the rude figure of Hercules is wrought into the wall.

The woods of this township and Salesbury, which had been completely destroyed, are now rising again into consequence under the fostering hand of their present noble possessor, so that the aspect of several miles along the North side of this fertile valley is annually improving in beauty, as is the estate itself in value.

OSBALDSTON, of OSBALDSTON.

John Osbaldston of Osbaldston, Esq. son and heir of married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard, and sister of William Bolderston, of Bolderston; had issue Richard.

Richard Osbaldston, of Osbaldston, Esq. son and heir of John, married Grace, daughter of Mr. Allen Singleton; had issue Sir Alexander, Gilbert, Henry.

Sir Alexander Osbaldston, of Osbaldston, knt. son and heir of Richard, lived until 25th Henry VIII. married two wives; first, Ann, daughter of Sir Christopher Southworth, of Southworth, knt. by her had issue John; to his second wife Ellen, daughter of Thomas Tildesley, of Weardley, Esq. by whom he had issue Richard Osbaldston, of Sunderland; Ann, married to John Talbot, Esq. Isabel, to William Clifton, Esq.; Ann, to Mr. Edmund Langton, Esq.; Elizabeth, to Henry Kighley, Esq.; Jane, to William Gerard, Esq.; Cecily, to Thomas Molyneux, Esq.; Henry.

Sir John Osbaldston, of Osbaldston, knt. son and heir of Sir Alexander, married two wives; first, Margaret, daughter of George Stanley, Lord Strange; by her had issue Edward; Margaret, married unto Mr. Robert Aspden; Thomas, who married and had issue Edward, Thomas, Margaret, Ellen, Dorothy, 30th Elizabeth. To his second wife, dame Jane, widow and relict of Sir Thomas Halsall, knt. by her had no issue.

Edward Osbaldston, of Osbaldston, Esq. son and heir of Sir John, married Matild, daughter of Sir Thomas Halsall, knt. about 2d Edward VI. died 33d Elizabeth; had issue John; Geoffery, a Justice of the law; Hamlet, Margaret, Cecily, married to Mr. George Singleton.

John Osbaldston, of Osbaldston, Esq. son and heir of Edward, lived about the 30th Elizabeth, married Ellen, daughter and coheir of John Bradley, of Bradley Hall, Esq.; had issue Sir Edward, Thomas, Sebastian, Richard, John, Elizabeth, married unto Mr. John Eltonhead; Ann, to Mr. — Scaresbrecke; Mary, to Mr. Henry Eccleston.

Sir Edward Osbaldston, of Osbaldston, son and heir of John, was knighted by King James, died 13th king Charles the First, of blessed memory, married Mary, daughter of Henry Tarrington, of Hutton Grange, Esq. had issue John; Alexander, now living (1667); Francis, a priest; Cuthbert; Matild, married unto Mr. Thomas Osbaldston, of Walton; Ann, to
Mr.

Mr. Thomas Blenkinsop, of Helbeck, in Westmoreland; Robert, 5th son, married Jane, daughter of Mr. Singleton, widow of Mr. Cholmley, had issue Edward, Alexander.

John Osbaldston, of Osbaldston, Esq. son and heir of Sir Edward, married two wives; first, Jane, daughter of Anthony Mounson, of Lincolnshire, Esq.; by her had issue Mary, dead, not married; to his second wife, Frances, daughter of Sir Richard Tempest, of Bowling, in Yorkshire, knt.; by her had issue Edward, dead sans issue, aged 14 years. This Frances survived her said husband, and was after married unto Mr. John Ward, professor of physic.

Alexander Osbaldston, of Osbaldston, Esq. second son of Sir Edward, enjoyed the estate, and was aged 62 years 13 Sept. 1664, living 1667; married Ann, daughter of Sir John Talbot, of Salburie, knt.; hath issue John, dead young; Edward, aged then twelve years; Alexander, Michael, James, Katherine, Margaret, Ann, Joane.

“William Lord Eure and Thomas Lord Wharton, their Letter to the Right Honorable the Earl of Shrewsbury, about the Gentlemen of Lancashire in Service against the Scots.

“Right Hon^{ble} and our singular good Lord, we have received y^r Lord^{ps} three several letters of the 18th, 19th, and 20th of this instant October, for answeare whereunto it may please your L^dship, that where there was thirteen hundred footmen, with all the horsemen, appointed by our very good Lord the Earl of Northumberland, and our very good Lord the Lord Talbot, your Lord^{ps} son, to serve ferth of Barwick, we made answer as y^r L^dship hath been advertised from us, and trusteth that the same is to y^r L^dship's pleasure, and so as we thought our said very good Lords would have been a^ls^o pleased therewith. The town of Berwick being the chief fortress, we wrote our letters y^t half the horsmen in that towne, with three hundred and fifty footmen, with arms, ordinance, and munition, should be ready to serve vpon their L^dship's letters therefore. And to y^r L^dship's letters of the 19th, we were glad y^t the advertisement of the enemy was to y^r Lordship's pleasure; and as to y^r Lordship's letters of the 20th, understanding y^t there was no enterprise upon the enemy appointed on this side, therefore Mr. Tunstall is passed from Berwick and his band with our letter to y^r L^dship, and to-morrow S^r Thomas Talbot, John Osbaldston, and Thomas Charnocke, prepares to pass from this towne to Berwick with their numbers, according to y^r L^dships commandment, signified in the s^d letter. And since our letter, written with Mr. Tunstall, wherein we named also S^r John Southworth his going away, he hath made request to us that would be a meanes to y^r Lordship that he might continue in service here with his hundred men, and to have also put to his leading an other hundred footmen. He sayes he is a young man, and desirous to know service in warr, and as we think him to be commended therein, being a toward and tall gentleman, we require of y^r L^dship to favour this his honest suit, and we have thought good to suffer his tarry untill we shall know y^r L^dship's commandment therein; and have been so bold to appoint Capt. Woodward, with his band, being my Lord Latimer's servants and tenants, to pass away from Berwick this three and twentieth of this month, as S^r John Southworth should have done. We pray your L^dship, in these, to take our doings to your good pleasure; and for our opinion what garisons shall be requisit to lye therein, upon the fronters and in the town of Berwick, we beseech y^r L^dship to consider y^t we know not what power the Enemy will lay on their borders; and it

is known to men of experience, y^t their borders are of more force power than the borders on this side are, and now the force of Aymouth, with the furniture of their ordinance and inventions; and we know not of what power their marches on their side are, but do hear say y^t they are more strong in force than heretofore they have been: this together, as we think, moveth to have strong garrisons, especially in Berwick, Norham, and Warke. The circuit of Berwick is very great; the watch and ward must be strong, for all suddain occasions. Our very good Lords of the Kinge and Queene's Maties Councell, in the beginning of this last summer, the Peax standing and knowing the weakness of this towne, appointed a thowsand men to continue here, whereof five hundred soldiers, with five hundred workmen and labourers, to be ready to serve upon all events y^t might happen: Aymouth was then not begun to be fortified. Y^r L^dship's noble wisdome, with such as are there of great knowledge of this town, can better consider and order the numbers and suerty of Berwick, this winter, than we are able to write; and for our simple opinion, we would not write under sixteen hundred good soldiers, footmen, and under the leading of worthy captains, to be in the same, which is sixe hundred more than was appointed in peace; and yet we shall beseech y^r L^dship to know the opinions of men of more knowledge and experience then we be of, whether a more number were convenient to be here or no, vntill this troubled time were fully known of the enemy or better established. Yt may please y^r L^dship to have in y^r hon^{ble} remembrance the supplication was sent to y^r L^dship for the old poor garison of horsemen here, who by want and poverty decayeth, and are like thereby to be utterly decayed from service, without help be provided for them in this manner. Fourpence and threepence halfpenny by the day, is not able to maintain the man and horse, but a charge to their Highnesses, and want of serviceable horsemen, which may not be spared. Requiring y^r L^dship to continue our good Lord for the service of their Highnesses, and as y^r L^dship hath and shall have occasion. And Almighty God send unto y^r L^dship most prosperous success. At their Majesties Castle of Berwick, the two and twentieth of October 1557.

“Your good Lord^{ps} to commaund,

“WILLIAM EURE,

“THOMAS WHARTON.

“To the Right Hon^{ble} our singular good Lord,
Francis Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Lief-
tenant in the North, these. Haste.”

I have never been able to ascertain how and when this manor was alienated by the last possessor of the name, who was reduced to the situation of an accoucheur at Preston. But it was afterwards the property of a Barrister of the name of Harmon, owler also of Great Mearley. He had an only daughter, who survived to within the last ten years, the widow of a Colonel Wilson. These parties, having no surviving child, about thirty years ago sold the manor of Osbaldeston to the late Sir George Warren, for £.5000, and £.400 for their joint lives (*qu.* and that of the survivor?). He died soon after, and his widow survived him upwards of twenty years.

P. 453, l. 16.—HUNDERSFIELD.

The latticed screen of this chapel has the cypher I. H. and the eagle's talon, which appears to have been a cognizance of the Holts.—Near the altar is this modest and pleasing inscription :

“ Edmundus Thornley, Presbyter, annos septuaginta et tres natus, plus triginta septem hujus capellæ vicarius, cœlebs mortuus, subter sepultus est 8^o Dec. 1727.—Vir satis eruditus, sorte humili contentus, meliore dignus.”

The chapel was sold for 40s. a. 7 Edw. VI. by Trafford and Bold, the commissioners, to Rob. Holt, of Stubbley, Esq. and others, for Divine Service.—It was certainly founded A. D. 1476.

GREAT HAWORTH.

This place is remarkable not only for having given name and origin to a family which continued in possession of it from the origin of local surnames to the beginning of the present reign, but for having the reputation of being the parent stock of the Ducal house of Howard.

A very curious collection of evidences relating to the place and name having lately been put into my hands, I will endeavour to shew on what foundation that opinion rests, and at the same time point out the nature of that evidence, in which the greatest heralds and genealogists have been willing to acquiesce.

Among these evidences is an illuminated Roll, drawn up under the immediate inspection of Sir William Dugdale, and attested under his own hand. In this all the descents of the family, from the æra of deeds without date, and undoubtedly ascending to the reign of Henry II. are traced with great fidelity and exactness, and extracts from the original vouchers given in the margin. This is deduced to Theophilus Haword or Haworth, M. D., A. D. 1666. Now in all this there is not an iota of proof which connects, or purports to connect, the Hawords, or Haworths, of Great Haworth, with the Howards of Wiggenshal in Norfolk. Moreover, the arms of this family, viz. Az. a bend between two stags heads coupèd Or, bear not the smallest resemblance to those of the great family with whom they are made to claim an alliance.

Let us hear now Dugdale's attestation gravely subscribed by himself.

“ Præfatus Theophilus Haword filius est et hæres Edmundi Howord de Howord, arm. fil. et h. Roberti Howord, arm. fil. et h. Edm. Howord de H.” &c. &c. &c.—all which descents are clearly made out, up to Orme de Howord.

“ Qui Orme de Howord habuit terras in villa de Howord in villa de Todmorden, in Parva Wordil. Henrico de Howord, pro insigni erga Dominum Regem Hen. III^m olim serenissimum Angliæ Regem fidelitate, dictus d'nus dedit et concessit certas terras in territorio de Howord, in villa Honoresfeld, in parochia de Rachdale, eunque canum venaticorum, cervorum magistrum, et primatum saltuarium constituit. Ob hanc igitur rationem ab eo tempore prædictus H. H. et universi sanguinis successores, scutum cœruleum, bendam inter dua cervorum capita decollata, pro suis insignibus semper gesserunt.

“ Ex hac insuper Howordorum, de Howord Hall, perantiqua sede et familia, Wilhelmm Howard de Wigenhall, in Com. Norfolciæ, legis peritissimum, in unum Justiciariorum Regis Edw. I. merito evectum, illustres Howardorum Norfolciæ Duces, &c. &c. et universos Howardorum generosos, origines et nomen deduxisse, ex animo existimo!”

Such

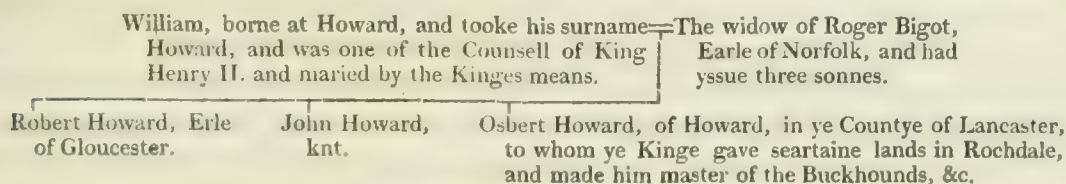
Such is the evidence for this magnificent alliance—*ex animo existimo*!

But I must not dissemble that there is, among these papers, an elder roll, which would prove, if it were allowed to prove any thing, the very reverse of the proposition which the capacious faith of Dugdale received, namely, that the Haworths, of Great Haworth, are descended from a younger son of the Norfolk line. Moreover, it so happens, that in another genealogical roll of the family, also subscribed by Dugdale, this grant of the office of Master of the Hounds is ascribed to Henry II.

In this total defect of proof, however, as drowning men catch at a twig, recourse was once more had to Dugdale, who attests, that in a MS. entitled “*Iter Lancastrense*,” by Richard James, B.D. Fellow of Corpus Christi College, and a friend of Sir Robert Cotton, the same origin is ascribed to the Ducal House of Howard; that is, James *said*, fifty years before, what Dugdale repeated, and both without a shadow of proof.

But to return to the elder roll, which appears to have been drawn up about the latter end of Elizabeth.

Here the matter (for it seems to have been an old piece of family vanity) is stated thus:



And for this not a particle of evidence is produced or pretended. After all, the name of the Ducal house was personal (Hayward, or the Keeper of the Pale), and that of the far inferior family in Lancashire, radically distinct from the former, was local, and taken from Howard, or Howarth, the Saxon δ in charters, after the Conquest, being sometimes crossed and sometimes not.

After Dugdale's *ex animo existimo*, it is remarkable enough that he is completely silent, in the Baronage, on the Lancashire Howorde*.

P. 459.--ROCHDALE.

To the old families in this parish, which have not been adverted to and are now extinct, some remembrance is due. These were, the Schofields, of Schofield Hall, the Butterworths of Belfield, the Halliwells of Pikehouse. Two only of any antiquity remain, or are resident in this extensive and populous parish; namely, the Entwistles of Foxholes, and the Crossleys of Scacliffe, formerly called Crossleggh, near Todmorden, who have been seated at that place from an æra which cannot be ascertained. In the course of this Work, I have been much indebted to the present respectable representative of that family, John Crossley, Esq.

At Underwood, near this town, about fourteen years ago, was found a small iron box, containing a rouleau of Roman brass coins; folles of the Lower Empire, in general extremely fair and fresh. Those which I have seen, besides a small brass of the Emperor Tacitus, are of Constantius Cæsar, Maximian, and Dioclesian. The obverse of one, apparently Dio-

* Baronage, V. II. p. 267. Printed 1676

clesian, is nearly effaced; the reverse, a figure of *Moneta*, with a balance and cornucopiæ, circumscribed *MONETA. S. AVGG. ET. CAES.*

The legend on the reverse of all the rest is the same: *GENIO. POPVLI. ROMANI.* The figure a genius, with a patera and cornucopiæ.

P. 464.—STONYHURST.

On the North West border of the County is the ancient seat of the Shireburn family. After the death of Sir Nicholas Shireburn, Bart. in 1720, it was possessed by his daughter, Mary Dutchess of Norfolk, till 1754. It then became the property of Edward Weld, Esq. of Lullworth Castle, Dorset, whose Son, the late Thomas Weld, Esq. converted it, in 1794, into a college, or house of education, for young pupils of the Roman Catholic religion. This gentleman's benevolent view was, to facilitate the means of religious and literary instruction for persons of his own persuasion, who had now lost all the resources which the British transmarine colleges and seminaries had afforded during two hundred years. He had received his education among the English Jesuits abroad, and he had witnessed the violent seizure and ejection of his old masters from their College at St. Omer, which was perpetrated by the French Parliament of Paris, in 1762. This college was one of the principal houses of education, which the British Catholics had formed on the Continent, while the severity of the penal laws prohibited such institutions in our own country. The English fathers of the society, not disheartened by persecution, proceeded to form new establishments, for the same purpose of education, in the Austrian Netherlands, and again in the city of Liege; and they were dislodged, pillaged, and ejected, with similar injustice and violence, by the governments, which admitted the suppression of their order by Pope Clement XIV. in 1773, and finally, by the revolutionary armies of France, in 1794. In their uttermost distress, they took advantage of the humane lenity of our Government, which allowed them to settle and to open schools for pupils of their own religion, under security of the oath of civil allegiance, which was prescribed by the Act of 1791. Under the immediate protection of Thomas Weld, Esq. the gentlemen expelled from Liege, by the French, conducted the small remnant of their flourishing seminary to Stonyhurst; and in the course of 21 years, by unremitting industry, they have improved it into a distinguished seminary and house of education, of which they justly acknowledge Thomas Weld, Esq. as the founder and principal benefactor. It is filled at present by more than two hundred and fifty students of the Roman Catholic religion, sent thither from most parts of the world; and their established reputation for good order and regularity has justly procured for them the countenance and favour of their neighbours. Indeed, the visible advantages accruing from so large a family are strongly felt by the industrious tradesmen, cultivators, and labourers, on the estate, among whom the owners of the land, and of the ancient dwelling, had not resided for more than seventy years. Stonyhurst College, at the present day, is a monument of the liberal spirit of His Majesty's Government; and the benefits arising from it form a strong contrast with the mischiefs of that ancient jealousy, which reduced such numbers of British subjects to the alternative of living in ignorance at home, or of resorting for liberal education to foreign climes*.

* For this account, which is printed verbatim, the Author is indebted to the late Rev. Mr. Weld. Principal of the College of Stonyhurst.

P. 472.—BASHALL.

Earl of SHREWSBURY, Lord General, to the Earl of NORTHUMBERLAND and others.

After my hearty comendations to your Lo'pp; where I have this day, of such numbers as I determine immediately vpon their musters, and chuse to sende towards Barwicke, dispatched herein my very good Freind Sr Thomas Talbot knight, with two or three hundreth of these menn appointed for that purpose, whoe being a man of singuler good service, and accompanied with a willing bande of his owne, to whom I have alsoe comitted some speciall conduct, as well of these numbers which come with him as those which shall followe to that service, being Lancashiremen :

I have thought good to commend him to your Lo'pp's friendship as a well willing friend of mine, whom I have required to bee at your Lo'pp's comāundment, and to followe your order in alle his doeings, whiche I am well assured he will doe; and therefore I hartilye pray your Lordship to be his good lord, and to favour him according to his worthines, whom as soone as any man liveing, in case of need, I wold have beene right glad to have had about mine owne person, as knoweth Almightye God, who have your good Lo'pp in his most blessed tuition.

From Newcastle, the 7th day of October 1557.

Your Lo'pp's assured loveinge
Friend and Cosin,

F. SHREWSBURY.

P. 473.—WADDINGTON.

In a line betwixt Waddington and Bashall, but especially about Backridge, have been discovered of late, in digging for gravel, many skeletons, which, from the manner in which they lay, must indicate the place of some great engagement.

From the situation of the place, I was at first inclined to refer these appearances to the battle fought on Clitheroe Moor, between David the First of Scotland and the forces of King Stephen, as part of the line, though North of Ribble, is scarcely more than half a mile from that place.

But in digging gravel for the highways near Backridge, among some of these skeletons was found a broken Celt, which was brought to me, and I am assured that some brass *fibulæ* were discovered about the same time and place.

The inference to be drawn from this last circumstance is, that on this spot has been a great engagement between the Romans and Britons. Had any coins been found, which has not been the case, their dates would have led to some probable conjectures with respect to the period and circumstances of this battle.

P. 479.—LAMSPRING.

As the Parish of Whalley and Deanery of Craven have each contributed an Abbot to this house, the following account of it, drawn up by one of the last monks, for which the Author is indebted to the kindness of Stephen Tempest, of Broughton, Esq. may not be unacceptable.

MONASTERY OF LAMSPRING, in Westphalia.

The monastery of Lamspringe was founded by Riddagus, Count of Wintzenburg, for ladies, in the ninth century, I think, in the year 835. Accompanied by his countess, he performed

performed various journeys to Rome, to obtain the consent and confirmation of the Pope. The Count had no male issue but an only daughter, named Richburga, who was appointed the first abbess. It remained in the possession of the nuns, until the days of the Reformation, and the religious, or thirty years war, when they were driven out; and, at one time, the dukes of Brunswick and of Bevern, and the Lutheran parties, obtained it; at another, the Emperor, the Prince Bishop of Hildesheim, and the Catholics, regained it: then lost it again. By the Peace of Munster, it fell to the Catholics; but the original archives and foundation instruments, &c. being secreted, and some few Lutheran nuns still in possession, it was not perfectly recovered till Clement Reyner, a monk of Dieulouard, in Lorrain, being sent into Germany by the English Benedictines, to enquire whether any establishments could be obtained for the English, the German Benedictines of the congregation of Bursfield made to him the donation of Lamspringe upon certain conditions, one of which was, that the securing possession of Lamspringe, and every expence connected with it, was to be the business of the English. This happened about the year 1648. During the lapse of several years, things succeeded very poorly indeed; but, in process of time, most of the archives were recovered. Clement Reyner, the first abbot, died anno 1656, or thereabouts, having governed about eight years, and was succeeded by Placid Gascoigne, of the family of Barnbow-hall, in Yorkshire. His successor was Joseph Sherwood, who, upon his death, was followed by Maurus Corker, who gave in his resignation after he had governed the abbey only four years, *viz.* anno 1696. To him succeeded Maurus Knightley; and, on his demise, Austin Tempest, of the ancient family of that name, of Broughton, was elected by his brethren to the abbatial dignity, which he held for the lapse of twenty-one years, dying anno 1729. To succeed him, Joseph Rokeby had the plurality of suffrages in the election; and, when he paid the debt of nature, Maurus Heatley was canonically named to be his successor. Placid Harsnep was the superior at the time of the suppression.

The foundation of Lamspringe was originally both very extensive and valuable; but the religious war and transfer of property made great alterations, and caused many losses. The English retained the right and exercise of a court of judicature in all cases, capital ones excepted: from which court, however, there lay an appeal to the Government of Hildesheim; but the monastery could again appeal from the courts of Hildesheim to the supreme court of the Empire at Wetzlar.

How the monastery was suppressed, an. 1803, by the King of Prussia, with all its property and revenue, and what the whole was worth, may be distinctly known by an application to Amtmann Droege, or Mr. Harsnep, at Lamspringe, the Prussian commission having estimated the whole separately. Those gentlemen could also give particular information of all the privileges which the abbey enjoyed; but, in the present state of affairs on the continent, it would, I believe, be dangerous to address a letter to either of them. The person who, after the suppression, rented the monastery, with its lands, &c. took it with all its emoluments, if we except the wood and its judiciary privileges, at the annual rent of £.2,568 sterling; and in those parts, it is well known, how much more valuable money is than in these. Now the extent of the woods alone, which the king retained in his royal domain, was nearly 4000 large, or wood acres, each acre of 160 rod square.

The revenue arose from various sources, *e. g.* from the land in our own cultivation, of which

we had at least 500 acres, the land acre being very little less than the statute acre in England; from tythes large and small, as corn, fowls, &c.; from wood, from the sale of beer and brandy, the monastery having the privileges of brewing and distilling; from sheep, of which we had 1,400; from fish-ponds, 16 in number; from dependants, boors called *Tertiarii*, or those who paid a third part of their crops; other boors, as the two villages of Neuhoff and Wollenhausen, who paid their acknowledgment in kind, which, as long as they were able to do, they could not be dispossessed. Both these and the *Tertiarii* were obliged to do service with their teams two days each week for the abbey, which gave us the command of about 100 ploughs, or above 50 waggons at a call. The tythes of the monastery were very considerable, particularly those of Bantlem, in the Hanoverian territory; of Zelem, Boennien, Hille, and Lamspringe, in the diocese of Hildesheim and Gernerode, in the duchy of Brunswick. At Zelem the tythe-barn, and a very good house for the farmer, were built by the Abbot Tempest, as the writing, cut in the wood over the door, yet shews. The Abbey enjoyed the privileged right of hunt over a vast tract, *viz.* over own grounds, and those of the villages of Neuhoff, Wollenhausen, Woellersen, part of Gernerode, with the respective woods, which were large.

As to the individuals who were famous for learning, we may reckon the first abbot, Reyner, who was a very laborious collector of antiquities belonging to our order, and the author of a work entitled "*Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia.*" Upon hearing of his (Reyner's death, the abbot John, of St. Michael's Monastery, in Hildesheim, exclaimed, "*Magnum lumen ordinis nostri extinctum est.*" In Abbot Tempest's days there were two brothers, John and Augustin Townson, who were eminent for their learning. The former took the degree of D.D. in one of the German universities, and taught Theology, both in his own abbey and in that of St. Michael's, in Hildesheim. He has left behind him several manuscript writings on different subjects. He was also a very useful member to his abbey, in the active department of life. The latter published some works of piety in Latin. Mr. Rokeby, who was afterwards abbot, applied himself with great assiduity to the study of Theology in the university of Douay, and was created D.D. in that university. Mr. Heatley, Abbot Rokeby's successor in the abbatial dignity, having for some time taught the classics in his own house, was permitted to go to Douay to pursue his theological studies, where he took the degree of Licentiate of Divinity. During his abbatial government, he contributed very much to revive literature amongst his monks. He sent Mr. Harsnep to Fulda to study his philosophy; who, after his return to Lamspringe, taught several courses both of philosophy and theology, and by his means the monastery was rendered noted through those parts for its learning.

The abbots, excepting Abbot Cerk, who lived some time after his resignation in England, where he died, are buried in the middle aisle of the church, with the tombstones over them, bearing their coats of arms, crosier, and mitre. Among whom is Abbot Craythorne, last Abbot of Cismar, a house in Holstein, given to the English Benedictines by the Germans. These tombstones are much disfigured, being the ground-stones or pavement of the church, if we except the monumental covering of Abbot Gascoigne, which is brass. Its inscription informs us, that "his brother and he sleep there together." This brother of the Abbot's was a kind of exile from England, who, at the very advanced age of 85, had been accused, about the year 1678, of plotting against the King and Government, of which, however, by a jury of his Country, he

he was found *Not Guilty*. Hence, not long after his trial, Sir Thomas went over to Lamspringe, where he ended his days. Of him one Carr, the English Consul at Amsterdam, in a book he published of his travels, entitled, “Remarks of the Government of several parts of Germany, Denmark, &c. Amst. 12mo, p. 145, An. 1688,” speaks thus:—“From the Prince (of Hesse’s) court, I directed my journey to Hanover, taking Lamspring in my way, . . . and there I met with a very good, harmless gentleman, Sir Thomas Gascoigne, a person of more integrity and piety than to be guilty, so much as in thought, of what miscreants falsely swore against him, in the licentious time of plotting,” &c.—The picture of this gentleman the Rev. Mr. Birdsall brought over with him from Germany, and has at present in his possession, at Bath.

As to monuments, there is one against the wall of the church, of the Steinburg family, of Bodenburg, who formerly had been great benefactors to the Monastery, but who, in the times of the religious wars, took most of their benefactions back. There is another monument of stone against the wall, of, I think, one Maire and his wife, who were benefactors. In the cryptum there are two monuments, one of the founder Riddagus, the other of Plunkett, titular Archbishop of Armagh, in Ireland, who was put to death in those days when Oates and Bedloe lived by swearing. His hand is preserved in the vestry; the finger ends and hair upon it much shrivelled by the fire, into which, as the hand of a traitor, it had been cast. His bones are deposited in the wall behind the stone in the cryptum. They were carried over by Abbot Corker, who was the companion and fellow sufferer of the Archbishop, when in prison.

The church was raised anew, after the English obtained possession. It was begun by Abbot Sherwood, and finished, I think, by Abbot Corker. The Monastery, if it had been completed with the third side, making, with the church on the fourth, a quadrangular building, having a small cloister garden in the middle, would have been one of the first religious buildings in Germany. As it is, it presents the appearance of a palace; a bold, noble, stately erection. The front is grand and imposing, supported by a double ascent of stone steps, with balustrades, the whole bold and proportionate. The grand saloon is up stairs, in the centre of the front, and the whole width of the building, with double rows of windows on each side, one above the other; a room not to be equalled by any, at least in that part of Germany, for size, stucco work, and ornamented cieling. The stately edifice of Lamspringe was begun and finished as it now is, excepting only a wall at the end, by the Abbot Rokeby, successor to Abbot Tempest. It was begun about the year 1733. Abbot Tempest had saved a very considerable sum of money for the undertaking. It proved, however, not sufficient, and some capitals were borrowed, and some burdensome agreements were entered into, in order to continue the work. The Prussian, or Seven years war, hurt the monastery much, the buildings having exhausted its finances, and the soldiers living upon the monks and their dependancies.

The number of religious, in these latter years, was smaller than formerly, being at the time of the suppression only 21, including three lay-brothers and one novice: whereas, at some times before, it was double that number, exclusively, in both cases, of the missionaries in England.

Abbot Tempest was himself an example to his brethren, in all spiritual regularity. He executed, himself, the office of Signifer; hence, he is painted with his watch on the table before him.

An ancient PERAMBULATION of the PARISH of WHALLEY,

From the COUCHER BOOK, without Date.

Fines et limites inter parochiam Ecclesiæ de Whalley et parochias aliarum Ecclesiarum eidem Ecclesiæ vicinarum sunt isti: vid. incipiendo in orientem a fine boreali Parochiæ de Whalley, ubi aqua de Colder cadit in aquam de Ribble, procedendo vers. orient. usque ad locum ubi aqua de Rimingden cadit in eandem aquam de Ribble, sunt limites inter Parochiam de Whalley et de Mitton, Dioc. Ebor. Et dein ascendendo vers. austrorient. per aquam de Rimingden usque in Twisleton Broke, et sic per Divisas de Midhope, ad quandam quercum voc. Le Crooked Oake in Admergill Head, protendunt limites inter par. Eccl. de Whalley, et Parochiam Eccl. de Gisburne, Dioc. Ebor. Ex p'dicta quercu versus orient. usq. ad caput de Benerker, protendunt limites inter parochiam Eccl. de Whalley et Eccl. Sci. Michaelis vocat: le Gillkirk, Ebor. Dioc. Et deinde procedendo vers. aust. usque Poundshagh-head protendunt limites inter parochias Eccl. de Whalley, et Eccl. de Thornton, in Craven, Ebor. Dioc. Et deinde versus Austr. usque ad Barnsett Knarrs protendunt limites inter par. Eccl. de Whalley, et Eccl. de Carlton, Ebor. Dioc. Et exinde vers austr. usque le Wolverstones, protendunt limites inter par. Eccl. de Whalley, et Eccl. de Kildwick, Ebor. Dioc. Et exinde vers. austr. usque ad crucem super calceam de Wicoller*, vocat. le Watershields Cross, protendunt limites inter par. Eccl. de Whalley, et par. de Kighley, Ebor. Dioc. Et exinde vers. quandam intersectionem montis de Crowhull, vocat. le Karrs, super Crowhull, protendunt limites inter par. Ecc. de Whalley, et Eccl. Bradford, Com. Ebor. Et exinde vers. occident. per le Witherstones de Bulswier, et sic ulterius vers. aust. per Stiperden usq. ad aquam de East Colder, protendunt limites inter par. Eccl. de Whalley, et Eccl. de Halifax. Ebor. Dioc. Et extunc per le Beter-Clogh, et Sharneforde usque in Aquam de Erewell et sic vers. occident. descendendo per eandem aquam usque ad locum ubi torrens quidam vulg. nom. Cowhope Brook, descendit in dict. aquam de Erewell protendunt limites inter par. Eccl. de Whalley, et Ecc. de Ratchedam Litchf. Dioc. Et dehinc usq. ad descensum aquæ de Ugden et sic vers. occ. bor. usque ad quandam collem vocat. Uglaw, protendunt limites inter par. Ecc. de Whalley, et Ecc. de Bury, Litch. Dioc. Et ab illo Colle usque ad le Pikelaw, protendunt limites inter par. Eccl. de Whalley, et Eccl. de Bolton, ejusd. Dioc. Et exhinc vers. aquam Knowsden et Hindburne, usque in Aquam de Colder, et ulterius sequendo ripam de Ribbel quæ fuit prima Divisa, protendunt limites inter Par. Eccl. de Whalley et Eccl. de Blakeburne.

* Wicoller Cawsway.

CORRIGENDA.

P. 2. l. 19. See Stukeley's *Iter Boreale*, p. 48.—26. l. 31. *dele* of.

81. l. 37. I have since, however, discovered that Cromwell was actually in the receipt of a pension from the Abbey of Furness, and was promised an increase of stipend on condition of his standing their good friend against the Earl of Cumberland, who was desirous to lay his hands upon their manor of Winterburn, in Craven.—West's *Hist. of Furness*, App. No. X.

84. l. 12. *read*, 1352.

91. *end of second note, read*, This is now reduced to a certainty, for in the *Computus* of 1510 the article stands thus:—*Pro stip. Regis Henr.*

107. *Ground plan.* A gentleman eminently skilled in the architecture of modern houses of the Cistercian order abroad, suggests the following alterations in the references.—M. was the sacristy or vestry, as the Cistercian houses had no South transept.—The 1st D. was the archivum where the plate, records, &c. were kept, as in a place of safety.—2d D. was the chapter-house.—3d D. the study, where the novices were taught music, &c.—E. the refectory or dining-room.—F. Kitchen.—G G. and T. The Cellarer's offices, such as the pantry, brewhouse, bakehouse, store-rooms, &c.—H. The staircase leading to the dormitory, which was always over the sacristy, vestry, refectory, &c.—K. Apartments for strangers.—P. In Cistercian houses, this part is called the sanctuary.

109. l. 23. *read*, South-east end.

111. l. 7. The gateway next to the Parish Church appears to have been built by Abbot Reed, as the letter R, in old English text, occurs more than twenty times upon the masonry.—The North gateway was the work of Paslew; for, 1st, in the arch on the South side is a stone with a capital R upon it, which has evidently been spared from the East gateway, and must have been inserted in its present situation after the other was finished; 2d, Paslew, who immediately succeeded Read, always used his Christian name alone, after he became Abbot; and accordingly, on the fine groinings of ribwork within this gateway is seen the capital I, faintly traced with a chissel, at least as often as the letter R. appears on the other.

112. l. 27. The late long gallery was fitted up out of the ruins by Sir Ralph Assheton, bart. in 1664 and 1665.

142. *text*, l. ult. *read*, Catholic.—144. l. 4. *read*, spacious glebe of Whalley.

145. l. 6. I have since discovered that this was the Glebe of St. Michael in Castro.

146. *note* l. 1. Chatburn—but see that township in the parochial survey.

147. l. 35. *read*, a well-meant statute.

159. l. 7. *read*, to an ecclesiastical government.—l. 24. *read*, function.

186. But as the Forest of Accrington is now included within that chapelry, Rossendale under New Church, Haslingden and Bury, Trawden under Colne, and all the Booths of Pendle except Reedley Hallows, Filly Close, New Laund, and Wheatley Car, together with Ightenhill Park under Colne, Padiham, or Newchurch in Pendle; these excepted booths alone are now considered as extra-parochial, and their inhabitants marry, or ought to marry, at Clitheroe.

Feb. 27. 1648-9. the Lancashire forces submitted to disband, and to quit Clitheroe Castle. Order for that Castle to be demolished, 1649.—Whitlocke's Memorials.

188. The first inquisition which I have ever met with, de Consuetudinibus de Blackburnshire, is extant among the Assheton MSS. and was taken before Tho. de Radcliffe de Wimersley, A. 3, Hen. IV.—It is the oldest legal act I have seen in English.

189. *last note.* To these is to be added Pendleton, which, though once belonging to the Houghtons, has long since been merged in the principal fee.

209. l. 18. *read*, the 22d yearé of our reigne.—212. l. 3. *read*, 16,000.

218. l. 24. *read*, and how seldom any traditions are found.

219. l. 18. I suppose this manor-house to have been rebuilt, even so late as 1664; for, in a lease of the Park from Monk to Richard Shuttleworth, Esq. the Lessee covenants to keep the manor-house in repair.—Assheton MSS.

220. Wicoller.—*Wyke-oller* is the village of Alders.—l. 28. *read*, The next, and after Pendle most extensive.

226. l. 28. *dele*, both here and.—236. l. 23. *read*, approbation of Ministers.

250. l. 18. *read*, which however seem.—277. l. 6. *read*, as it was mostly.

344. *Notes to Townley Pedigree*, l. 45. From a MS. communicated by Richard Henry Beaumont, Esq. it appears that Anne, second wife of Sir John Townley, was one of the twenty children of Ralph Catteral, of Catteral and Little Mitton, Esq.

356. l. 14. See the account of an Egyptian superstition extremely like this in Herodotus, *Euterpe*, ed. Gro-nov. p. 103.—389. *note*, l. 21. *read*, For with respect.—l. *penult.* *read*, And ought it.

390. *note*, l. 3. *read*, when they are once deeply imbibed.—l. 4. *read*, supposing him not succeeded.—l. 35. *read*, and a certain stipend.

392. *note*, l. 3. *read*, an end which.—l. 11. *read*, decorations, which became them, are.

401. l. 2. *read*, Its principal feature, and it is.—413. l. 36. *read*, once opening.

432. l. 16. In the kitchen is a bas relief of Hercules, evidently Roman, and from Ribchester —l. *penult.* Edward Warren, of Pointon, Esq. grandfather of the late Sir George Warren, K.B. who was commonly called Dinkley Warren, from his residence at that place.—This is the person of whom Stukeley speaks, *Itin. Cur.* p. 39, as very careful of the learned Remnants from Ribchester —Watson's *Hist. of the House of Warren*, a splendid and beautiful work, printed, but never published, vol. II. p. 158.

448. l. 32. *for* Essex, *read*, Herts.

ACCOUNT
OF THE
PARISH OF CARTMELL.

THIS well defined and almost insulated tract, like the adjoining district of Furness, though part of the County of Lancaster, no where comes in contact with the body of it.

It is bounded on the East, for about six miles, by the upper part and Eastern branch of the Bay of Morecambe, and afterwards by the River Winster, which divides it from Westmoreland. Nearly from the source of this stream, so called from the windings of its course (for Winster is the Winder), a short imaginary line, drawn to the Eastern margin of Windermere, divides the parish and peninsula of Cartmell from Bowness. Turning Southward, first the Lake, and then the Leven, its outlet, constitute the boundary, down to the Leven Sands, and to their last expansion in the Bay of Morecambe. The length of this tract, from North to South, is about fifteen miles, and the greatest width nearly seven.

It is divided into the townships of Cartmell, Cartmell Fells, Broughton, Upper and Lower Allithwaite, Staveley, and Walton.

The scenery is of a very peculiar character. Without any very strong or striking features of its own, but placed, as it is, between two noble æstuaries, and projecting into a third, while on the North the vast fells of Coniston rise in all the majesty of neighbouring Alps: its out-views, in every direction, are either wild or beautiful, and not unfrequently both. The surface is perpetually diversified between warm and fertile valleys, whose sides are clothed with native wood; and barren hills, which, though not of great height or striking forms, produce all the effect of contrast.

One deformity, not indeed peculiar, among the winding bays of the Morecambe, to Cartmell alone, is, that the sea appears to have abandoned large tracts of level ground once overflowed by the tides, and over these a black crust of peat-moss has since been superinduced, which gradual cultivation, it is to be hoped, will in time remove, and render the sandy surface beneath at once productive and beautiful.

From the many and pleasing residences which the beauty of this tract has occasioned to be erected in it, are to be distinguished three places, two of greater antiquity and account, and the third of a more peculiar and striking character, than the rest. These are Holker, Bigland, and Castlehead.

The first of these stands in a warm and soft situation, surrounded by luxuriant timber, and in a park bounded on one side by the sands of Leven. As early as the reign of Elizabeth it was the property of the Prestons, from whom it passed by marriage to the Lowthers, and from them to the Cavendish family, of whom Lord George Cavendish is the present owner. The present house, considered as the residence of a noble family, is plain, habitable, and commodious, with all those comforts which greatness alone can feel, in flying from the incumbrances of greatness. It abounds with good portraits of the family, and other paintings.

The second of these residences is of an opposite character. High in the township of Upper Holker, and nearly on the summit of an hill, whose sides are hung with spring woods, and adorned by a fine tarn abounding with wild fowl, is Bigland; which, as it gave name to a family still subsisting, must always have been a freehold independent on the priory of Cartmell.

The third, which is the creation of a single man, not long deceased, working upon a peculiar feature of nature, is Castlehead. This was merely a conical rock, occasionally surrounded by high tides, and rising pre-eminent above the sands, and the peat-mosses which have gained upon them. The natural strength of the site appears, from the name, not to have been overlooked in ancient times; and from some Imperial coins, which have been found upon it, we may presume that Castlehead had once a Roman inhabitant. It had long, however, been neglected and abandoned, till the late possessor conceived the lucky idea of improving and adorning his rock, by cutting out paths along the sides, by planting trees and flowering shrubs, wherever any patch of soil invited the hand of cultivation, and opening diversified views of the bay beneath, from several elevated points. At top is a small plain, rendered inaccessible to the winds by a high wall, and kept with great neatness; but the trees and shrubs on the sides, and especially the pines, have for several years begun to manifest great impatience of sea-winds and their saline impregnations.

Immediately beneath is an handsome modern house, and, at a small distance to the South, about twenty tons of iron, his own commodity, shapen into a pyramidal tomb, press the mortal remains of the founder, whose epitaph, written by himself, records what he did and what he did not intend; his name, birth, death, and ignorance of himself.

The word *Cartmell* is unquestionably British; and I entirely agree with the learned historian of Manchester, in deriving it from *hert*, a camp or fortification, and *mell* (for in that language the labials M and V are convertible), a fell—the fortress among the fells.

And as the name was British, it is very remarkable that the first mention of the place affords a proof that the aboriginal inhabitants, though reduced to slavery by their Saxon conquerors, had, for a period of more than two centuries, been tolerated in their ancient habitations.

“Anno enim vicessimo octavo super ducentessimum ab adventu Saxonum Britannos hic sedisse colligimus, quod ab eo tempore Egfridus Nordanhumborum Rex Cuthberto illi sancto terram quæ vocatur Cartmell, et omnes Britannos in ea (sic enim in ejus vita scribitur) elargitus est.—Carthmell enim partem esse hujus agri ad Kent Sand notissimum est.”

After this is a long chasm in the history of Cartmell. Whether it passed from Cuthbert to his monks of Lindisfarne, and whether, as in many other instances, it were depopulated and lost to the church by the ravages of the Danes, no where appears.

It is not mentioned in *Domesday*; and the next known fact, relating to the place, is the foundation of a priory for canons regular of St. Augustin, by William Marshall the elder, Earl of Pembroke, A.D. 1188. Of its history little is known excepting what can be collected from the remains. It is known, however, that about the time of the Dissolution here were eight Religious and 38 servants; and that the site was granted, 32d Henry VIII. to Thomas Holcroft, of whom the Priory Church must either have been claimed by the town as parochial, or purchased while entire.

CARTMELL CHURCH.

Amidst the tasteless and ruinous havock which took place at the dissolution of the religious houses, it is one of the privileges of this County, that a single conventual church, though one of the smallest, was preserved. This fortunate escape was owing to its having been the parish-church, as well as that of the convent.

The last fact is proved by the peculiar situation of the cloister court, which lay North instead of South, from the nave, while the principal entrance of the Church is from the South, though the canons had a private door from the cloister into the North aisle. Not a vestige, however, of refectory, chapter-house, prior's lodgings, or offices, now remains. The gateway, however, is entire, and so far distant, that almost half the present town has intruded itself into the interval betwixt that and the church. In surveying this building externally, the first peculiarity which strikes the eye is the grotesque appearance of the tower, a fantastic deviation from every authority in ecclesiastical architecture. The basis of the tower was one of those low central lanterns, rising little above the roof, but supported on massy clusters of columns, which would sustain a much greater weight. Two centuries, perhaps, after the foundation, the want of a bell-tower began to be perceived; when, instead of applying one to the lower front of the church, as at Bolton, or raising the original walls of the lantern, as at Kirkstall, the canons bethought themselves of the following expedient for the purpose:—They constructed four cross arches within the upper courses of the lantern, springing from the middle point of each side, and closing the entire angle between that and the contiguous wall. On this they erected, with perfect safety, though with very little grace, a bell-tower of moderate height, which stands a square inscribed within a square, diagonally to its base.

The choir and transept of this church (excepting that the windows, for the most part, are later insertions) appear to be of the first foundation. The masonry is excellent; and the buttresses of the true Norman pattern, perpendicular, and with little projection. The arches of the choir, two only on each side, are semicircular, and enriched with the usual ornaments of the age. A triforium has extended round that and the transept, but seems to have been interrupted by the insertion of the noble ramified East window; whereas it must have traversed, as usual, the three original lancet windows of the East end.

On the North side of the principal, or *Ladies* Choir, is a narrow chapel, with its groined roof entire, anciently called the Piper Choir (I know not why), and on the South the Town Choir, which has been considerably widened, and has in the South wall two seats in stone for the officiating priests. From the name, I should conjecture that it was extended beyond its first dimensions, in consequence of some dispute betwixt the convent and parish, and that it subsequently became the parish-church, for which, in the slender state of population at that time, it would not be insufficient.

A general alteration in this church appears to me to have commenced about the time of Edward the Third: the inserted windows are all of this period; and the remains of fine painted glass, containing figures of the line of Jesse, with the name of each, have several remnants of inscriptions in the Longobardic character, which could not be later. The nave appears to have been wholly rebuilt, at a somewhat later period. The columns are angular, without mouldings.

and

and the tracery of the windows approaches to the square-headed form, which was introduced a little after the year 1400. This nave is remarkable for another defect, which is, the absence of a great Western door; whence I suspect that the West end was not included within the Priory Close. From this spacious, and nearly vacant area, the choir and transepts would have a very fine effect, were it not that the effects of light and shade, the long perspectives and bold sweeps of the arches, are broken by a vile modern organ-loft, and by galleries very needlessly erected, where so much vacant space was left on the ground-floor. Notwithstanding all this botch-work, we have to be thankful that Cartmell is not as Whalley and Furness.

We now pass on to the numerous memorials of the dead, ancient and modern. Of these, probably the oldest, is a tomb of Prior William de Walton; a beautiful and perfect slab of grey marble, inscribed with a flowered cross, and included within a plain arch on the North side of the high altar. An epitaph runs round the margin, in most plain and perfect Longobardic characters:

HIC JACET FRATER WILLELMUS DE WALTONA PRIOR DE CARTMELL

In the Piper Chapel are two other slabs of the same material, with crosses, but without inscriptions. In one of these the chalice is, by a very singular device, included within the ornamented head of the cross.

On the floor, near the tomb of Prior Walton, is another and much later memorial of one of his successors, on a free-stone slab, and in black letter:

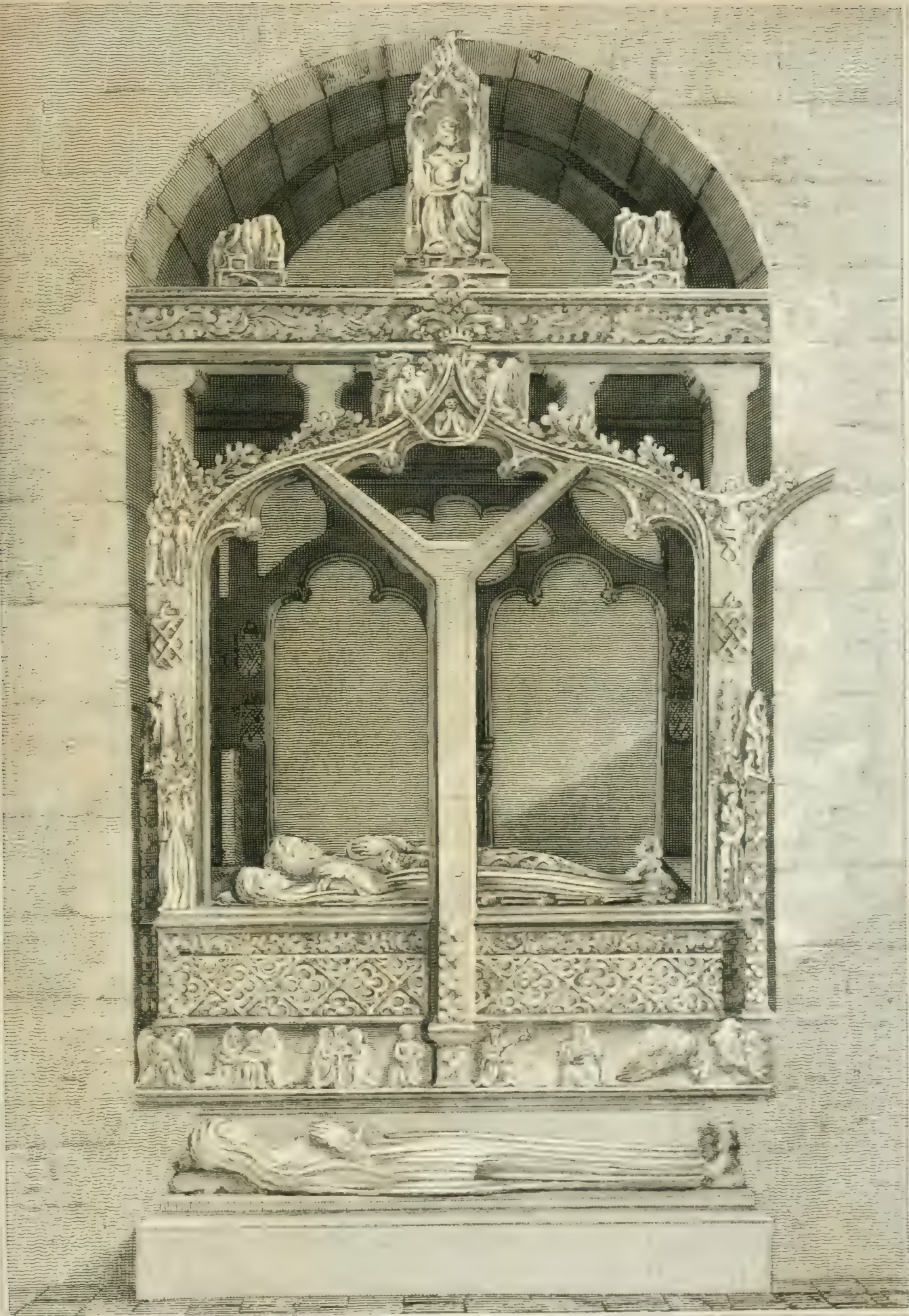
“*Hic jacet Will^{us} Br quondam P^{or}.*”

Betwixt this and the former is a diminutive stone, not more than three feet long, adorned with a cross fleury. What account is to be given of this? the stone in question must have covered a child, and that child must have been admitted into the lowest order at least. Were novices ever admitted at the tender age; and if so, how happened it that a novice and Acolyth was buried where the senior monks themselves were seldom admitted, by the High Altar?

On the opposite side, under an arch apparently modern, is the magnificent but imperfect monument of a Harrington, which presents many difficulties, not to be accounted for, but by supposing much dislocation, and much unskilful restitution about the work.

First, then, upon a base apparently much more modern, and adorned with quaterfoils, appear two statues, one of each sex: the man in link-mail, and bearing on his shield and sur-tout the Harrington knot. These are inclosed on the East and West, by the plain walls of the arch already mentioned, and on the North and South by the remains of a very singular screen of freestone, which exactly harmonizes with the base of the tomb. Still they are evidently fragments, detached from some other work; as a portion of another arch of the screen, yet common to that and of those belonging to the tomb itself, is inserted, for security, into the wall. On the frieze of the basement are groupes of monks, some with their cowls over their heads, others bare; some sitting, others kneeling; the former reading, the latter praying.

Notwithstanding these appearances of dislocation, and the apparent difference in point of time between the statues and the screen, several shields are cut in the stone-work of the latter, with the arms of Harrington painted upon them. On the more modern walls of the arch the same are repeated, and one appears struck through a thick coat of whitewash—(the whole work



AN ALFANGT OF THE HARRINGTON FAMILY IN CARTMEL CHURCH. FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

is covered with the gathered whitewash of an hundred years)—bearing the three escallops of Dacre, which will only fix the æra of the work according to the opinion of the painter, as it is on the modern wall of the arch. Immediately beneath this, and within the town-chapel, is the cumbent and colossal figure of a female, wholly unappropriated by arms, inscription, or tradition.

After the Dissolution, this church was neglected for 80 years; when, as it appears from the accurate accounts of the parish, George Preston, of Holker, Esq. covenanted with the vestry, in consideration of forty marks and as much of the old lead as could be spared, to cover the greater part of the building with a new roof. This circumstance should not have been concealed in his epitaph, where the whole work is represented as having been the act of his own gratuitous bounty. Still, however, there can be little doubt that the expence greatly exceeded the sum stipulated to be paid by the parish, especially when we add to it another work, entirely of supererogation. The stalls in the choir having gone to decay, the same liberal benefactor determined to restore them to their pristine beauty.

In the tasteless reign of James I. this might seem to have been a desperate undertaking; nevertheless, it has been executed with no small degree of skill and success, though in a style very dissimilar, no doubt, to that of the original canopies. These have been cut away to the stalls themselves, which remain, 26 in number, with their *misereres* and carvings, much resembling those of Whalley, and apparently of the same date: but at Cartmell there are no ludicrous devices. Beneath the prior's-stall appears a large and crowded cluster of grapes mixed with vine-leaves, and the initials W. W.; and on another is the initial W. with the figure of an hedge-hog, intended to represent the surname. On these, instead of their original canopies, are mounted columns, with Corinthian capitals of oak, wreathed with vine-leaves, in the intervals between which appear the instruments of the Passion, which are repeated in profusion on the entablature above. In the general effect and appearance of this substitution, with every prepossession in favour of the originals, to me, I confess, the disappointment is not great.

In this fine church, after the lapse of nearly two centuries, another Preston begins to be wanted. Indeed, about every conventual church still used for public worship, which I have seen (with a single exception), there is an appearance of something between a cathedral and a ruin. Damp floors, green walls, and rotting beams, shelter just sufficient for owls and bats, and light augmented by broken panes, are the connecting links between the high and finished repair of the one, and the total abandonment of the other. But another calamity almost uniformly attends upon these magnificent though neglected fabrics—after a glut comes famine. Rapacity, armed with sovereign power, seizes on the consecrated domains of sacerdotal wealth and luxury, while private Avarice, out of those ample stores, deals out a miserable pittance to keep up the semblance of Public Worship. Where the praises of God were once chaunted by a splendid choir, a stipendiary with forty, or even seventy pounds *per annum*, can have little spirit to maintain the dignity of a much better and purer Establishment.

In this Country, where every hill is a rock, and every rock a quarry of marble, the means of gratifying the vanity or the affection of surviving friends, in monumental decorations, are easily attained; accordingly, the walls of this church, large as it is, are almost encrusted with Decorations of this nature. Of these I have been compelled to make a rigid selection, partly from the obscurity of the subjects, and partly from the dulness of the inscriptions, none of which rise above mediocrity, while some fall far beneath it.

At the East end of the South aisle are the following inscriptions, in an inclosure appropriated to the Preston and Lowther families ;

Adesdum viator, paucis te alloquitur vocale hoc marmor.
Juxta hic requiescit generosus binis Thomæ Preston, de Holker, armigeri,
qui longius ætate provectus fatis cessit. Vir non reticendi nominis,
seu fidem spectes, seu mores.

Pietatis erga Deum assiduus cultor,
Charitatis in proximum dispensator fidelis.

Libros omne genus eruditione refertos, in Sacrario hujus Ecclesiæ
curâ patris sui exornatæ, reponendos curavit, cum prius sponte
suâ suffragante Episcopo, annuale stipendium octoginta librarum
Parocho hic Deo servienti concesserat.

Suis charus, jucundus et gratus omnibus.

Miles in Parlamento Regis honori, Regnique saluti prudenter consuluit ;
aliisque quibus functus est officiis publicis, patriam ornavit.

Ante omnia verò Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ optime meritus,
quippe reformatæ Religionis

Propugnator strenuus vindexque perpetuus.

Libris volvendis, et revolvendis, perdoctus incubuit,
sanctorum vero patrum monumenta, imprimis veneratus est,
et summo orthodoxos Ecclesiæ nostræ antistites in pretio habuit.

Quibus cum in terris ultra frui non potuit,
eos ut in cœlis inviseret tandem emigravit,

An. ætatis LXXIX, et D'ni M.DC.LXXVIII.

Filium unicum e multis superstitem ac hæredem reliquit,
Thomam (natum ex Catharinâ, uxore unicâ charissimâque,
e præclara Houghtonorum, de Houghton Tower, Familiâ progeneratâ, filiâ
Domini scilicet Gilberti Houghton, ordinis de Balneo, Militis ac Baronetti)

Qui paternis manibus piè parentavit,

Ut, quem vivum exemplum virtutis habuit,

Defunctum, honore quo par est prosequaretur.

Thomas Preston, Armiger, filius supranominatus, ex Burgis in Parlamento,

Patriæ decus, Ecclesiæ, pauperibus, et pauperum filiis in Scholâ,
Cartmellensi Collegioque Sancti Johannis Cantab. educandis, dona legavit.

Catharinam filiam, ex Elizabethâ (D'ni Rogeri Bradshaigh, de Haigh,
Militis ac Baronetti, filiâ), natam reliquit hæredem.

Nobis occidit, sibi exortus Jan. xxxi, A. D. M.DC.XCVI, ætatis L.

Here lieth interred the body of Dame Katharine Lowther,
Consort of Sir William Lowther, Baronet, only daughter and heiress
of Thomas Preston, of Holker, Esq. and Elizabeth, daughter to Sir Roger Bradshaigh
of Haigh, knight and baronet. She was a dutiful child,
an endearing wife, a compassionate and careful mother,

charitable

charitable to the poor, hospitable to strangers, courteous to all,
 sweet in her temper, sincere in her conversation, serious and devout
 in the profession and practice of her most excellent Religion.
 She left two sons, Thomas and Preston, and two daughters, Katharine and Mary.
 and departed this life in the 25th year of her age, the 12th of March, 1700.

Near this place lie the remains of Sir William Lowther, of Holker, Baronet,
 the last of his family in the male line, who, howsoever respectable
 for the antiquity of it, was more so for the excellency of his virtues.

He departed this life in the twenty-ninth year of his age.

To perpetuate the memory and deplore the loss of his distinguished merit,
 this Monument is erected.

Also, near this place, lie Sir Thomas Lowther and Mrs. Margaret Lowther,
 the father and Aunt of Sir William.

On a wooden Tablet,

Near this place lyeth interred the bodies of Christopher Preston, late of Holker, in the County of Lancaster, Esq. who deceased the 27th of May, 1594, and of John Preston, Esq. sonne and heir of the said Christopher, who departed this life the 11th of September 1579, who by Anne his wife, daughter and heir of William Benson, Esq. of Huhgill, in the County of Westmorland, gentleman, had issue George Preston, Esq. here likewise interred the 5th day of April 1640, who by his first wife, daughter of Rafe Aston, of Lever, in the County of Lancaster, Esq. had issue three children, *viz.* Thomas, Christopher, and Frances. Thomas Preston, his eldest sonne, married Katharine, daughter of Sir Gilbert Houghton, of Houghton Tower, knight and baronett, and hath issue George, Christopher, second sonne, never married; Frances, married to Robert Duckenfield, of Duckenfield, in the County of Cheshire, Esq. The said George, by his second wife Margaret, the daughter of Sir Thomas Strickland, of Sizergh, in the County of Westmoreland, Knight of the Bath, had issue George, who died without issue; Anne, married to Sir George Middleton, of Leighton, in the County of Lancaster, Knight and Baronet; Elizabeth, wife of John Sayer, of Wirksal, in the County of Yorkshire, Esq.; and Margaret, married to Francis Bidulph, of Bidulph, in the County of Staffordshire, Esq. The said George, out of his zeal to God, at his great charges, repaired this church, being in great decay, with a new roofof timber, and beautified it within very decently with fretted plaster-work, adorned the chancel with curiously-carved wood-worke, and placed therein a pair of organs of great value. He bequeathed further, by his will, £.100 towards binding poor men's sons of this parish apprentices, besides divers other acts of charity and piety, through the whole course of his life: to whose pious memory Thomas Preston, his son, hath caused this to be made, 1646.

Near this place lieth interred the body of Dorothy, the most affectionate wife of John Bigland, of Bigland, in the County of Lancaster, gent. whose ancestors founded and endowed the Free School at Brow-Edge, and left many considerable benefactions to pious uses, in and about Cartmel. She was daughter of the late Rev. William Wells, M.A. Vicar of Millom, by
 Elizabeth,

Elizabeth, who also lies buried near this place), the daughter of Thomas Hudleston, Esq. of the ancient family of the Hudlestons, of Millom Castle. She departed her religious and exemplary life on the 16th day of December, 1730. Also, near here lie the remains of John Bigland, of Bigland, gent. who died 23d of June 1747, aged 57.

Near this place lieth the body of that most learned and honest counsellor at Law, Robert Rawlinson, of Clark Hall, in Cartmel, in Lancashire, and of Gray's Inn, in Middlesex, Esq. His great integrity, joined with a profound knowledge of the Law, made him esteemed and beloved by all who knew him.

He was Justice of Peace and Quorum, and of Oyer and Terminer for the Counties Palatine of Lancaster and Chester, to King Charles the Second, a great sufferer for his loyalty to King Charles the First, Vice Chamberlain of the City and County of Chester, to Charles Earl of Darby.

He lived beloved of all, and so he died lamented October the 21st, 1665, aged 55. He married the prudent Jane Wilson (eldest daughter of Thomas Wilson, of Haversham Hall, in Westmorland, Esq.), who died 1686, aged 66, and was buried in the same grave with him. By whom he left Curwen Rawlinson, Esq. his eldest and only son (who married). He was a most accomplished and ingenious gentleman, and a true patriot, and so succeeded his father in the love and service of his Country, and dyed in it 1689, aged 48 (being Burgess for Lancaster in the Parliament convened 1688), Jan. 22d, and was buried in the chancel of St. Mary's, at Warwick.

Next Robert Rawlinson lieth the remains of the truly pious and religious Elizabeth Rawlinson, wife of Curwen Rawlinson of Clark Hall. Esq. daughter and coheir of the loyal Dr. Nicholas Monk, Bishop of Hereford, a great assistant, in the Restoration, to his brother, the most noble George Monk, Duke of Albermarle, and son of Sir Thomas Monk, of Potheridge, in Devonshire, knight. She was a most dutiful daughter of the Church of England, as well as of a prelate of it, being a sublime pattern of a holy piety, true charity, Christian humility, a faithful friendship, a religious care of her children, and a divine patience under the tortures of the stone, and with which she resigned her heavenly soul Sept. 27, 1691, aged 43, leaving two sons; Monk Rawlinson, who died 1695, aged 21, and lyeth buried by her; and Christopher Rawlinson, Esq. now living, born in Essex 1677; who in memory of his grandfather, and most dearly beloved and good mother, erected this monument 1706.

Here before lyeth interred
 Etheldred Thornburgh's corps in dust:
 In lyfe, at death, styll ffirmely fixed
 On God to rest hir stedfast trust.
 Hir father Justice Carus was,
 Hir mother Katharine his wiffe,
 Hir husband William Thornburgh was,
 Whyle here she ledd this mortail lyfe.

The thynde of Martche and yeare of grace
 One thowsand fyve hundred nyntie six
 Hir sowle departed this earthly place,
 Of Aage nighe fortie yeares and six;
 To whose sweet soule heavenly dwelling
 Our Saviour grant everlastinge.

Sepulchrale Marmor hoc sacrum est Memoriae
 Johannis Askew, A. B. Collegii divi Johannis in Academia Cantabrigiensi,
 qui moribus suavissim' integerrimis,
 ingenio feliciter exulto
 multâ laude claruit :
 virtutibus annos longe superavit,
 meritis famam explevit,
 magni olim nominis futurus
 si ad virile robur et maturitatem accrescere licuisset ;
 sed ineluctabilis fati vis rapuit,
 spesque optimè conceptas et pia vota
 parentum, amicorum,
 esse rata noluit.
 Decessit Julii III^o A. D. M.D.CCXI. ætat. XXIII.

On the floor of the chancel are these mutilated inscriptions :—

T MERCI A MES DE R V.

On the South East window, in Longobardic characters :

SALATHIEL IOS...AS. ASH. SADOR. AZOR AND...HOR.

A late research into the rolls of the Duchy of Lancaster will enable me to add some curious particulars relating to this House, immediately before and after the Dissolution.

George Wilson de Patton, in Kendale, de denariis, per Jac. Grigg, quondam Priorem de Cartmell, præfato Georgio deliberatis ad usum dicti nuper Prioris et Conventus, ut dictus Prior jacens in extremis asseruit et declaravit coram Ricardo Preston, successore dicti Jacobi et ultimi Prioris ib'm, et aliis canonicis tunc ib'm præsentibus.

This gives the names of the two last Priors. There are several other memoranda of monies lent, which prove that the æconomy of this house was frugal and good.

CAMPANARUM V.

Compotus plumbi nuper Prioratus de Cartmel nondum vendit. nempe v campane discordantes, quarum iv minores remanent infra custodiam Thome Holcroft militis firmarii scitus, et viii parve sues (pigs) plumbi, liquefacte de lavatorio et gutture (the gutter) Claustrii, unde iv remanent infra Castrum de Lancaster in custodia Marmaduci Tunstall militis, et aliæ iv in custodia præd. Tho. Holcroft; et v^{ta} campana et residuum plumbi remanet in et super Cam-

panile et alias partes ecclesie, remanent' adhuc indissolute ad commodum p'ochianorum, per mandatum Edw. comitis Derby, et Rob. com. Sussex, Loc. tenent. Dⁿⁱ Regis, A^o xxix Hen. VIII.

The conduct of these two Earls is not greatly to be commended. The Church of Cartmell was a Parish-Church before the foundation of the Priory, and continued to be so, in law, after the latter was dissolved: their intervention, therefore, to continue it for the benefit of the parishioners, was needless. For the same reason, they had no right to the bells, or any of them. To the future service of the Church they were inattentive in a degree which is felt to the present day. It was absurd to give the farmer of the rectory an option whether he would maintain one or more chaplains out of the produce; and it was extremely thoughtless, not to bind him to the payment of some specific stipend. But thus it was that the spiritual interests of parishes were universally provided for, in that violent and rapacious work, the dissolution of the religious houses.

FIRMA RECTORIE DE CARTMELL.

Et prædictus firmarius et successores invenient et sustentabunt ad custus suos proprios unum capellanum honestum sufficientem et idoneum, vel plures capellanos idoneos, ad divina obsequia, sacramenta, et servitium ecclesie more curati infra ecclesiam prædictam *.

S'ma Rect. de Cartmell, LIVL. XIXS. IId.ob.

In the original Articles of Survey, for the Dissolution of Monasteries in Lancashire, I find the following inquiries and answers.

" It'm, for y^e Church of Cartmell, being the Priorie, and alsoe P'sh Church, whether to stand unplucked downe or not?

Answer—Ord^d by Mr. Chauncellor of the Duchie to stand still.

It'm, for a Suet of Coopis (Suit of Copes) claymed by y^e inhabitants of Cartmell, to belonge to y^e Church ther of, y^e guift of oon Brigg.

Ord^d—That the P'ochians shall have them styll.

It'm, for a Chales, a Masse Boke, a Vestymnt, with other thynges necessarie for a P'sh Church, claymed by saide P'ochians to bee customablie found by y^e P'son of seide Church.

No answer.

* Rot. an. 2^{do} Edw. VI.

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